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Volume One

Marylin Martin Rhie

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EARLY BUDDHIST ART OF CHINA AND CENTRAL ASIA

VOLUME ONE

Later Han, Three Kingdoms and Western Chin in China and Bactria to Shan-shan in Central Asia

BY

MARYLIN MARTIN RHIE

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To the memory of my parents
Elva Eastman Martin
and
Dean Woodmansee Martin

CONTENTS

Acknowledgements xiii
Preface by Erik Zürcher xv
Abbreviated List of Illustrations, Maps and Drawings xvii
Introduction xxxv

PART I
THE BEGINNINGS OF BUDDHISM AND BUDDHIST ART IN CHINA

CHAPTER ONE: The Han Dynasty (206 B.C.-220 A.D.) 5

I. *The Opening of China to the West* 5
A. The Former Han Period (206 B.C.-8 A.D.) 5
B. The Later Han Period (25-220 A.D.) 11
II. *Written Evidences of Buddhism* 13
III. *Translators and Translations of Buddhist Texts* 22
IV. *Buddhist Art* 27
A. K'ung-wang Shan (Kiangsu) 27
1. Images of Popular Religious Belief 29
2. Buddhist Images 33
3. Other Images 39
4. Technique and Historical Conditions 42
5. Conclusions 45
B. Evidences from Tombs in Szechwan and Kansu 47
1. Cave Tomb No. IX at Ma Hao 47
2. Buddha Images on "Money Trees" 56
a. Ceramic money tree base from P'eng shan 56
b. Buddhas on the money tree from Mien-yang 59
3. The Pagoda Relief Tile from Shih-fang 61
4. The Tomb at Lei-t'ai, Wu Wei 64
C. Miniature Bronze Shrine (Asian Art Museum) 67

D. Harvard Flame-shouldered Buddha 71
1. Descriptive and Comparative Analysis of Technique and Style . 73
2. Considerations of Dating, Provenance, Iconography, Historical Circumstances and Interpretation 89
V. *Conclusions* 94

CHAPTER TWO: Period of the Three Kingdoms and the Western Chin (A.D. 220-317) 96

I. *Political Setting, Relations with Central Asia and Developments in Buddhism* 97
A. The Three Kingdoms (220-265) 97
B. The Western Chin (265-317) 103
II. *Bhuddist Art* 112
A. Funerary Art with Buddhist Figures 112
1. Ceramics 112
a. Various vessels (other than hun-p'ing) 113
b. Hun-p'ing vessels 115
2. Bronze Mirrors 119
a. Shen-shou mirrors with triangular rim 120
b. Shen-shou mirrors with flat rim 122
c. K'uei-feng mirrors 122
3. Small Bronze Figures 126
a. Money tree bronze Buddhas from Szechwan 127
b. Gilt bronze belt buckle with Bodhisattva dated 262 A.D. 127
4. Clay Tomb Bricks, Tiles and Figurines 130
a. Tomb bricks, with Buddhist figures 130
b. Tile from P'ing-an, Ch'ing-hai 131
c. Pottery figurine from Chung hsien, Szechwan 132
B. The Orthodox Icons: Buddhist Bronze Sculptures 133
1. The Seated Buddha in the Tokyo National Museum 133
2. The Seated Buddha with Circular Halo Formerly in the Fujiki Collection 139
3. The Fujii Yūrinkan Standing Bodhisattva 143
a. Technique, description and stylistic sources 144
b. Concluding remarks 151
4. Small Standing Bodhisattva 152
III. *Conclusions* 154

PART II
ART OF THE SILK ROAD IN CENTRAL ASIA: 1ST-4TH CENTURY A.D.

CHAPTER THREE: Western Central Asia: Transoxiana and Bamiyan 162

I. *Introduction: Brief Historical Background* 162
II. *Sites and Art of the Termez Region* 168
A. Khalchayan 169
B. Airtam 175
1. Buddhist Temple Site 176
2. Stupa Site 178
C. Kara-tepe 179
1. Temple Complexes: Courtyards, Caves, Stupas, Paintings and Sculptures 181
a. Complex A 182
b. Complex B 182
i. stupa drawing 183
ii. Buddha group 184
c. Complex C 185
d. Complex D 186
i. seated Buddha sculpture 187
ii. wall paintings 188
2. Some Concluding Remarks 189
D. Fayaz-tepe 191
1. Monastery Site 191
2. Wall Paintings 193
3. Sculpture 194
E. Dalverzin-tepe 196
1. Buddhist Temple No. 1 196
a. sculptures 198
2. Buddhist Temple No. 2 199
a. sculptures 200
III. *Sites and Art of the Khorezm Region* 204
A. Koy-krylgan Kala 204
B. Toprak Kala 206
1. Sculptures and Wall Paintings 208
IV. *Bamiyan: Some Early Caves* 210
A. Introduction 210

B. Cave 24 214
C. Cave 51 217
1. The Watercolor Drawing by J. Carl 218
2. Wall Painting Fragments 221
D. Caves 129, 130 and 152 223
E. Cave 140 225
F. Cave 165 227
G. Cave 155: The Eastern Great Buddha Niche 228
V. *Conclusions* 234
A. Sculpture 235
B. Painting 237
C. Architecture 237

CHAPTER FOUR: Eastern Central Asia: Kashgar and Khotan 240

I. *Introduction* 240
A. History of the Region: Han-early 5th Century A.D. 241
B. The Routes 244
II. *Sites and Their Buddhist Art Remains* 246
A. Kashgar 247
1. Stupas of the Kashgar Region 249
B. Yarkand and Karghalik 255
C. Khotan 257
1. Buddhism and Buddhist Art in Khotan from Literary Sources. 260
2. Sculpture from Khotan 265
a. Figurines of western deities 265
b. Two bronze Buddha heads 266
c. Small bronze Bodhisattva 270
d. Clay Buddha head 270
e. Stone stupa fragment 270
f. Large clay Buddha head 271
g. Conclusions 272
3. Textiles from Tombs at Shampula 272
a. Fragment with design of a man's head 273
b. Fragment with design of a centaur and rosettes 274
c. Cotton fabric with rosette, pearl and wave design 275
d. Chinese warp-faced compound tabby silk fragment 276
4. The Site of Rawak 276

a. The stupa 278
b. The sculptures 285
i. Style I 287
ii. Style II 296
iii. Style III 298
iv. Style IV 299
v. Style V 301
vi. Style VI 302
c. Painting from Rawak 313
d. Conclusions: Rawak 314
5. Ak-terek and Siyelik 316
6. Kara-dong (near Keriya) 318
III. *Conclusions: Southern Route (Kashgar to Khotan/Keriya)* 321

CHAPTER FIVE: Eastern Central Asia: The Kingdom of Shan-shan: Niya to Lou-lan 323

I. *Introduction: The Shan-shan Kingdom* 323
A. Early History 324
B. Period of the Kharoṣṭī Documents 332
1. Chinese Sources 332
2. Kharoṣṭī Inscriptions 338
3. Shan-shan Kings 343
C. Shan-shan from the late 4th-early 6th century 352
1. Concluding Remarks 355
II. *Sites and Their Art Remains* 357
A. Niya, Endere, Cherchen and Charklik 357
1. The Stupa at Niya 359
2. Art from Niya 361
a. Woodwork 361
b. Clay seals 363
c. Painting and textiles 363
3. Endere, Cherchen and Charklik 367
B. Miran 370
1. Stupas and Structures of Shrines M III and M V 372
2. Paintings of Shrines M III and M V 376
a. Brief description 377
b. Style, technique, and stylistic sources 380

c. Conclusions and dating 384
3. Structures and Sculptures of M II 385
4. Sites M XIII, XIV, and XV 389
5. Conclusions: Miran 391
C. Lou-lan 392
1. L.A. Area 399
a. Stupas of the L.A. area 400
b. Wooden lintel of Buddha niches 402
i. The niches 403
ii. The Buddha images 405
2. L.B. Area 407
a. L.B.I, II, and III complex 408
i. Buddhist shrine L.B.II 408
ii. Figural sculptures from L.B.II 412
a. Jamb with niches of standing Bodhisattvas 412
b. Standing guardian 413
c. Panel with lower part of a cross-ankled figure 414
b. L.B.IV, V, and VI 415
i. Carved panel with cross-ankled and standing figure 416
3. Remains from Grave Sites 419
a. Textiles from the L.C. area 420
i. Woolen fragments 421
ii. Silk fragments 422
4. Conclusions: The Lou-lan Site 424
III. *Conclusions: Art from Sites of the Southern Silk Route in Eastern Central Asia* 425

Conclusions 427
Bibliography 433
Index 449

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This work could not have been achieved without the constant help of my husband, Young—in traveling, translating, photographing, and in working out and clarifying ideas from beginning to end. This is essentially a work produced by both of us. Also, my thanks to our daughter, Sonya Rhie Quintanilla, for her unendingly cheerful assistance in our work as a family team on this project.

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Finally, it is my hope that this and the subsequent volume will help to clarify the earliest phases of Buddhist art in China and Central Asia, a difficult but extremely important first stage in the evolution of Buddhism and Buddhist art in its passage east to China and beyond. Because of the complexity and the necessity to look wider than China in order to more fully understand Chinese Buddhist art, what initially began as a single volume has developed into two. The second one will take

the course through the Sixteen Kingdoms Period (317-439) when the earliest Buddhist cave temple art appears in China, and to the sites of that time on the Northern Silk Road in Central Asia.

Wilbraham, Massachusetts
August 16, 1998

PREFACE

Many historians tend to be fascinated by the primordial, the first traces of what later was to become a major movement deeply affecting the course of the history. The spread of Buddhism from its Indian homeland through western and eastern Central Asia to China in the first centuries of our era was one of such movements, and Professor Rhie is one of such historians. Although this impressive work deals mainly with art, material culture and the archaeological record, it is a major contribution to the history of Asian Buddhism, and to Chinese Buddhism in its earliest formative stage—an indispensable complement to the little we know on the basis of written sources. In fact, after reading this almost exhaustive survey of the available iconographical materials, one of the main conclusions to be drawn is that they disclose a whole world of beliefs and rituals that have little in common with the scriptural tradition of "canonical Buddhism".

Artefacts speak their own language, with its own conventions, not transmitted by an elite of scholarly monks but by nameless travelling artisans; not derived from the scriptural sources, but from some deeper strata of popular syncretism, or from portable models and prompt-book which the artisans carried with them. They constitute an independent channel of expression which often baffles the philologist. A Neptune-like seated Buddha with trident from Loulan defies any scriptural explanation; so does the common theme of the Buddha with flames rising from his shoulders. Of one of the most striking features of late Han Buddhist iconography —the association of the Buddha with the Taoist deity Xiwang mu—no trace can be found in any written source, Buddhist or secular, and there is no textual evidence for another common feature of this early "Buddho-Taoism": the part played by Buddhist figures in funerary cult. Such artefacts and images have come to light in regions where, according to our written sources, Buddhism was only introduced centuries later, such as Sichuan, Inner Mongolia, and perhaps even Japan. So far not a single object of this early period can be linked to any particular canonical scripture that is known to have been available in a Chinese translation.

Since the written tradition is of little help, the earliest products of Buddhist art (and to a large extent the later ones as well) can only be described and analyzed in their own terms, in the language of pure form and in their wider context, covering most of Buddhist Asia of the Kushan period. That is what the author has done in this work: while focusing upon a rather limited time-span, she has placed the objects in a vast intercultural setting stretching from Mathura to Ferghana, and

from Parthia to the China coast. By a meticulous and detailed comparison of stylistic features she has been able to establish countless stylistic parallels which in turn provide arguments for their synchronicity. In other words: the overall approach is strongly and consciously diffusionist, and we may expect that it will provoke reactions from the advocates of polycentric parallel development and independent invention.

In any case this comparative, continent-wide approach, treating Buddhist Asia as a multicultural continuum, has yielded important results. In terms of cultural areas Professor Rhie has made ample use of the findings of Soviet archaeology, especially in the Termez region, thereby highlighting the eminent role of the northern parts of the Kushan empire as a centre of diffusion. She has made well-founded statements regarding the relation between cave temples with inner core in western Central Asia and China and the typology of the Central Asian *stūpa*, and she has established what seems to be the definite sequence of the Rawak clay sculptures. Her very early dating of the famous "flaming Buddha" in the Fogg collection, which she attributes to the late Han, will no doubt lead to heated discussions; it could revolutionize our view of Han Buddhist art.

There can be no doubt that this work is a major contribution to the field, a mine of information, and an incentive to continue, or to renew, the debate. During the prenatal stages of the work I have had the chance to take part in that debate with the author, and that extensive exchange of views has been a memorable and most pleasant experience.

Erik Zürcher

ABBREVIATED LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS AND DRAWINGS

Color Plates

Pl. I	Flame-shouldered Buddha, The Sackler Museum of Art, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts
Pl. II a,b	Miniature Shrine, The Asian Art Museum, San Francisco
Pl. III	Bodhisattva (probably Maitreya), Fujii Yūrinkan, Kyoto
Pl. IV	Head of a prince or king with pointed and spangled hat, Dalverzin Tepe, southern Uzbekistan
Pl. V	Head of a Buddha, Khotan, Tokyo National Museum
Pl. VI	Detail of a small Buddha from a large Buddha's aureole, Rawak Stupa, Khotan, The British Museum, London
Pl. VII	Head of a Bodhisattva, Rawak Stupa, Khotan, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
Pl. VIII a,b	Pair of Miniature Stupas, Gandhāra or Kashmir region, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
Pl. IX	Dīpaṃkara Buddha, probably from Swat, Pakistan
Pl. X	Pair of furniture legs, Niya, The British Musuem, London
Pl. XI	Goddess with cornucopia and other scenes, "batik" cotton textile, Niya
Pl. XII	View of Stupa Shrine M III, Miran site
Pl. XIII	Buddha, wall painting, Stupa Shrine M V, Miran site, National Museum, New Delhi
Pl. XIV	Relief with Buddha niches, Lou-lan, Folkens Museum Etnografiska, Stockholm
Pl. XV	Guardian statue, Lou-lan, Folkens Museum Etnografiska, Stockholm
Pl. XVI	Warp-faced compound tabby patterned silk textile fragment, Lou-lan

Chapter 1

Map 1.1	Later Han Empire (25-220 A.D.)
Map 1.2	Central Asia in the Han Dynasty
Map 1.3	China in the Han Dynasty (206 B.C.-220 A.D.)
Map 1.4	The Kiangsu Region
Map 1.5	Central Szechwan in the Later Han Dynasty

Map 1.6	Gandhāra, Bactria and Contiguous Regions
Fig. 1.1 a	The Yü-men kuan (Jade Gate)
Fig. 1.1 b	Stone fragments with Kharoṣṭhī writing
Fig. 1.2	Drawing of the relief carvings, K'ung-wang shan
Fig. 1.3	Cliffs at K'ung-wang shan with "Toad" Stone
Fig. 1.4 a	Image of Hsi-wang-mu, K'ung-wang shan
Fig. 1.4 b	Seated male figure in Han dress, K'ung-wang shan
Fig. 1.5	Guardian and Buddha, K'ung-wang shan
Fig. 1.6 a,b	Rock-cut reliefs at Tang-i-Sarvak, Elymais, Iran
Fig. 1.7	Standing Buddha, K'ung-wang shan
Fig. 1.8	Charioteer, Tomb No. 1, Tao-tzu-p'ing, Hunan
Fig. 1.9	Seated Buddha, K'ung-wang shan
Fig. 1.10	Parinirvāṇa, K'ung-wang shan
Fig. 1.11	Drawing of Fig. 1.10
Fig. 1.12	Standing Buddha, K'ung-wang shan
Fig. 1.13	Drawing of images, eastern end of cliff, K'ung-wang shan
Fig. 1.14	Prince Sacrificing Himself to the Tigress (Mahāsattva-Jātaka), K'ung-wang shan
Fig. 1.15	Fragment of relief with Mahāsattva-Jātaka, Gandhāra
Fig. 1.16 a-g	Rubbing of Figures, K'ung-wang shan
Fig. 1.16 h, i	Ceramic head of a man from Shang-yü, Chekiang
Fig. 1.17	Obverse of coin with King Vima II Kaḍphises
Fig. 1.18 a-h	Coins of Vima II Kaḍphises and Kaniṣka I
Fig. 1.19	Elephant Stone, K'ung-wang shan
Fig. 1.20 a	Guardian (ink rubbing), Tomb M2 of the Ts'ao family, Tung-yüan ts'un, Anhui
Fig. 1.20 b	Relief Panel (ink rubbing), stone tomb at I-nan, Shantung
Fig. 1.21	Plan of Tomb (Cave IX) at Ma Hao, Szechwan
Fig. 1.22 a,b	Reliefs, Cave IX, Ma Hao, Szechwan
Fig. 1.23	Seated Buddha, relief, Cave IX, Ma Hao, Szechwan
Fig. 1.24	Seated Buddha, relief, Tomb No. 1, Shih-tzu-wan No. 1 group, near Lo-shan city, Szechwan
Fig. 1.25	Hsi-wang-mu and other figures, clay tile, from Ch'eng-tu area, Szechwan
Fig. 1.26 a,b	Seated Buddha and two attendants, base of a "money tree" from a tomb at P'eng-shan, Szechwan
Fig. 1.27	Seated Buddha triad, Jamalpur Mound, Mathurā
Fig. 1.28	Seated Buddha with attendants, Bukhara I, Swat

Fig. 1.29	Head, clay, from Khotan
Fig. 1.30 a-d	Reliefs (ink rubbing), from Tomb No. 1, Ho-ch'uan hsien, Szechwan
Fig. 1.31 a-g	Fragments from a "money tree", Tomb HM1, Ho-chia shan, Mien-yang, Szechwan
Fig. 1.32	Seated Buddha, fragment from a money tree, Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto
Fig. 1.33 a	Lintel with Buddhist reliefs, Mathurā
Fig. 1.33 b	Seated Buddha and attendants, Butkara I, Swat
Fig. 1.34 a,b	Clay tile and rubbing with design of lou-ko-t'a (storied pagoda), from Shih-fang, Szechwan
Fig. 1.35 a	Relief of a storied shrine, railing pillar, Mathurā
Fig. 1.35 b	Relief fragment from image pedestal, Mathurā
Fig. 1.35 c	Relief from center of image pedestal, Mathurā
Fig. 1.35 d	Relief of shrine worshipped by two attendants, from a torana crossbeam, Mathurā
Fig. 1.35 e	Relief fragment with tower shrine and two monks, Mathurā
Fig. 1.36	Relief, Gandhāra
Fig. 1.37 a-e	Brick tomb, Lei-t'ai terrace, Wu Wei, Kansu
Fig. 1.37 f-i	Various Later Han tomb ceilings with lotus design
Fig. 1.37 j,k	Tomb ceilings with painted lotus
Fig. 1.38	Miniature Buddhist Shrine, Asian Art Museum, San Francisco
Fig. 1.39	Back side of Fig. 1.38 with Buddha's life scenes
Fig. 1.40	Top of a gable relief, Gandhāra
Fig. 1.41	Buddhas of the Past and Maitreya, Mathurā
Fig. 1.42	Stupa slab with Buddha and attendants, Amarāvatī
Fig. 1.43 a	Relief of veiled women, Palmyra, Syria
Fig. 1.43 b	Relief, tomb at I-nan, Shantung
Fig. 1.44	Flame-shouldered Buddha, Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Harvard University
Fig. 1.45	Three-quarters view of Fig. 1.44
Fig. 1.46	Charioteer, site of tomb of Shih Huang-ti, near Sian
Fig. 1.47	Sculpture of man playing a ch'in (zither), from a tomb in O-mei hsien, central Szechwan
Fig. 1.48	Seated Buddha, dated 338 A.D., Asian Art Museum, San Francisco
Fig. 1.49	Seated Buddha with flaming shoulders, from Paitava, Afghanistan
Fig. 1.50 a	Seated Buddha, from Śrāvastī, Mathurā
Fig. 1.50 b	Detail of ceramic vessel (hun-p'ing)
Fig. 1.51	Statue of Ubal, Hatra, Iraq
Fig. 1.52	Detail of Fig. 1.51

Fig. 1.53 Relief with Buddha and attendants, Butkara I, Swat
Fig. 1.54 a,b Seated Buddhas from Kauśambī
Fig. 1.55 Relief of Cakravartin, Amarāvatī
Fig. 1.56 Plaque with trees and animals, from Ordos
Fig. 1.57 a Reliquary of Kaniṣka, Shah-ji-ki-Dheri, Gandhāra
Fig. 1.57 b Relief of Hsi-wang-mu, from a stone coffin, P'i- hsien, Szechwan
Fig. 1.58 Face of the Harvard Buddha in Fig. 1.44.
Fig. 1.59 Head of a warrior, Khalchayan, southern Uzbekistan
Fig. 1.60 Detail of male head from furniture leg, Niya, Shan- shan kingdom
Fig. 1.61 Three-quarter view of the head of the Harvard Buddha in Fig. 1.44.
Fig. 1.62 Head of warrior with cuirass, Khalchayan, southern Uzbekistan
Fig. 1.63 a Bust of a man, obverse of a so-called "Heraus" (or "Heraios") coin
Fig. 1.63 b Warrior from the tomb of Ch'in Shih Huang-ti, near Sian
Fig. 1.64 Top of head and uṣṇīṣa of Harvard Buddha in Fig. 1.44
Fig. 1.65 a Side view of the Harvard Buddha in Fig. 1.44
Fig. 1.65 b Side view of a king or prince with pointed cap, Dalverzin-tepe, southern Uzbekistan
Fig. 1.66 Back of the Harvard Buddha in Fig. 1.44
Fig. 1.67 Bottom of the Harvard Buddha in Fig. 1.44
Fig. 1.68 Lion in pedestal of the Harvard Buddha in Fig. 1.44
Fig. 1.69 Fragment of a lion pedestal, Gandhāra
Fig. 1.70 a,b Clay tiles from Buddhist monastery at Harwan, Kashmir
Fig. 1.70 c,d Carved ivory, from Begram, Afghanistan
Fig. 1.71 Left Donor, pedestal of Harvard Buddha in Fig. 1.44
Fig. 1.72 a,b Ink rubbing of a relief, Wu family shrine, Shantung
Fig. 1.73 Donor with lamp, Butkara I, Swat
Fig. 1.74 Fragment of a relief showing monk and secular donors, Sahri-Bahlol, Gandhāra
Fig. 1.75 Relief on an image pedestal, Gandhāra
Fig. 1.76 Right Donor, pedestal of the Harvard Buddha in Fig. 1.44
Fig. 1.77 Drawing of the two donors on the pedestal of the Harvard Buddha in Fig. 1.44
Fig. 1.78 Flame-shouldered Buddha from near Kabul
Fig. 1.79 Fragment of Buddha with flame-shoulders and round halo, Gandhāra
Fig. 1.80 Standing Buddha with flaming shoulders, Mathurā

Chapter 2

Map 2.1 Three Kingdoms (Wei, Wu, Shu-Han) 220-265 A.D.
Map 2.2 Western Chin (265-317 A.D.)

Fig. 2.1	Shards of Buddhas, Nanking, Wu kingdom
Fig. 2.2	Vessel with Buddha motif, Shao-hsing, Kiangsu
Fig. 2.3	Vessel with Buddha, Sheng hsien, Chekiang
Fig. 2.4 a,b	Vessel with Buddha, Nanking, Kiangsu
Fig. 2.5	Hun-p'ing funerary urn, Nanking
Fig. 2.6	Hun-p'ing furerary urn, Wu-hsien, Kiangsu
Fig. 2.7	Hun-p'ing funerary urn, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
Fig. 2.8 a,b	Hun-p'ing funerary urn, Hang chou Municipal Museum
Fig. 2.9 a,b	Social Gathering (ink rubbing), from shrine at T'ung shan, Hung-lou (near Hsü chou), Kiangsu
Fig. 2.10 a	Buddha, Yüeh ware ceramic sherd, The British Museum
Fig. 2.10 b	Head of a man, wall painting fragment, M III, Miran site
Fig. 2.11	Buddha, from Jauliāñ, Taxila
Fig. 2.12 a,b,c	Shen-shou bronze mirror with triangular rim (Type A) from a tomb in Shinyama, Nara prefecture, Japan
Fig. 2.13	Shen-shou bronze mirror with flat rim (Type B), from E-ch'eng, Hupei
Fig. 2.14	K'uei-feng bronze mirror with Buddhas and Contemplative Bodhisattva, from E-ch'eng, Hupei
Fig. 2.15	K'uei-feng bronze mirror with Buddhas and Contemplative Bodhisattva, Tokyo National Museum
Fig. 2.16 a,b	K'uei-feng bronze mirror with Buddhas and apsaras, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
2.17 a	K'uei-feng bronze mirror with one seated Buddhalike figure on a lotus, E-ch'eng, Hupei
Fig. 2.17 b,c	Chinese silk from Palmyra, Syria
Fig. 2.18 a,b	Small Buddhas from bronze money trees, Szechwan
Fig. 2.19	Buckle with figure of a Bodhisattva, Wu-ch'ang, Hupei
Fig. 2.20	Painting on a brick, Tomb No. 5, Chiu-ch'üan, Kansu
Fig. 2.21	Brick with standing Buddha figures, Shao-hsing, Chekiang
Fig. 2.22 a,b	Brick with Buddhas and apsaras figures, Hsü-i hsien, Kiangsu
Fig. 2.23	Brick tile with figure holding vessel and crescent moon, P'ing-an, Ch'ing-hai
Fig. 2.24	Detail from the crossbar of a torana, Mathurā
Fig. 2.25	Standing pottery figure, Chung hsien, Szechwan
Fig. 2.26 a,b,c	Gilt bronze Buddha, Tokyo National Museum
Fig. 2.27	Buddha from a money tree, Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto
Fig. 2.28 a,b	Seated gilt bronze Buddha, dated 338 A.D., Asian Art Museum, San Francisco

Fig. 2.29 Gilt bronze Buddha, formerly in the Fujiki Collection
Fig. 2.30 a Seated Buddha, from Anyor
Fig. 2.30 b Seated Buddha, Mathurā
Fig. 2.30 c Fragment of a seated Buddha, Butkara I, Swat
Fig. 2.31 Small stupa, Japan
Fig. 2.32 a-g Gilt bronze standing Bodhisattva, probably Maitreya, Fujii Yūrinkan Museum, Kyoto
Fig. 2.33 Detail of female figure from a bronze lamp
Fig. 2.34 Fragment of a wall hanging with group of horsemen, Noin Ula, Mongolia,
Fig. 2.35 Standing Bodhisattva, Gandhāra, Peshawar Museum
Fig. 2.36 Brahmins, from the Viśvāntara-Jātaka frieze, wall painting, stupa shrine M III, Miran site
Fig. 2.37 Scene with two male seated figures, wall painting from stupa shrine M III, Miran site
Fig. 2.38 Upper body of Fig. 2.32
Fig. 2.39 Head of a male, Toprak Kala, Khorezm, Uzbekistan
Fig. 2.40 Female in garland swag, wall painting from stupa shrine M V, Miran site
Fig. 2.41 Seated Maitreya Bodhisattva, Shotorak, Afghanistan
Fig. 2.41 a Fragment of a male worshipper, relief, Butkara I, Swat
Fig. 2.41 b Detail of the prince in the Viśvāntara-Jātaka, stupa shrine M III, Miran site
Fig. 2.43 Gable with preaching Buddha, Maitreya Bodhisattva (above) and Seven Buddhas of the Past with Maitreya Bodhisattva (below), Gandhāra
Fig. 2.44 Gilt bronze standing Bodhisattva (probably Maitreya)

Chapter 3

Map 3.1 The Silk Routes in Central Asia
Map 3.2 Western Central Asia (Transoxiana)
Map 3.3 Termez Area (Northern Bactria)
Map 3.4 Southern Bactria and the Hindu Kush Area

Fig. 3.1 a,b Reconstruction of the Palace at Khalchayan, southern Uzbekistan
Fig. 3.2 a,b,c Drawing of the sculptural freizes, reception hall, palace at Khalchayan
Fig. 3.3 Seated male figure, Khalchayan
Fig. 3.4 Statue of a Prince, Shami, Iran

Fig. 3.5	Prince with Armour, Khalchayan
Fig. 3.6	Silver medallion with Tyche, from Termez
Fig. 3.7 a	Plan of the Buddhist Temple Site, Airtam
Fig. 3.7 b	Plan and elevation of stupas from the stupa complex, Airtam
Fig. 3.8	Figure from the limestone frieze, vestibule of the Buddhist temple, Airtam
Fig. 3.9	Funerary Relief, from Palmyra, Syria
Fig. 3.10	Stele fragment with inscription, Airtam
Fig. 3.11	Plan of the site with caves and temples, Kara-tepe
Fig. 3.12 a,b	Drawing and reconstruction of a stupa painting, Complex B, Kara-tepe
Fig. 3.13 a-d	Buddha with monks, wall painting, Complex B, Kara- tepe
Fig. 3.14	Stupa remains, Complex C, Kara-tepe
Fig. 3.15	Fragment of a seated Buddha, Complex C, Kara-tepe
Fig. 3.16 a	Seated Buddha, Complex D, Kara-tepe
Fig. 3.16 b	Niche with Buddha and attendants, Kalawān, Taxila
Fig. 3.16 c	Seated Buddha, Mohṛā Morādu, Taxila
Fig. 3.16 d	Standing Buddha, from Chārsada (Haṣṭnagar), Gandhāra
Fig. 3.17	Drawing of the painting of Buddha in meditation with flame halo, Complex D, Kara-tepe
Fig. 3.18 a	Drawing of wall paintings, Complex D, Kara-tepe
Fig. 3.18 b	Relief of Buddhas and figures, Kabul Museum
Fig. 3.19 a	Excavation site of the Fayaz-tepe monastery, near Termez
Fig. 3.19 b,c	Plan and reconstruction of the site at Fayaz-tepe
Fig. 3.20	Main stupa, Fayaz-tepe
Fig. 3.21	Small stupa at Fayaz-tepe
Fig. 3.22	Drawing of a wall painting of two Buddhas and three women, Fayaz-tepe
Fig. 3.23	Male worshipping figures, fragment of wall painting, Fayaz-tepe
Fig. 3.24	Niche with Buddha and two monks, Fayaz-tepe
Fig. 3.25 a,b	Pedestal of standing Buddha image, from Shotorak, Afghanistan
Fig. 3.26	Buddha's Enlightenment, Gandhāra, Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.
Fig. 3.27	Stucco Buddha head, Fayaz-tepe
Fig. 3.28	Plan of Buddhist Temple No. 1, Dalverzin-tepe
Fig. 3.29	Head of a man (probably a king or prince) with pointed hat, Dalverzin-tepe
Fig. 3.30 a,b	Standing male, Dalverzin-tepe
Fig. 3.31	Plan of Buddhist Temple No. 2, Dalverzin-tepe

Fig. 3.32	Head of a Buddha, Dalverzin-tepe
Fig. 3.33 a	Lower part of a Standing Buddha, Dalverzin-tepe,
Fig. 3.33 b	Wall painting, Synagogue, Dura Europos
Fig. 3.34	Head of a man, Dalverzin-tepe
Fig. 3.35 a,b	Bodhisattva torso, Dalverzin-tepe
Fig. 3.36	Standing Bodhisattva, Dalverzin-tepe
Fig. 3.37	Painting of Bodhisattva, Dalverzin-tepe
Fig. 3.38 a	Fragment of a seated Buddha, from Termez
Fig. 3.38 b	Seated Buddha, from Sāñchī, Sāñchī Museum
Fig. 3.39	Plan and reconstruction drawing of Koy-krylgan Kala, Khorezm, Uzbekistan
Fig. 3.40 a	Funerary Urn (ossuary) in the form of a seated man, from Koy-krylgan Kala, Khorezm
Fig. 3.40 b	Priests, wall painting from the Temple of Bel, Dura Europos
Fig. 3.41	Male statue, possibly of Caṣṭana, from the Temple of Māṭ, Mathurā
Fig. 3.42	Reconstruction drawing of Toprak Kala, Khorezm
Fig. 3.43	Drawing of interior of the Hall of Victories (reconstruction), Palace, Toprak Kala, Khorezm
Fig. 3.44	Male head, Palace, Toprak Kala
Fig. 3.45	Standing female, Palace, Toprak Kala
Fig. 3.46	Head of a warrior, Palace, Toprak Kala
Fig. 3.47 a,b,c	Wall paintings, Toprak Kala, Khorezm
Fig. 3.48	View of the principal cliff, Bāmiyān, Afghanistan
Fig. 3.49	North Wall, Cave 24, Bāmiyān
Fig. 3.50	Detail, north wall, Cave 24, Bāmiyān
Fig. 3.51	Vajrapāṇi, wall painting, north wall, Cave 24, Bāmiyān
Fig. 3.52	Bodhisattvas, wall painting, west wall, Cave 24, Bāmiyān
Fig. 3.53	Plan and elevation, Cave 51, Bāmiyān
Fig. 3.54	Male head, Cave 51, Bāmiyān, Kabul Museum
Fig. 3.55 a	Watercolor painting by J. Carl (June, 1930), north side of the ceiling, Cave 51 (Grotte G), Bāmiyān
Fig. 3.55 b	Seated Buddha, Cave 51, Bāmiyān, Musée Guimet, Paris
Fig. 3.55 c	Statue of Aelia Flaccilla (died 388), Queen of Emperor Theodosius I, Constantinople, Bibliothèque National, Paris
Fig. 3.55 d	Seated Buddha, probably from Bajaur, Pakistan
Fig. 3.55 e	Seated Buddha, dated 453 A.D., Northern Wei
Fig. 3.55 f	Shen-shou bronze mirror, excavated from a tumulus in Kaichi, Sonobe, Kyoto
Fig. 3.56	Drawing of design on steps of the stupa, Cave 51, Bāmiyān

Fig. 3.57 a,b	Fragments of wall paintings said to be from Cave 51, Bāmiyān
Fig. 3.57 c	Detail of a Bodhisattva, wall painting, Cave 169, Ping-ling ssu, Kansu
Fig. 3.58	West tambour, Cave 129, Bāmiyān
Fig. 3.59	Detail of the flame-shouldered Buddha, west tambour, Cave 129, Bāmiyān
Fig. 3.60	Master of the tomb, wall painting, Tŏkhungri, North Korea, dated 408 A.D.
Fig. 3.61	Bronze Bodhisattva (Maitreya?), from Taxila
Fig. 3.62	Buddhas in squinch arches, southeast corner, Cave 129, Bāmiyān
Fig. 3.63	Detail of one of the seated 1,000 Buddhas, Cave 152, Bāmiyān
Fig. 3.64	Buddha statue, from Mahā Stupa at Devnimori, Gujarat, India
Fig. 3.65 a,b	Section and ceiling design, Cave 140, Bāmiyān
Fig. 3.66	Head of Buddha, wall painting, Cave 140, Bāmiyān
Fig. 3.67 a,b	Upper part of three niches, wall paintings, Cave 140, Bāmiyān
Fig. 3.68 a,b	Wall paintings, forecourt, Cave 165, Bāmiyān
Fig. 3.69	Interior of the main hall, Cave 165, Bāmiyān
Fig. 3.70	Ceiling, Cave 165, Bāmiyān
Fig. 3.71	Eastern Great Buddha, Cave 155, Bāmiyān
Fig. 3.72 a	Detail of Eastern Great Buddha's inner robe, Cave 155, Bāmiyān
Fig. 3.72 b	Detail of Eastern Great Buddha's head, Cave 155, Bāmiyān
Fig. 3.73	Great Miracle of Śrāvastī, from Paitava, Afghanistan, Musée Guimet, Paris
Fig. 3.74	Lower register of the funerary triclinium of Maqqai, Hypogeum of Atenatan, Palymyra, Syria
Fig. 3.75	Detail of relief of investiture of King Narsah (293 - 302 A.D.), Naqsh-i-Rustam, Iran
Fig. 3.76	Standing Buddha, Gandhāra
Fig. 3.77	Maitreya Buddha, dated 443 A.D., Northern Wei
Fig. 3.78 a	Standing Buddha, Niche No. 1, Ping-ling ssu, Kansu
Fig. 3.78 b	Bodhisattva, group 17, Cave 169, Ping-ling ssu, Kansu
Fig. 3.79	Base of the obelisk of Theodosius, Hippodrome area, Istanbul
Fig. 3.80 a	Figures from the east wall of the vault, wall painting, Cave 155, Bāmiyān
Fig. 3.80 b	Detail of crowned and caped Buddha from Fig. 3.80a
Fig. 3.81	Portrait of Tongsu, wall painting, Tomb No. 3, Anak (near Pyŏng-yang), North Korea, dated 357 A.D.
Fig. 3.82	Head of a male donor, wall painting, Eastern Great Buddha niche (Cave 155), Bāmiyān

Chapter 4

Map 4.1	Eastern Central Asia
Fig. 4.1	Ruined Stupa at Khakanning-shahri (Tegurman), north of Kashgar
Fig. 4.2 a,b	Mauri Tim Stupa (Moer-t'a), northeast of Kashgar
Fig. 4.3 a-e	Drawing of stupas in the Kashgar area
Fig. 4.4 a-g	Reliquary Stupas from Gandhāra and Mathurā
Fig. 4.4 h	Conjectural sketch of stupa parts according to the *Vinaya Kṣudraka-vastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins
Fig. 4.4 i	Conjectural sketch of stupa parts according to the *Divyāvadāna*
Fig. 4.5 a,b	Elevation and plan of Topa Tim stupa near Mokuila
Fig. 4.6 a	Terracotta Serapis and Harpocrates, from Khotan
Fig. 4.6 b	Young Herakles, terracotta, from Yotkan (Khotan)
Fig. 4.6 c	Sino-Kharoṣṭhī coin, from Khotan
Fig. 4.7 a,b	Gilt bronze Buddha head, from Khotan
Fig. 4.7 c	Male figure, fragment of wall painting from Miran
Fig. 4.7 d	Gilt bronze Buddha head with fragmentary halo, Khotan
Fig. 4.7 e	Head of a woman with headband, Dalverzin-tepe
Fig. 4.7 f	Head of a Buddha, Butkara I, Swat
Fig. 4.7 g	Silver gilt plate with Shapur II (309-379 A.D.)
Fig. 4.8	Bronze standing Bodhisattva, from Khotan
Fig. 4.9	Top of a minatiure steatite stupa, from Yotkan
Fig. 4.10 a	Clay Buddha head, from Khotan
Fig. 4.10 b	Detail of the head of Amitāyus Buddha, Group 6, Cave 169, Ping-ling ssu cave temples, Kansu
Fig. 4.11	Fragment of a patterned woven woollen textile with head of a man, from a tomb at Sampula
Fig. 4.12 a,b	Plain woollen trousers, from tomb M4 at Yin-pan, Wei-li hsien, Sinkiang
Fig. 4.12 c	Figures in Parthian dress, wall painting, synagogue, Dura Europos, Syria
Fig. 4.12 d	Head of a male from Khalchayan
Fig. 4.13	Fragment of a patterned woven woollen textile with design of centaur, Sampula
Fig. 4.14 a,b,c	Relief with centaurs, Gandhāra; bronze flying horse, from Wu-wei, Kansu; underside of a capital, from Niya
Fig. 4.15 a	Fragment of wax-resist dyed cotton, Sampula
Fig. 4.15 b	Two clay tiles with Kharoṣṭhī numerals, Harwan, Kashmir

Fig. 4.15 c	Fragment of warp-faced compound tabby silk, from Shampula
Fig. 4.16	View of stupa site at Rawak (northeast of Khotan)
Fig. 4.17	View of Rawak stupa from the southeast entrance
Fig. 4.18	View of Rawak stupa with surviving moulding
Fig. 4.19	Rawak Stupa, 1928
Fig. 4.20 a	Plan of Rawak Stupa
Fig. 4.20 b	Plan and elevation of Rawak Stupa
Fig. 4.20 c	Section of Rawak Stupa
Fig. 4.20 d	Reconstruction drawing of Rawak Stupa
Fig. 4.20 e	Arial view of Rawak Stupa
Fig. 4.20 f	Conjectural drawing of Rawak Stupa
Fig. 4.21 a	Plan of Kaniṣka's Stupa, Shah-ji-ki-dheri
Fig. 4.21 b	Small cruciform stupa to the east of the Great Stupa at Shah-ji-ki-dheri
Fig. 4.22 a,b	Reconstruction and plan of Stupa of Top-i-Rustam, near Balkh, Afghanistan
Fig. 4.23 a,b	View and plan of Bhamāla Stupa, Taxila
Fig. 4.24 a,b	View and plan of Chaṅkuṇa's Stupa, Parihāsapura, Kashmir
Fig. 4.25 a-h	Reliquary Stupas
Fig. 4.26	Diagram of sculptures in Rawak Stupa Court
Fig. 4.27	Buddhist Sculptures (R.1-R.5), Rawak Stupa Court
Fig. 4.28	Buddhist Sculptures (R.8-R.12), Rawak Stupa Court
Fig. 4.29	Detail of Standing Buddha R.9, Rawak Stupa Court
Fig. 4.30	Standing Buddha from Govindnagar, Mathurā
Fig. 4.31	Standing Buddha from Govindnagar, dated 434 A.D., Mathurā
Fig. 4.32 a,b	Stucco Buddhas, Jauliāñ Monastery, Taxila
Fig. 4.32 c	Relief of Christ and Two Apostles, Asia Minor
Fig. 4.33	Buddhist Sculptures (R.10-R.12), Rawak Stupa Court
Fig. 4.34 a	Buddha from halo of R.12, Rawak Stupa Court
Fig. 4.34 b	Male head, Toprak Kala, Khorezm, Uzbekistan
Fig. 4.35	Buddhas R.12 and R.13, Rawak Stupa Court
Fig. 4.36	Buddha head, from Rawak, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
Fig. 4.37	Facade of the Great Grotto, Taq-i-Bustan, near Kermanshah, western Iran
Fig. 4.38	Sculptures at the southeast entrance, Rawak Stupa Court
Fig. 4.39	Sculptures at the southeast entrance, Rawak Stupa Court
Fig. 4.40	Earth Goddess R.27.i, from Rawak, The British Museum, London
Fig. 4.41	Bas-relief of Zeus Kyrios, Dura Europos, Syria
Fig. 4.42	Buddhist Sculptures R.31-R.34, Rawak Stupa Court
Fig. 4.43	Sculptures R.42 and R.43, Rawak Stupa Court

Fig. 4.44 a Dīpaṃkara Buddha, probably from Swat, Pakistan
Fig. 4.44 b Relief of a standing Buddha and worshippers, Butkara I, Swat, Pakistan
Fig. 4.44 c Statue of the Four Tetrarchs, Venice, Italy
Fig. 4.45 Two Buddhas and a Bodhisattva, Butkara I Stupa site, Swat, Pakistan
Fig. 4.46 Bronze Maitreya Buddha, dated 443 A.D., Northern Wei
Fig. 4.47 Sculptures R.49-R.51, Rawak
Fig. 4.48 Gilt bronze Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva, dated 498 A.D., Northern Wei
Fig. 4.49 Sculptures R.56-R.61, Rawak
Fig. 4.50 Sculptures R.59-R.63, Rawak
Fig. 4.51 Sculptures R.45-R.47, Rawak
Fig. 4.52 Standing Buddha, from Shotorak, Afghanistan,
Fig. 4.53 Standing Buddha, Group 9, Cave 169, Ping-ling ssu, Kansu
Fig. 4.54 View of south corner, outer side of enclosure wall and outer passage wall, Rawak
Fig. 4.55 Buddha sculptures (D.1-D.3), outside southwest enclosure wall (north side), Rawak
Fig. 4.56 Gilt bronze standing Buddha, dated 471 A.D., Northern Wei
Fig. 4.57 Buddha D.10, outside southwest enclosure wall, Rawak
Fig. 4.58 Gilt bronze seated Buddha, dated 477 A.D., Northern Wei
Fig. 4.59 Buddhas D.11 and D.12, outside southwest enclosure wall (north side), Rawak
Fig. 4.60 Buddhas D.17-D.19, outside southwest enclosure wall (north side), Rawak
Fig. 4.61 Buddha D.19, outside southwest enclosure wall (north side), Rawak
Fig. 4.62 a Head of Buddha D.17, Rawak, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
Fig. 4.62 b,c Head of Buddha D.19, Rawak, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
Fig. 4.62 d Dish with the Triumph of Emperor Constantius II, Kerch, Crimea, The State Hermitage, St. Petersburg
Fig. 4.63 a Head of Buddha R.vi.1, Rawak, The British Museum
Fig. 4.63 b Head of Buddha R.ii.1, Rawak, The British Museum
Fig. 4.63 c Detail of standing Buddha, Northern Wei
Fig. 4.64 a Buddha from the halo of Buddha D.17, Rawak
Fig. 4.64 b Buddha from the halo of Buddha D.19, Rawak
Fig. 4.65 Base of a statue, figures of Maitreya Bodhisattva and worshippers, from Afghanistan

Fig. 4.66 a Halo fragment D.30, Rawak
Fig. 4.66 b Coin of Alexander the Great minted by Ptolemy I, with eagle-bearing Zeus on the reverse
Fig. 4.66 c Coin of king Nahapāna, reverse with arrow and thunderbolt, Kharoṣṭhī and Brāhmī script
Fig. 4.67 Seated Buddha R.25.iii, Rawak, The British Museum
Fig. 4.68 a,b,c Details of "transformation Buddhas" from halos at Rawak
Fig. 4.68 d Cross-ankled Buddha, probably from Rawak, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
Fig. 4.68 e Fragments of three seated Buddhas, from Khotan
Fig. 4.69 Two Buddha heads from Rawak, The British Museum
Fig. 4.70 Sculptures R.1-R.5, Rawak
Fig. 4.71 Contemplative Bodhisattva, dated 443 A.D., Northern Wei
Fig. 4.72 Head of Bodhisattva R.4.i, Rawak
Fig. 4.73 a,b Head of Bodhisattva D.28
Fig. 4.74 Head of a Yakṣī, from Haḍḍa, Afghanistan, Musée Guimet, Paris
Fig. 4.75 Stone lion, from Amarāvatī
Fig. 4.76 Jātaka, wall painting, Cave 275, Tun-huang
Fig. 4.77 Lower part of Bodhisattva R.85, outer passage wall, Rawak
Fig. 4.78 a,b Fragments of Bodhisattvas, Rawak
Fig. 4.79 Remains of stucco images, Dharmarājika Stupa, Taxila
Fig. 4.80 Hārītī, from Skarah Dherī, Gandhāra
Fig. 4.81 Bust of Sabdibol, from Palmyra, Syria
Fig. 4.82 Male figure, from Motya, western Sicily
Fig. 4.83 a,b Painting of a guardian(?), Rawak
Fig. 4.84 a Seated Buddha from Ak-terek, National Museum, New Delhi
Fig. 4.84 b Seated Buddha, from Mathurā, Indian Museum, Calcutta
Fig. 4.85 a,b Ruined temple site (KRD 61), Kara-dong (near Keriya)
Fig. 4.85 c,d Wall paintings, temple KRD 61, Kara-dong
Fig. 4.86 Fragment of a Buddha head, wall painting, temple KRD 61, Kara-dong
Fig. 4.87 a-d Drawings of small painted Buddha fragments, temple KRD 61, Kara-dong
Fig. 4.88 Buddha with two attendants, wall painting, Cave 169, Ping-ling ssu, Kansu

Chapter 5

Map 5.1	Shan-shan Kingdom (Niya-Lou-lan)
Fig. 5.1 a	View of Niya site
Fig. 5.1 b-e	The Stupa at Niya
Fig. 5.1 f	Wooden stupa from Niya
Fig. 5.2 a-c	Carved wooden lintel, Niya, National Museum, New Delhi
Fig. 5.2 d	Plaque with relief carving of elephant and griffin- like animal, from Niya
Fig. 5.2 e	Gold bracelet, from near Kertch, Crimea
Fig. 5.2 f	Incense burner, from Sirkap, Taxila
Fig. 5.2 g	Fragment of a seated Bodhisattva and pedestal with inscription recording Ksatrapa, Mathurā
Fig. 5.3	Carved wooden table (or altar), from Niya, The British Museum
Fig. 5.4	Pair of painted furniture legs, from Niya, The British Museum
Fig. 5.5 a,b	Wooden double wedge-shaped tablet with Kharoṣṭhī script and oval seal, from Niya, The British Museum
Fig. 5.5 c	Rectangular double wooden tablet with clay seal and Kharoṣṭhī script, from Niya
Fig. 5.6	Wall painting with banner design, (N. III), Niya
Fig. 5.7 a,b	Fragment of cotton batik textile with goddess with cornucopia, from tomb 59MNM 001, Niya
Fig. 5.8	Man's brocade coat, from tomb 59MNM 001, Niya
Fig. 5.9	Patterned silk hand cover, from tomb 59MNM 001, Niya
Fig. 5.10 a-d	The stupa at Endere
Fig. 5.10 e	Relief with stupa and pillar, probably from Swat
Fig. 5.10 f	Stupas at Amluk-darrah and Abbasahebchina, Swat
Fig. 5.11	Wooden pillars, Endere site
Fig. 5.12	Map of the Miran site
Fig. 5.13	View of Miran showing remains of M III-M V
Fig. 5.14	Shrine M III, Miran
Fig. 5.15 a,b	Reliefs of a stupa within a shrine (chaitya)
Fig. 5.16	Plan and elevation, Stupa Shrine M III, Miran
Fig. 5.17	Plan and elevation, Stupa Shrine M V, Miran
Fig. 5.18	Stupa Shrine M III, Miran
Fig. 5.19 a-d	Reliquary Stupas from Swat and Taxila
Fig. 5.20	Winged figure, wall painting, M III, Miran

Fig. 5.21	Portrait of Septimius Severus, Julia Domna and Caracalla (Geta expunged), 199 A.D., from Egypt
Fig. 5.22	Fragments of fallen wall painting, M III, Miran
Fig. 5.23 a	Two seated male figures, wall painting, MIII, Miran, National Museum, New Delhi
Fig. 5.23 b	Figural Relief, Butkara I, Swat, Pakistan
Fig. 5.24 a,b,c	Fragment of a wall painting of Buddha and Disciples, M III, Miran, National Museum, New Delhi
Fig. 5.25	Fragments of wall painting, M III, Miran
Fig. 5.26 a	Lower part of standing figure with loin cloth, wall painting, M III, Miran
Fig. 5.26 b	Fragments of wall painting from M III, Miran
Fig. 5.27 a,b	Paintings from Dura Europos, Syria
Fig. 5.28	View of Stupa Shrine M V, Miran
Fig. 5.29	Fragment of *in situ* wall painting with griffins and winged angels, Stupa Shrine M V, Miran
Fig. 5.30 a	Fragment of a winged figure, probably from M V, Miran
Fig. 5.30 b	Head of a Buddha, wall painting fragment, from temple 21B, Kara-dong (near Khotan)
Fig. 5.31	Fragment of Garland Bearers, from M V, Miran, National Museum, New Delhi
Fig. 5.32	Viśvāntara-Jātaka wall painting M V, Miran
Fig. 5.33	Bronze horse, late Eastern (Later) Han
Fig. 5.34 a,b	Wall paintings, Dura Europos, Syria
Fig. 5.34 c	Relief, from Gandhāra
Fig. 5.35	Viśvāntara-Jātaka and frieze of Garland Bearers, wall painting, M V, Miran
Fig. 5.36	Four Brahmin figures, Viśvāntara-Jātaka, wall painting, M V, Miran
Fig. 5.37	Guardians, wall painting, M V, Miran
Fig. 5.38	Plan of M II, Miran
Fig. 5.39	Frieze of niches with columns, M II, Miran
Fig. 5.40	Stupa with reliquary, wall painting, Cave 38, Kizil cave temples, Kucha
Fig. 5.41	Colossal seated Buddhas, M II, Miran
Fig. 5.42	Seated Buddha, East Cave, Chin-t'a ssu, Kansu
Fig. 5.43	Seated Buddha, Cave 20, Yün-kang, Ta-t'ung, Shansi
Fig. 5.44	Two colossal Buddha heads, M II, Miran
Fig. 5.45	Colossal Buddha head 3, M II, Miran
Fig. 5.46	Buddha head, from Miran, National Museum, New Delhi
Fig. 5.47 a	Buddha head, Gandhāra, Los Angeles County Museum

Fig. 5.47 b	Bodhisattva, Gandhāra, Royal Ontario Museum
Fig. 5.48	Fragment of a wall painting, Cave 83, Kizil, Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin
Fig. 5.49	Standing Bodhisattva, East Cave, Chin-t'a ssu, Kansu
Fig. 5.50 a	View of M IV, Miran
Fig. 5.50 b	View of M XIV, Miran
Fig. 5.51 a	Head from M XV, Miran
Fig. 5.51 b,c	Colossal Bodhisattva heads, M XV, Miran
Fig. 5.51 d,e	Buddha heads, from Butkara I, Swat
Fig. 5.51 f	Buddha head, fragment of wall painting from Kara-dong (near Khotan)
Fig. 5.52 a	Map of the Lou-lan L.A. and L.B areas
Fig. 5.52 b	Map of Lou-lan vacinity L.A-L.Q.
Fig. 5.52 c	Sven Hedin's map of Lou-lan ch'eng (L.A.)
Fig. 5.52 d	Stein's map of L.A., Lou-lan
Fig. 5.52 e	Map of Lou-lan ch'eng by the Sinkiang Archaeological Investigation Group
Fig. 5.52 f	Aeriel view of L.E., Lou-lan
Fig. 5.52 g	Plan of L.E., Lou-lan
Fig. 5.52 h	Plan of L.F., Lou-lan
Fig. 5.52 i	Plan of L.K., Lou-lan
Fig. 5.53 a	View of Lou-lan L.A. area and Great Stupa
Fig. 5.53 b,c,d	Great Stupa, L.A., Lou-lan
Fig. 5.53 e	Bronze reliquary stupa
Fig. 5.53 f	Stone stupa, from Mathurā, Archaeological Museum, Lucknow
Fig. 5.53 g	One of a pair of bronze stupas, probably Gandhāran, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
Fig. 5.54 a	Ruined beacon tower (or stupa), northwest of Lou- lan city walls
Fig. 5.54 b	Ruined Shrine or Stupa ("FO"), northeast of Lou-lan city walls (L.A.)
Fig. 5.55 a,b,c	Lintel fragment with 4 complete and 2 partial Buddha niches, from L.A., Lou-lan, Folkens Museum Etnografiska, Stockholm
Fig. 5.56	Jamb fragment with two niches, Butkara I, Swat
Fig. 5.57	Carved limestone niche with seated Buddha and two monks, from Fayaz-tepe, southern Uzbekistan
Fig. 5.58	Buddha niche, detail of Fig. 5.55
Fig. 5.59	Niche pillar, detail of Fig. 5.55
Fig. 5.60	Composite drawing of the Buddha niches of Fig. 5.55
Fig. 5.61	Wood carvings from L.B. II, Lou-lan
Fig. 5.62 a	Reconstruction of doorway of L.B. II, Lou-lan

Fig. 5.62 b	Fragment of a stone gable, Gandhāra
Fig. 5.62 c	Doorway of the Building of Eumachia, Pompeii
Fig. 5.63	Assortment of carved woodwork brought from Lou-lan by Sven Hedin
Fig. 5.64 a	Carved wooden beam, from Lou-lan
Fig. 5.64 b	Textile fragment from Tun-huang
Fig. 5.65	Relief from Gandhāra
Fig. 5.66 a	Relief panel, Siddhārtha in Tushita Heaven, from Barikot(?)
Fig. 5.66 b	Assortment of sculptures excavated from Loriyan Tangai, Gandhāra
Fig. 5.67 a-c	Wood carvings from L.B. II, Lou-lan
Fig. 5.68 a-d	Wooden lattice fragments from Lou-lan L.B. sites
Fig. 5.69	Gable with reliefs, from Gandhāra
Fig. 5.70 a-g	Miniature Stupas from Lou-lan
Fig. 5.71	Stucco reliquary stupa, Jauliāñ, Taxila
Fig. 5.72	Vertical jamb fragment with 2 standing Bodhisattva niches, L.B.II, Lou-lan, Folkens Museum Etnografiska, Stockholm
Fig. 5.73 a-c	Guardian sculpture, L.B.II, Lou-lan, Folkens Museum Etnografiska, Stockholm
Fig. 5.74	Clay figurine of a lady, Eastern Chin
Fig. 5.75	Fragment of a cross-ankled figure, from L.B. II, Lou-lan, Folkens Museum Etnografiska, Stockholm
Fig. 5.76 a,b	Carved wooden fragments from L.B. IV, Lou-lan
Fig. 5.77	Rubbing of relief from bricks, Nan-yang, Shantung
Fig. 5.78 a	Carved wooden panel with relief of two figures, L.B. V, Lou-lan, Folkens Museum Etnografiska, Stockholm
Fig. 5.79	Detail of monumental relief of Victory of Ardashir I, Firuzabad, southern Iran
Fig. 5.80 a,b	Plans of L.C., Lou-lan
Fig. 5.81 a,b	Fragments of lacquer ware from Lou-lan sites
Fig. 5.81 c	Carved bone ring, from tomb F2B:2, Lou-lan
Fig. 5.82 a	Woollen fragment with head of Hermes and his caduceus, from L.C., Lou-lan, National Museum, New Delhi
Fig. 5.82 b	Portrait of a young woman, floor mosaic, palace of Shapur I, Bishapur, Iran
Fig. 5.82 c	Linen and wool wall-hanging of Meleager and Atalanta, from Egypt
Fig. 5.83 a,b	Textile with stripes and flower design from a grave site at Lou-lan
Fig. 5.83 c	Mosaic of Dolphins, Delos
Fig. 5.84	Woollen fragment, from MB2 (L.C.), Lou-lan
Fig. 5.85 a,b	Fragment of patterned silk, from Lou-lan

Fig. 5.85 c Fragment of patterned silk with Chinese characters, from Noin Ula, Mongolia
Fig. 5.86 Fragment of warp-faced compound tabby silk (with 8 Chinese characters) and a black ink inscription in Kharoṣṭhī, from tomb MB2:37 (L.C.), Lou-lan
Fig. 5.87 Fragment of patterned silk, from Lou-lan

INTRODUCTION

China's encounter with Buddhism transformed the rich culture of this heartland of eastern Asia to such major proportions that it must be considered one of the most significant developments in Chinese history and its art. The beginnings of Buddhism and Buddhist art in China are obscure and present a challenge to decipher from the existing fragmentary evidences. It is, however, of vital interest to have an understanding of the Buddhist art that appeared during the earliest periods of translation and initial growth of Buddhism in China, namely during the Han, Three Kingdoms and Western Chin, not only for accuracy in our knowledge and to amplify our understanding of the nature of early Buddhism in China, but also to set the firm foundation for understanding the complexities of the periods to follow during the 4th and 5th centuries. Hitherto, pre-Yün-kang (ca. 460's) Chinese Buddhist art has been but vaguely understood and thought to be very sparse in remains, despite the phenomenal developments in Buddhism in China during this time as known from translations and literary sources. However, in the light of new materials and historical studies emerging from China in the last two decades, it is clearly necessary to reassess the art of the early periods.

With regard to uncovering the early history of Buddhism in China, considerable work has been accomplished by scholars, most notably the monumental study by Tsukamoto Zenryū (recently translated into English by L. Hurvitz) and by E. Zürcher. Studies on the Buddhist art of the early periods include A. Soper's *Literary Evidences of Early Buddhist Art in China*, which gathered and addressed the literary data and focused on the iconography, and articles by Japanese scholars, foremost among them Seiichi Mizuno, Yukio Yashirō, Nubuo Kumagai and later, Saburō Matsubara, all of whom wrote before the 1970's and largely focused on the available independent bronze sculptures in museums and private collections outside of China. With little evidence to work from, these pioneering studies nevertheless highlighted these bronze sculptures as China's earliest Buddhist images, estimating them to date from around the late 3rd century (for the Fujii Yūrinkan Bodhisattva) and the 4th century. Recent discoveries in China of Buddhist figures on ceramics, mirrors, money trees, and other tomb items have sparked renewed interest in Buddhist art of the early periods as it related to the tomb art of the Han, Three Kingdoms, Western Chin and Eastern Chin periods. Some scholars termed these items art with Buddhist elements and it began to appear, and indeed was clearly implied and even stated in some cases, that this tomb art with Buddhist elements may have been the art from which the independent

Buddhist bronze sculptures later developed. Some of the tomb items are datable, so they afford important evidences, but it still remains to reconsider the relation of the independent bronze sculptures vis-a-vis these new materials and to determine more securely and accurately the chronology and character of the earliest phases of Buddhist art in China.

The approach which seemed to offer the best opportunity to make some headway in understanding this difficult early period and one which had not yet been systematically used, is a thorough study of the objects within a comprehensive arena, including consideration of the history of Buddhism's movement into China, the translators and translations, detailed study of the art within the context of Chinese art of this period, and, most crucially, the study of the relation of the Chinese Buddhist art with the art of its primary sources, namely the Buddhist art of Central Asia and India, the ultimate sources of the iconography, artistic style and technique. This latter factor, hitherto not rigorously used, appeared to me to be the primary key to unlocking the problems of dating the independent bronze sculpture and their relation with the tomb items, which supply supporting and confirming details, but in themselves are usually not sufficient to establish reasonable or secure ground for determining the dating of the bronze icons. For this reason, this book attempts to carefully assess the related materials in western and eastern Central Asia and in India—a task that benefited from the exceedingly important new materials excavated by the Russians in Transoxiana region of western Central Asia and by the Italians in Swat, northern Pakistan.

Furthermore, it became evident that the critical role played by Central Asia required a thorough study of the art of that area in its own right as well as for its relation to Chinese Buddhist art. Therefore, in this book the art of Transoxiana (western Central Asia) and of the southern Silk Road in Serindia (eastern Central Asia), areas which have particularly profound impact on the Buddhist art of China in its earliest stages, are addressed with an intention to present the materials in a systematic way and to clarify some of the outstanding issues, such as the problem of the different forms of the stupas, the major sculptural programs at Rawak, and the art of the Shan-shan kingdom which had such a vital relation with the Chinese powers at this time. The art of the northern Silk road in eastern Central Asia will appear in the sequel book on the period of the Sixteen Kingdoms (317-439), as it has a closer relation with the Chinese art of that time. It is hoped that the relevance of the Central Asian and Indian sources for the understanding of Chinese Buddhist art of this period will be recognized, and that the reciprocal benefit of this study for the understanding of some Central Asian and Indian art, especially that of Gandhāra, will be perceived. Such a complex and broad fabric of investigation may appear to be a complex and tangled process, and one in which a circular dependency can easily creep in; special care has been taken in this regard. Those cases where the Chinese works can be

independently substantiated for dating are especially helpful to stabilize the dating of some works from Central Asia and Gandhāra, such as the factors pointed out here for some of the Rawak stupa sculptures and for the Eastern Great Buddha at Bāmiyan. It is hoped that this study will bring to life again the art of the Central Asian sites and provide a basis to see their art within the overall complex movements of Buddhist art from India to China in this important, vital, formative period.

PART I

THE BEGINNINGS OF BUDDHISM AND BUDDHIST ART IN CHINA

Part I considers the first two major waves in the establishment of Buddhism and its art in China: the first in the Han dynasty (206 B.C.-220 A.D.) and the second during the period of the Three Kingdoms (220-265) and Western Chin (265-317). Unified after centuries of division by the short-lived, autocratic Ch'in dynasty (220-206 B.C.), China attained its first truly self-conscious, national identity in the subsequent Han dynasty. With settled institutions, government based on the precepts of Confucian values, and policies of expansion beyond the normal borders of China proper, the Han dynasty rose to become a world power. Expansion towards the west was stimulated by the need to counteract encroachments of aggressive and powerful minority groups—so-called barbarian tribes of the Chinese histories—occupying territories to the north of China in Mongolia and to the west in Central Asia. These and other factors led to the opening of China to the West with consequent military and political repercussions and developments in economy, trade, and communication. Along the famous avenues of trade known as the "Silk Routes" that linked China and Central Asia to the West, cultural elements from the great empires of Han China, Parthian and Sassanian Iran, and the Roman Near East and Mediterranean areas sustained centuries of interaction in one of the most fascinating encounters in ancient times.

Along the trade routes came foreign merchants and travelers to China, some of whom brought the knowledge of Buddhism, a religion of India following the teachings of Gautama Buddha (Śākyamuni), the Enlightened One, who had lived and taught ca. 563-483 B.C. From the 3rd century B.C. under the imperial patronage of the Indian emperor Aśoka, Buddhism had flourished and spread throughout the Indian subcontinent. By the 1st century A.D. the older forms of Buddhism, known as Theravāda or Hīnayāna, continued alongside a newer movement known as Mahāyāna. During the Han dynasty period knowledge of both forms of Buddhism spread to the Central Asian oasis centers and to China, where Buddhism encountered the established Chinese philosophical and religious thought, customs, and institutions chiefly related to Confucianism, Taoism, and popular beliefs. As Buddhist ideas and practices, already well advanced in India and in parts of Central Asia, gradually became known in China, the need arose for translations into the Chinese language of the Buddhist texts and for Buddhist images to be used in ritual and for individual religious practice.

As an introduction to the essential role played by Central Asia in the transmission of Buddhism and Buddhist art to China in this early phase, 1st-4th century, the first part of Chapter I briefly summarizes the history of Chinese control over eastern Central Asia (present-day Sinkiang province), stressing the critical role of the strong minor-

ity groups that played more than a peripheral part in the history of China during the 1st to 5th century A.D. Attention is then turned to the early written and artistic evidences of the traces of Buddhism and Buddhist art in Han China and their relation to the Chinese society of the time. Chapter II carries these subjects into the 3rd century with the period of the Three Kingdoms and Western Chin. Though China, and Buddhism in China, suffered a setback with the decline and demise of the Han in the early 3rd century, the subsequent period is in many ways a clear continuation of the late Han movements. However, by the end of the 3rd century under the Western Chin, a second major wave of translations, mainly of Mahāyāna texts, establishes a firmer footing for Buddhism in China, and Buddhist art reaches deeper into the popular culture.

CHAPTER ONE

THE HAN DYNASTY (206 B.C.-220 A.D.)

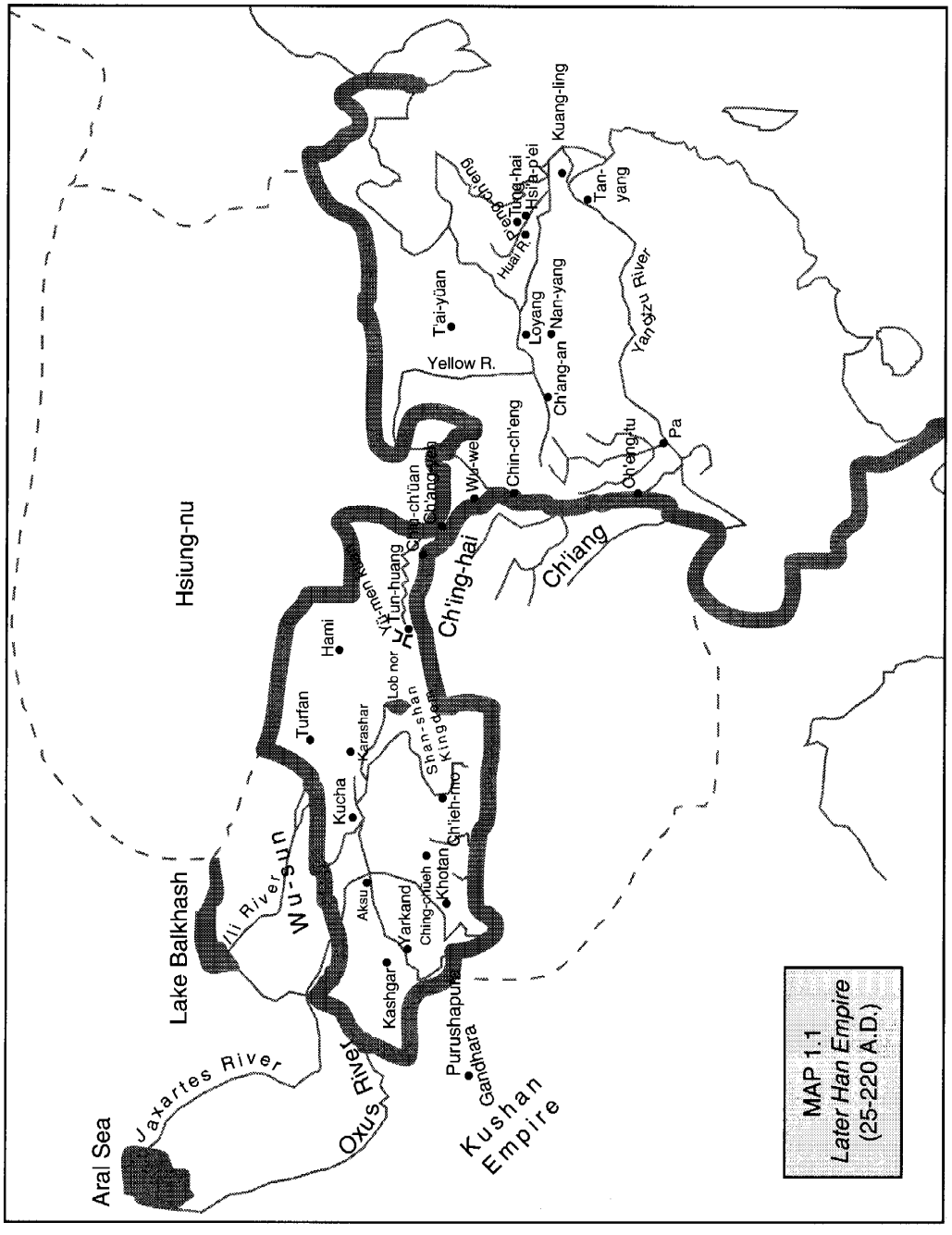
The Han dynasty was a period of spectacular cultural development in China. Based on the traditional thought of the classical past, mainly the ancient classics of History and the *I-Ching* (Classic of Changes), the teachings of Confucius and his major followers, such as Mencius, the philosophy of Lao-tzu and many other notable thinkers, Chinese civilization had reached a high level of achievement in many areas of the arts and sciences. Stimulus from China's contact with the West, begun in the Han, continued to be a major factor throughout Chinese history, and was especially significant during the period under discussion. Because of the critical importance of China's first westward expansion for understanding the thread of the relationship between China and the West throughout this study, we turn first to briefly explicate the character and process of this first serious, state-directed opening to the West, and then to investigate the evidences for the earliest signs of Buddhism and Buddhist art within China proper.

I. The Opening of China to the West

A. *Former (Western) Han (206 B.C.-8 A.D.)*

During the Former Han period China began to aggressively open up and expand beyond its traditional borders to the west, the northeast, and south (Map 1.1).[1] The most concerted effort to control territory towards the west occurred in tandem with attempts to resolve Han conflicts with the powerful Hsiung-nu confederacy, a minority that by the third quarter of the 2nd century B.C. controlled much of the area north of the "Central Plains" (the heartland of China), the entire Kansu corridor in northwest China—the main route to the west—and most of the "Western Regions"

[1] The historical accounts in this section are based primarily on *The Cambridge History of China*, Denis Twitchett and John K. Fairbank, general editors, Cambridge, 1986, Vol. I, from chapter 6, Yü Ying-shih, "Han Foreign Relations", pp. 377-446. (Hereafter: *CHC*); A.F.P. Hulsewé, *China in Central Asia*, The Early Stages: 125 B.C.-A.D. 23, Sinica Leidensia, Vol. XIV, Leiden, 1979; and D. Sinor, ed., *The Cambridge History of Early Inner Asia*, Cambridge, 1990.


Aral Sea
Jaxartes River
Lake Balkhash
Ili River
Wu-sun
Oxus River
Hsiung-nu
Kashgar
Yarkand
Aksu
Khotan
Ching-pu-leh
Kucha
Turfan
Karashar
Lob nor
Shan-shan
Kingdom
Ch'ieh-mo
Hami
Yi-men
Tun-huang
Ch'ing-hai
Ch'iang
Shih-ch'uan
Chiang-mei
Wu-wei
Chin-ch'eng
Ch'eng-tu
Pa
Chang-an
Loyang
Nan-yang
T'ai-yüan
Yellow R.
Yangtzu River
Tan-yang
Kuang-ling
Hsieh-p'ei
Huai R.
Ch'ing-ch'eng
Kushan Empire
Purushapura
Gandhara
MAP 1.1
Later Han Empire
(25-220 A.D.)

(mainly eastern Central Asia, present-day Sinkiang province).[2] The Hsiung-nu had forced the Yüeh-chih, another minority people living in the Kansu region, to flee into Central Asia, north of the T'ien-shan Mountains to the valley of the Ili River near Lake Balkhash (Map 1.2). Meanwhile, the Hsiung-nu continued to harass Chinese northern borders, despite certain treaties with China. By the reign of the great Emperor Wu-ti (r. 141-87 B.C.), the situation had become serious enough to dispatch the envoy Chang Ch'ien 張騫 on a mission to the Great Yüeh-chih (Ta Yüeh-chih 大月支), a branch of the Yüeh-chih that had migrated farther westward and settled in the region of Bactria and Gandhāra (mostly in present-day Afghanistan and Pakistan) around the 2nd-1st century B.C. These Great Yüeh-chih eventually conquered parts of northern India and formed the Kushan dynasty (ca. 1st-3rd century A.D.), famous in history for their support of Buddhism and important in relation to the dissemination of Buddhism to Central Asia and China and for the development of Buddhist art forms influential in the Buddhist art of Central Asia and China. The Han mission under Chang Ch'ien hoped to arrange an alliance with the Great Yüeh-chih against the powerful Hsiung-nu confederation, a mutual enemy. Chang Ch'ien left China on his historic mission probably sometime in the 130's B.C. and returned to China after more than 10 years captivity by the Hsiung-nu and a disappointing rejection by the Great Yüeh-chih of Han plans for an alliance. Nonetheless, Chang Ch'ien's report of the "Western Regions" provided China with its first official accounting of the lands of western (Transoxiana) and eastern (Serindia) Central Asia.[3]

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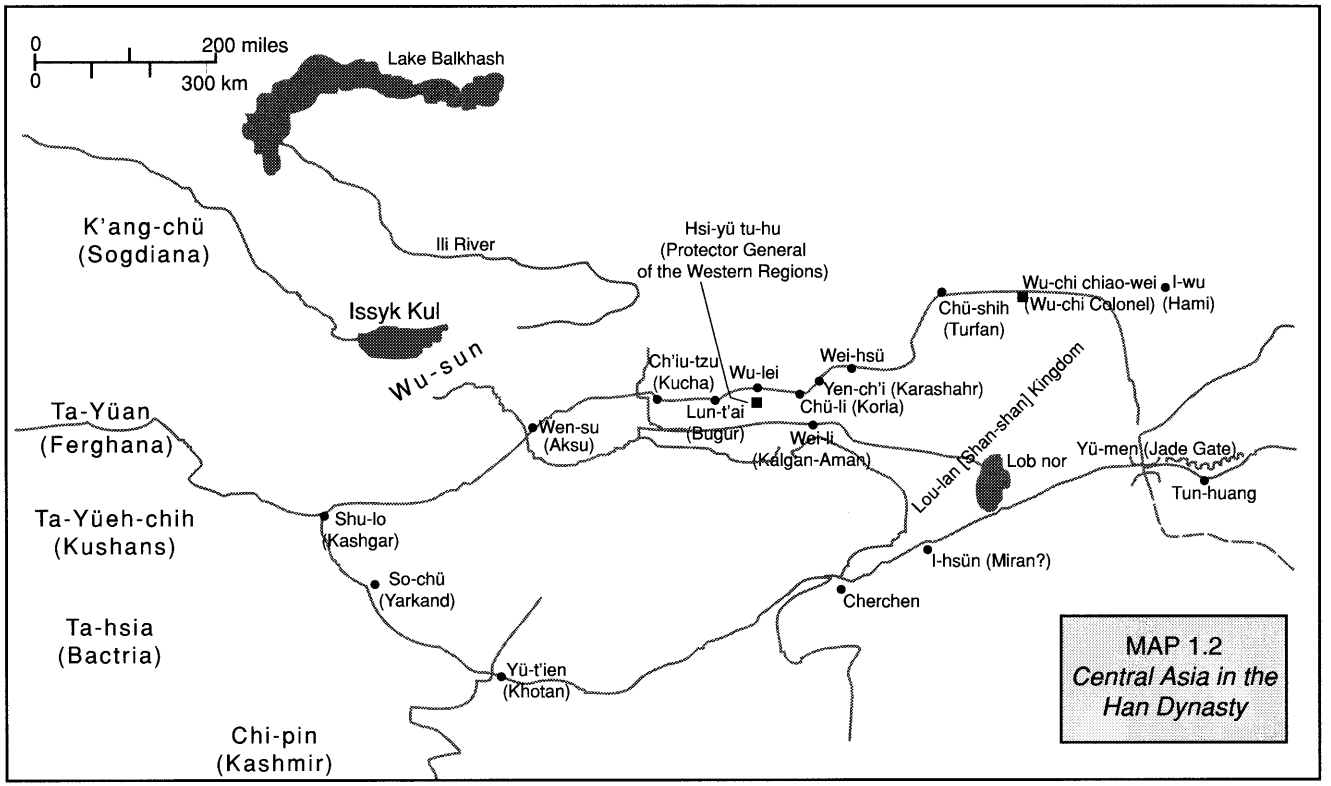
[2] By the term "Western Regions" (hsi-yü 西域) Chinese writings refer generally to all of Central Asia; more often than not, however, the reference is to the eastern part of Central Asia, known by many designations: Serindia, Chinese Turkestan, and presently as the Sinkiang [Xinjiang] Autonomous Region of China. This study makes a distinction between the eastern and western parts of Central Asia whenever possible. Western Central Asia is that part of Central Asia west of the Pamirs, known variously as Transoxiana, the ancient regions of northern Bactria, Korezm, and Sogdiana combined, and more recently as Soviet Turkestan, and now includes the present-day states of Uzbekistan, Tadjikistan and Turkmenistan. Eastern Central Asia is the designation used here for that part of Central Asia east of the Pamirs corresponding to present-day Sinkiang province of China.

[3] The report made by Chang Ch'ien to the Emperor concerning his journey to the western regions is contained in the *Shih-chi* 史記 by Ssu-ma Ch'ien 司馬遷 (probably compiled shortly before 90 B.C.) and in Chapter 61 of the *Han-shu* 漢書 by Pan Ku 班固 (completed ca. 110-121 A.D.). The report is a very brief account, only mentioning the Ta Yüan, Ta Yüeh-chih, Ta Hsia, K'ang-chü and the adjoining states with little explanation. A translation is given of the entire chapter in Hulsewé (1979), pp. 207-238.

The exact dates of Chang Ch'ien's first journey are not known. The only definite date is 123 B.C., when, sometime after his return, he was awarded a nobility. In 133 B.C. the Han ministers first discussed actions against the Hsiung-nu, a factor that indicates to Hulsewé that Chang Ch'ien could hardly have been dispatched prior to this date, although some suggest that the journey took place between 138-126 B.C. See Hulsewé (1979), pp. 209-210, note 774.



MAP 1.2
Central Asia in the Han Dynasty

Still pressed, Emperor Wu-ti turned to unilateral military confrontation with the Hsiung-nu. With the bold military actions of two of China's most famous generals, Wei Ch'ing 衞青 and Huo Ch'ü-ping 霍去病, China first regained the Ordos (around the northern bend of the Yellow River) and then, most importantly, the whole of the Kansu corridor by 121 B.C., forcing the Hsiung-nu to flee west and into the area north of the Gobi desert. Han subsequently established in the Kansu region the "four commandaries east of the [Yellow] River" (ho-hsi ssu-chün 河西四郡): Chiu-ch'üan 酒泉(the first to be established), followed by Chang-yeh 張掖, Tun-huang 敦煌 and Wu-wei 武威, all in Kansu. These four commanderies, which later developed into important centers that figure prominently in the 4th and 5th centuries, during the Former Han functioned primarily as bases for military operations in the Western Regions. They also served to separate the Hsiung-nu from the powerful minority group of the Ch'iang, based mainly in the Ch'ing-hai region south of Kansu and the sometime-allies of the Hsiung-nu, thus further weakening the power of the Hsiung-nu.[4]

With direct access through the Kansu corridor to the west established, the redoubtable Chang Ch'ien was sent on a second mission, this time to open relations with the various Central Asian kingdoms. Leaving about 115 B.C. (some sources say 118 B.C.) with 300 men, tens of thousands of cattle and sheep, and large quantities of gold, valuables and silk as gifts, he successfully established initial contacts with the states of Wu-sun, Ferghana, Sogdiana, Bactria and Khotan (see Map 1.2), most of which later sent envoys to China.[5]

Han military campaigns in Central Asia continued throughout the remainder of the Former Han period. In 108 B.C. the kingdom of Lou-lan, a key area for western expansion, was attacked and secured. In 101 B.C. conquest over Ferghana in western Central Asia by Li Kuang-li 李廣利, although costly, served to underscore China as a serious military power in Central Asia. Control of Turfan, the major eastern center of the northern route and critical for controlling the Hsiung-nu, who used

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Some later Buddhist writings say that Chang Ch'ien reported on Buddhism in India. Wei Shou 魏收 (506-572 A.D.), compiler of the *Wei Shu* 魏書, states "When the western areas were opened, the Throne dispatched Chang Ch'ien on a mission to Ta Hsia [Northern Bactria and Tocharia]. Upon his return he reported that on that country's flank was a land called Shen-tu [India] of which another name was T'ien-chu. It was then that we first heard of the teaching of Buddha (fu-t'u chih chiao 浮屠之教)." *Wei Shu* 魏書, translated by Leon Hurvitz in Mizuno Seiichi 水野清一 and Nagahiro Toshio 長廣敏雄, *Yün-kang* 雲岡, 16 vols., Kyoto, 1952-1956, Supplement, Vol. XVI, 1956, p. 28. As noted by Hurvitz, neither the *Han-shu* nor the *Shih-chi*, the two definitive official accounts of the journey, mention the last statement concerning Buddhism; possibly it is an interpolation by Wei Shou.

[4] Chapter 96 [Memoir of the Western Regions] of the *Han-shu* states: " At first the commandery of Chiu-ch'üan was founded in order to communicate with the states of the northwest." Hulsewé (1979), p. 219; *CHC*, I, p. 391.

[5] *Ibid.*, I, pp. 407-408; Hulsewé (1979), pp. 217-218.

Turfan as their "gate to the south" in dominating the heart of eastern Central Asia, continued to elude China until submission in 90 B.C. With Former Han's successful expansion into Central Asia complete, additions were made to the Great Wall (already constructed in much of northern China during the Ch'in dynasty), extending it out beyond Tun-huang. The Yü-men kuan (Jade Gate) at the westernmost tip of Kansu became the frontier barrier between China and Central Asia, and for centuries to follow symbol of the remote western frontier of China. Remnants of the old Han garrison still survive in the desert (Fig. 1.1a) as a silent reminder of China's vision towards the West and communications over the Silk Routes, which developed over the course of the Han dynasty and served as the major conduit bringing Buddhism to China.

A new phase in China's commitment to expansion in Central Asia was achieved in 60 B.C. with the creation of the office of Protector General of the Western Regions (hsi-yü tu-hu 西域都護), located in Wu-lei 烏壘 (exact location is ambiguous) on the northern route (Map 1.2). Around 67 B.C. agricultural garrisons (t'un-t'ien chiao-wei 屯田校尉) were established in several areas to provide for the increasing quantities of Chinese military and diplomatic missions engaged in Central Asia. Evidences of the one at Miran—a site on the southern route later important for its Buddhist art—have been found.[6] A second office, that of Wu-chi Colonel (wu-chi chiao-wei 戊己校尉) established at Turfan went into operation in 48 B.C. for overseeing financial and logistical matters. With the creation of this administrative network, Central Asia was quite successfully brought into the Chinese tribute system. Some idea of the vigor of China's expansion and control over Central Asia at this time can be glimpsed from the following quote from the *Hou-Han shu*: "Agricultural garrisons were set up in fertile fields and post stations built along the main highways. Messengers and interpreters travelled without cessation, and barbarian merchants and peddlers came to the border [for trade] everyday."[7]

[6] "In 77 B.C. the king of Cherchen had offered I-hsün (Miran), a fertile territory under his control, to Han for this purpose [of agricultural garrison].. Although in the beginning the establishment was not large, consisting of only forty farming soldiers, it was soon expanded and placed under a commandant (tu-wei). According to the *Shui-ching chu* 水經注, Commentary on the Water Classic written by Li Tao-yüan in the late 4th century (N. Wei), a certain So Mai, a native of Tun-huang, was sent with 1,000 soldiers to develop the Miran colony. He was assisted in this by some 3,000 local soldiers from Cherchen, Karashahr, and Kucha." They built dikes and canals for irrigation, traces of which have recently been found. *CHC*, I, p. 419.

[7] *Ibid*, I, pp. 411, 413. There is a problem regarding the exact location of Wu-lei; accounts in the *Han-shu* place it to the northeast of Karashahr rather than to the west.

B. *Later (Eastern) Han (25-220 A.D.)*

During the interregnum of Wang Mang (8-24 A.D.) between the Former and Later Han, China lost most of its control over the Central Asian areas which had submitted in the Former Han. In spite of some tribute missions to Wang Mang and later to Kuang-wu (r. 25-58 A.D.), first emperor of the Later Han, eastern Central Asia generally reverted to Hsiung-nu domination. Unlike the concerted policies of expansion towards Central Asia during the Former Han period, in Later Han policy alternated between disinterest or reluctance to get involved and reassertion of Chinese control over the region. Maintaining eastern Central Asia under its control entailed an enormous financial drain as well as vigilance against the constant harassment of the Hsiung-nu, despite its split at this time into northern and southern branches. The northern Hsiung-nu in particular, during periods of Chinese ambivalence, reasserted its interests in Central Asia. The history of this time concerning Han and the Hsiung-nu in Central Asia, mostly obtained from the Chinese official records in the *Han-shu*, recounts periods of see-saw gain and loss, and it is said that in the Later Han period China thrice lost and regained the territories of eastern Central Asia.

Until 73 A.D. when the general Tou Ku 竇固 was dispatched to rectify the situation, eastern Central Asia was in turmoil, and the Ho-hsi 河西 area (literally "west of the Yellow River", including mainly the Kansu corridor) from around 63 until 73 was reputed to be unsafe outside of the walled towns even in the daytime. General Tou Ku eventually reoccupied Turfan and Han re-established the office of Protector General (in Kucha) and the Wu-chi Colonel (in Turfan). Another Han expeditionary force under Tou Hsien 竇憲 in 89 A.D. led to the capture of Hami, a crucial area at this time for its flourishing agricultural development.[8] Finally, however, the decisive victories and governance which enabled China to maintain total mastery once again in Central Asia and which virtually finished the influence of the Hsiung-nu, who gradually had become weaker and weaker, were those of Pan Ch'ao 班超 and his son Pan Yung 班勇.

Pan Ch'ao, Protector General from 91 A.D. until his death in 102 A.D., presided over the period of Later Han's greatest power in the Western Regions. It is said that in 94 A.D. more than 50 states were obliged to offer tribute and "hostages" (the Later Han system requiring vassal states to send their princes to reside in the Chinese capital of Loyang). In a gesture that demonstrates the vigor of China's policies and attests to the ability of China to achieve security for travel and trade, Pan Ch'ao

[8] *Ibid.*, I, pp. 414-415.

dispatched Kan Ying 甘英 in 97 A.D. to "Ta-ch'in" 大秦 (perhaps Constantinople, but more likely the eastern Roman Empire).

After a long career in Central Asia beginning in 107, Pan Yung, who followed his father as the powerful Chinese governor of eastern Central Asia, was demoted to the office of Chief Officer of the Western Regions (hsi-yü chang-shih 西域長史) in 123. After 123 the office was demoted still further to be a chief clerk (chang-shih 長史), an indication of China's waning interest in sustaining the costs of maintaining the Central Asian "colonies". Nevertheless, in 126 A.D. Pan Yung established complete control over the critical Turfan depression and, after also subduing Karashahr, all the major powers of the "Western Regions" once again submitted to Han. This was to be the last major effort of the Han to control eastern Central Asia, a feat which required continual and considerable vigilance, supervision, and resources.[9]

With growing problems in China proper, apparently after ca. 175 (and certainly by ca. 185 A.D.) all pretense of military and administrative control was abandoned and virtually all control of eastern Central Asia reverted to various local states and the remains of the Hsiung-nu. The Ch'iang became assertive in central Kansu (Liang-chou), causing a number of rebellions and crises for the Han court for governing this area, which had a volatile mixture of local minority people and Han people sent to colonize the area.[10] In spite of these disturbances, communications, trade and travel in Central Asia seems to have continued to be active along the Silk Routes even in the late days of the Later Han. Chinese silk has been found as far as Palmayra (destroyed in 254 A.D.; see Figs. 2.17 b, c) in Syria and in widespread sites of Central Asia, especially along the southern and central routes as well in sites in Mongolia and Siberia. Chinese lacquer ware and mirrors were among the finds at Lou-lan and Niya in eastern Central Asia and at Begram in Afghanistan. Textiles of

[9] *Ibid.*, I, pp. 415-416.

[10] *Ibid.*, I, pp. 432-435. According to Meng Fan-jen 孟凡人, "Kuei-shuang t'ung chih Shan-shan chih shuo shun shu hsü kou" 貴霜統治鄯善之說純屬虛構 (Hypocritical Theory of Ruling Shanshan by Kushan Dynasty), in *Hsi-yü yen-chiu* 西域研究, 1991, No. 2, pp. 29-30, citing mainly chüan 57 and 58 of the *Tzu-chih t'ung-chien* 資治通鑒 by Ssu-ma Kuang 司馬光 (1019-1086), although it is not specifically stated when Later (Eastern) Han withdrew from the Western Regions, various historical factors seem to him to imply the probability of continued Han involvement in the Western Regions in ca. 175-181 period. These include: 1) incident of helping the prince to become installed as king of Shu-le (Kashgar), thereby implying Han control of at least the southern route; 2) in 177 A.D. Han raised three separate armies of 10,000 men each to attack the Hsien-pi; 3) in 181 and 182 A.D. Han raised an army and attacked several barbarian tribes in the south (the Chiao-chih wu-hu man 交趾烏滸蠻 and the Pan-shun man 板楯蠻). After the Yellow Turban Rebellion in 184 A.D., Han began a rapid demise and rebellions continuously beset the Liang-chou region—critical for any control of the Western Regions. In 185 A.D. the Han court debated withdrawal from Liang-chou, so Meng reasons that ca. 185 is probably the latest limit of probable withdrawal of Han from the Western Regions.

clearly western design are found in eastern Central Asian sites such as Lo-p'u near Khotan and at Lou-lan (see Chapters 4 and 5), and statues of western make appear in Afghanistan and Khotan.[11] Part II will address these evidences of east-west trade and communication in Central Asia in more detail, but first our attention must turn to the introduction and early developments of Buddhism and Buddhist art in China. During the Han period this vital religion and its specialized art entered into the heartland of China across the roads of Central Asia and probably, to a lesser extent, by sea through southeast Asia.[12]

II. Written Evidences of Buddhism in the Han Period

Written records concerning Buddhism in the Han period are scant. Some, even though official, are generally considered by scholars to be later contrivances or additions, including the traditional account of the introduction of Buddhism to China following the famous dream of Emperor Ming (r. 58-75 A.D.). In a number of accounts relating this episode, Emperor Ming is said to have dispatched an envoy to the West (India) in search of information regarding the "golden man" seen in his dream. The envoy, some records say, returned from India with an image of the Buddha Śākyamuni and a scripture of 42 chapters carried on the back of a white horse, whose fame is preserved in the name of China's traditionally oldest Buddhist temple, the

[11] The materials from the Begram excavations are famous: see see J. Hackin, *Nouvelles recherches archéologiques à Begram*, 1939-1940, MDAFA, XI, Paris, 1954, Figs. 243-249 for the Chinese lacquer, Figs. 250-273 for western glass wares, Figs. 322-353 and 355-358 for western imported bronze wares and sculptures, Fig. 354 for porphry vessel. For examples of the Alexandrian glass and statuary, also see B. Rowland, *Ancient Art from Afghanistan*, New York, 1966, Nos. 7, 10, 21. For Chinese lacquer ware discovered in tombs in eastern Central Asia see A. Stein, *Innermost Asia*, 4 vols., London, 1926, Vol. 3, pl. XXI (L.C. x.023) and Hsin-chiang Lou-lan k'ao-ku tui 新疆楼兰考古队 (Archaeological Team of Loulan, Sinkiang), "Loulan ch'eng-chiao ku-mu-ch'ün fa-chüeh chien-pao" 楼兰城郊古墓羣發掘簡报 (Excavations of the Ancient Cemetery on the Outskirts of Lou-lan), *Wen Wu*, 1988, No. 7, Figs. 32, 33, 36. For Chinese mirrors from tombs in eastern Central Asia see Hsin-chiang wei-wu-erh tzu-chih-ch'ü po-wu-kuan 新疆維吾尔自治区博物馆 (Museum of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region), *Hsin-chiang ch'u-t'u wen wu* 新疆出土文物, (Cultural Relics Unearthed in Sinkiang), Beijing, 1975, Figs. 38 (from Niya) and 19 (from Yen-ch'i [Karashahr]). For Later Han dynasty Chinese silk in Palmyra, see M. Colledge, *The Art of Palmyra*, London, 1976, p. 109. For a synopsis of East-West trade in the period of the Roman Empire see J. Ferguson, "China and Rome", in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt*, Vol. II, Berlin and New York, 1978, pp. 581-603 where he discusses the trade items from China (mainly textiles, spices, iron, precious stones and minerals) and those from Rome to China (mainly Mediterranean crafts and luxury items, glass, jewelry and cloth). For more precise probing, see Manfred Raschke, "New Studies in Roman Commerce with the East", *Ibid.*, pp. 604-650.

[12] Z. Tsukamoto, *A History of Early Chinese Buddhism*, 2 vols., translated by Leon Hurvitz, Tokyo, New York and San Francisco, 1985, Vol. I, p. 191.

Pai-ma ssu (White Horse Temple) outside Loyang city. Still surviving, this temple has two tumuli covered with dressed stone said to be the tombs of the Indian monks She Mo t'eng 葉摩騰 (Kāśyapa Mātaṅga) and Chu Fa-lan 竺法蘭 (Dharmaratna ?), who, according to some reports, arrived in Loyang in 67 A.D. accompanying the envoy. Among the various records of these events, the following is translated from the *Chi Shen-chou san-pao kan-t'ung lu* of Tao-hsüan 道宣 (T'ang):

> In the earlier records of the Southern Ch'i 齊 the *Ming-hsiang chi* 冥祥記 by Wang Yen 王琰 says that Han Emperor Ming-ti saw a holy man (shen-jen 神人) in a dream. He appeared to be 20 feet tall with a golden colored body and rays of light around his head. Questioning the court officials about this, someone replied, "In the west there is [such a] holy [one]. He is called Buddha (Fo 佛) and his form is as you describe in your dream. Can it not be this?" In regard to this [matter], an envoy was dispatched to India. [He] wrote [out texts] and returned with [a] sutra[s] and [an] image[s] which was [were] displayed in China. From the Son of Heaven to the princes on down [these things were paid respect]. As for the first envoy, Ts'ai Yin 蔡愔, [he] escorted back from the Western Regions the śramaṇa (Buddhist monk) Kāśyapa Mātaṅga, etc., and he presented a painting of King Udayana's Shih-chia [Śākyamuni] image sitting (with both legs pendant). The Emperor respected it; [it] was like the one he saw in his dream. Artists made several copies of the original. They were displayed and worshipped at the Ch'ing-liang Terrace 清涼台 of the Southern Palace, at the Kao-yang Gate 高陽門, and on top of the Chieh-shou Mausoleum 節壽陵. Also, on the walls of the Pai-ma ssu were painted images of 1,000 chariots and 10,000 riders winding around the pagoda (t'a 塔) three times. Various transmissions record [these events].[13]

The *Wei-shu* 魏書, a text on Buddhism and Taoism written by Wei Shou 魏收 in the first half of the 5th century writes:

> Later, Emperor Hsiao-ming (r. 58-76 A.D.) dreamed one night of a golden man, sunlight issuing from the nape of his neck, flying about the palace courtyard. Thereupon he made inquiry of the assembled ministers. Fu I 傅毅 was the first to answer that it was the Buddha (Fo 佛). The Emperor dispatched the 'lang-chung' 郎中 Ts'ai Yin 蔡愔 and the 'po-shih ti-tzu' 博士弟子 Ch'in Ching 秦景 with a party on a mission to T'ien-chu 天竺(India) to copy the canons left behind by the Buddha (fu-t'u 浮屠). Yin then returned east to Loyang with the monks She Mo-t'eng (Kāśyapa Mātaṅga) and Chu Fa-lan. The existence in the Middle Kingdom of Buddhist monks (sha-men) and the kneeling ceremony dates from this.
>
> Yin also obtained a Buddhist scripture in 42 chapters and a standing image (li hsiang 立像) of Śākya[muni]. Emperor Ming commanded artists to figure Buddha images and install them in the Ch'ing-liang-t'ai and atop the Hsien-chieh-ling. The scripture was

[13] From the *Chi Shen-chou san-pao kan-t'ung lu* 集神州三寶感通錄 by Tao-hsüan 道宣 (T'ang) in *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō*, ed. by J. Takakusu and K. Watanabe, Tokyo, 1924-1935, Vol. 52, No. 2106, p. 413c (Hereafter *Daizōkyō*). For a discussion of the term "i" image (possibly meaning an image with pendant legs, but it is not clear), see A. Soper, *Literary Evidence for Early Buddhist Art in China*, Ascona, 1959, p. 2.

sealed away in the stone chamber of the Lan-t'ai. Yin on his return journey loaded the scripture on a white horse and so reached China. Therefore a Pai-ma ssu was built west of the Yung Pass of Loyang. Mātaṅga and Fa-lan both died in this temple.[14]

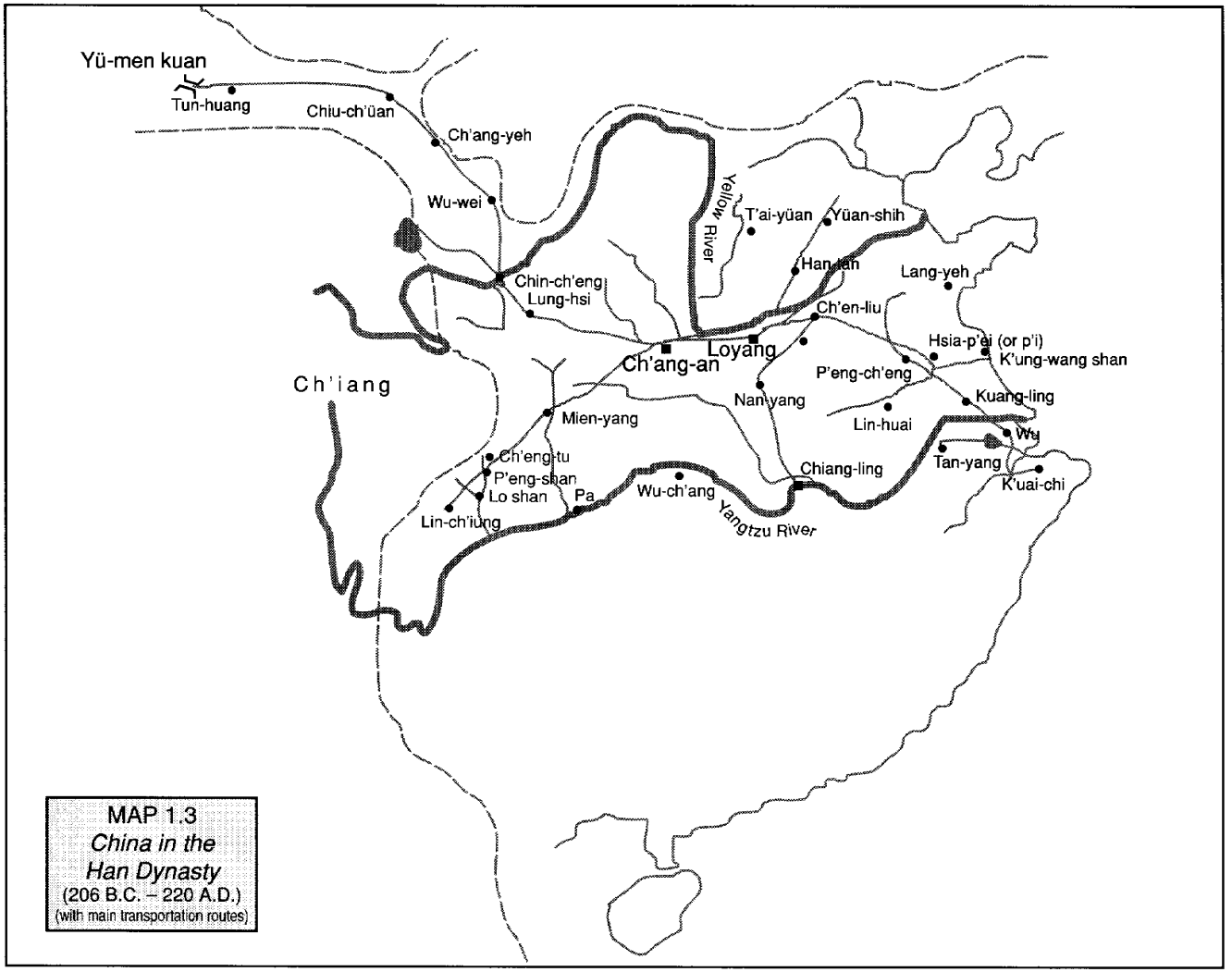
Despite the doubts concerning the complete validity of this famous official "beginning" of Buddhism in China, scholars seem to be in general agreement that Buddhism was known in the major centers of northern China to a certain extent by the middle of the 1st century A.D.[15] From the Later Han period written records regarding Buddhism refer to events that occurred either in Loyang, the capital of Later Han, or P'eng-ch'eng 彭城 (Hsü-chou 徐州), the flourishing commercial city on the main communication route from Loyang to the south, situated on the Huai River in northern Kiangsu province (Maps 1.1 and 1.4).

Considered of historical value as a mid-1st century A.D. evidence of Buddhism in China is the case of Prince Ying 英 of Ch'u 楚, son of Emperor Kuang-wu (r. 25-58 A.D.) by Lady Hsü and therefore the half brother of Emperor Ming (r. 58-75 A.D.). In 39 A.D. he was enfeoffed with the "small and impoverished" dukedom of Ch'u in the northern Kiangsu-southern Shantung area (Map 1.4). In 41 A.D. he was upgraded to prince (wang 王) and his state was elevated to a kingdom (kuo 國) in 52 A.D. He lived in P'eng-ch'eng, his capital, from 52-70 A.D., before he was banished for plotting against the government. The biography of Prince Ying in the *Hou-Han shu* notes that in his youth he roamed around like a knight errant doing good deeds and was conversant with strangers. Also, "he took pleasure in the Yellow Emperor and Lao-tzu, and made the sacrifices and [followed] the precepts of the Buddha (Fu-t'u 浮屠)." An official directive by Emperor Ming, who was kindly disposed to his younger half

[14] From the *Wei shu* in *YK*, XVI, pp. 28-29. Also see Soper (1959), pp. 1-4.

[15] Tsukamoto reasons that "Even if non-Chinese who believed in Buddhism, or who had some knowledge of it, paid no visits to court and engaged in no missionary activity such as would be noted in official documents, someone of that type must surely have arrived somewhere in a country as broad as China, particularly in the area ranging from Tun-huang to Kansu and Shensi, at least during the latter half of the Former Han, i.e., in the first century B.C., once communication between east and west had been formally inaugurated, and, thanks to his efforts, a certain number of Chinese must have acquired a certain knowledge of Buddhism. However, the adherence of any significant number of Chinese believers to the foreign religion is recorded in extant documents only after the beginning of the Christian era, i.e., only after the inauguration of the Latter Han." Tsukamoto (1985), I, p. 51; also see pp. 55-56.

In Zürcher's view Buddhism probably became known in China through contact with Central Asia by "slow infiltration from the northwest over the silk routes...between the first half of the first century B.C.—the period of consolidation of the Chinese power in Central Asia—and the middle of the first century A.D., when the existence of Buddhism is attested for the first time in contemporary Chinese sources." He also suggests that Buddhism must have been practiced among the foreigners in China at that time, although official records do not specifically refer to this fact, which may not have been of sufficient notice from the official point of view. E. Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China*, 2 vols., Leiden, 1959, I, p. 23.



MAP 1.3
China in the Han Dynasty
(206 B.C. – 220 A.D.)
(with main transportation routes)

brother, provides further evidence of the extent of Prince Ying's interest in Buddhism. This imperial order concerns Prince Ying's offer of silk as a ransom for previous misdeeds and the emperor's forgiveness and return of the ransom.

> Prince [Ying] of Ch'u recites the subtle words of the Yellow Emperor and Lao-tzu, and he [attends] the temples (jen-tz'u 仁祠) of the Buddha (Fu-t'u 浮屠). He regulates himself (i.e., fasts) for three months, [then] makes a vow to the holy one (shen 神). Why should we suspect him? Why should we doubt him? [He] suitably has repented. Why not restore [his] ransom, in order to assist [him in providing for his] feasts for the upāsakas (i-p'u-se 伊蒲塞 , Buddhist laypersons) and śramaṇas (sha-men 桑門, Buddhist monks).[16]

This record shows the acquaintance of some Buddhist practices by Prince Ying, who seems to have followed the precepts of the Buddha, including the practice of three months fasting, making vows, and paying homage at a Buddhist temple. Concerning the interpretation of the term *fu-t'u-chih-jen-tz'u* 浮屠之仁祠, Mizuno Seiichi suggests it may be a shrine with an image, and Tsukamoto Zenryū thinks it is most reasonable to associate it with a Buddhist temple, as a "hall of compassion".[17] Mention of the Indian terms *upāsakas* (Buddhist laypersons) and *śramaṇas* (Buddhist monks) shows not only the probable presence of these persons of Buddhist faith, but also familiarity with and usage of at least some rudimentary Buddhist terminology among the aristocratic class by the mid-1st century A.D. in this area of China.

Prince Ying's study of the Yellow Emperor (legendary early Emperor of China and

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Accounts from the Ch'in (221-208 B.C.) and Former Han (207 B.C.-8 A.D.), sketchy and considered unreliable, include the following: 1) the account of the Buddhist monks under the sramana Shih-li-fang who came to Ch'ang-an bringing sūtras during the reign of Ch'in Shih Huang-ti (221-208 B.C.). The Emperor imprisoned them but they were said to have been miraculously released by a golden man of 16 feet (first mentioned in the *Li-tai san-pao chi* 歷代三寶紀 of 597 A.D.); 2) The account about the black substance that formed when the K'un-ming Lake was dug in 120 B.C.; the passage includes the response of the "barbarians" from the west when they were asked about its origin: "they were the ashes left after the conflagration at the end of a kalpa" (from the anonymous *San-fu ku-shih* 三輔故事 of the late 3rd century A.D.); 3) the "golden statue" of the Hun king captured in 120 B.C. by the Han general Ho Ch'ü-ping near Kara-nor (found in a 3rd century commentary); 4) notation in a collection of biographies on Taoist immortals attributed to Liu Hsiang (80-8 B.C.) which says that 74 of the biographies already occur in "Buddhist scriptures". *Ibid.*, pp. 19-22.

[16] *Hou-Han shu* 後漢書, by Fan Yeh 范曄 (ca. 446 A.D.), chüan 42, Biography No. 32. Also see Tsukamoto (1985), I, p. 60.

[17] Mizuno Seiichi 水野清一 and Nagahiro Toshio 長廣敏雄 "Buddhist Images Prior to the Yün-kang Caves", in *YK*, XVI (text), p. 77. For Tsukamoto's discussion of the term as a Buddhist temple of compassion, see Tsukamoto (1985), I, p. 61. The Chinese characters are typical for this period. The characters used are usually either fu 浮 or fo 佛 in combination with either t'u 圖 or t'u 屠. In the *Wei Shu* the term for Buddhist reliquary was said to be fu-t'u 浮圖 or fo-t'u 佛圖. *Wei Shu* in *YK*, XVI, p. 47. In the excerpt presented below concerning the stupa of Tse Jung, the term fu-t'u ssu 浮圖寺 is used in the *Hou-Han shu* version, and the term fu-t'u tz'u 浮圖祠 is used in the *San-kuo chih* version (see below section III).

prominent figure in Later Han period popular belief) and Lao-tzu in conjunction with his Buddhist practices is indicative of one strand of the early process of assimilation of Buddhism in China. As Tsukamoto and others make clear, it is usual in the prevailing religious climate of the Later Han period to see the Yellow Emperor, Lao-tzu and the Buddha all worshipped on an equal basis as powerful spiritual or supernatural beings.[18] Because of the prominence of Prince Ying as half-brother to Emperor Ming, and the apparent acceptance of his views by the emperor (no criticism of his views by the emperor appeared in the imperial directive, thus suggesting no proscription of or antagonism to Buddhism), as well as the reliability of the imperial directive, this reference in the biography of Prince Ying presents a credible evidence of a certain degree of knowledge of Buddhism and some of its religious practices (the three months fasting)—as well as attesting to the presence of *śramaṇas* (Buddhist monks) and temples (jen-tz'u)—in China by that time, at least in the area of P'eng-ch'eng in the northern Kiangsu/southern Shantung region.

In the second half of the 2nd century during the reigns of emperors Huan (r.147-167) and Ling (r. 168-189) the imperial court became notorious for its decadence, fueled by excessive competition for imports from Central Asia and a desire to emulate the Central Asian life-styles.[19] All this suggests that considerable trade from Central Asia reached China, even though we are lacking any direct data concerning Chinese military presence in Central Asia after ca. 175 A.D. through the remainder of the Han dynasty. As Confucianism lost its effectiveness over the population and generally shifted into cosmological investigations of excruciating detail or into popularized fortune-telling, the Yellow Emperor and Lao-tzu became increasingly popular. The "Supernatural Book", later to become the Taoist classic *Tao-te ching* 道德經, gained adherence, and the movement of the Yellow Turban Taoists with their strong anti-government stance was building strength which finally erupted in the Yellow Turban Rebellion in 184 A.D. Though quelled, this rebellion was another factor in weakening the government in the final decades of Later Han. A record from the period of Emperor Huan in 166 which decribes a ceremonial feast at the Cho-lung 濯龍 Palace in Loyang for the "Buddha, Huang-ti [Yellow Emperor], and

[18] Tsukamoto writes extensively on this issue: Tsukamoto (1985), I, pp. 22-28, 31, 36-37, 78 etc., where he discusses the "super-human sylph" phenomenon in the Later Han period. Buddhism seems to have been popularly regarded as a magical teaching by the Chinese at this time. "In the society of the Latter Han, belief in yin yang, in the five elements, in ch'an and wei, in the superhuman skill of the sylph, and in spirits, as well as the tendency to live one's life in reliance on the adepts and shamans who preached these mysterious beliefs, became progressively more widespread and more fashionable." *Ibid.*, p. 27.

[19] *Ibid.*, I, p. 68.

Lao-tz'u"[20] is often interpreted to indicate that the Buddha was treated on a par with the other popular "superhuman figures", i.e., the Yellow Emperor and Lao-tzu. The Chinese at this time appear to view these figures primarily in terms of spirits of supernatural power[21] and the Buddha was readily acceptable on this level, even at the court in Loyang.

As we saw earlier in the record of Prince Ying of Ch'u, Buddhism had probably penetrated into the Ssu and Huai River Valleys near P'eng-ch'eng (present day Hsü-chou) by around the mid-1st century A.D. The bizarre yet interesting account of the military officer Tse Jung, supervising the transport of grain under T'ao Ch'ien 陶謙 (謙), the magistrate of Hsü-chou during the unsettled climate at the end of the 2nd century, not only confirms the presence of Buddhists in the area, but is probably our most reliable early literary documentation of Buddhist art and practice in China, specifically involving the P'eng-ch'eng area around 194 A.D.[22] Because of the importance of this record, two versions are translated below, each providing slightly differing data. According to the *Hou-Han shu*[23]:

> To begin, Tse Jung, who was from the same prefecture (chün 郡) [as T'ao Ch'ien 陶謙 (謙); i.e., Tan-yang, in southern Anhui province], assembled a crowd of several hundred [persons], and went to depend on [T'ao] Ch'ien (i.e., to take asylum under T'ao Ch'ien). [T'ao] Ch'ien employed [him] to supervise (tu 督) the transportation of grain in Kuang-ling 廣陵, Hsia-p'ei 下邳 and P'eng-ch'eng 彭城 (all in Kiangsu). [Tse Jung] then proceeded to cut off the transportation to these three prefectures. [With this profit] he raised a great Buddha temple (ta ch'i fu-t'u ssu 大起浮屠寺). On top [there were] piled up metal plates (chin p'an 金盤); below (hsia 下) was a series of stories (lou 樓); halls (t'ang 堂) and pavilions (ko 閣) encircled [it]. [They] were able to hold 3,000 some persons. [He] made an image covered (literally: smeared) with gold (huang chin 黃金) and clothed it with elegant colored garments. Each time the Buddha was bathed, much food and drink were always arranged and mats were spread out on the road. Those who were fed and [came to] see [the ceremony] reached to 10,000 some persons.[24] When Ts'ao Ts'ao 曹操 routed [T'ao] Ch'ien, the Hsü [-chou] region was not peaceful. [Tse] Jung went to Kuang-ling with 10,000 men and women and 3,000 horses. The Kuang-ling Tai-shou (廣陵太守 governor), Chao Yü 趙昱 received [him] hospitably. [Tse] Jung had his eyes on the wealth of Kuang-ling. Then, taking advantage of the wine and

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[20] *Ibid.*, pp. 67-68.

[21] *Ibid.*,, I, pp. 26-28. For detailed study of the Han period popular beliefs see Michael Loewe, *Chinese Ideas of Life and Death*, London, 1982, and *The Chinese Quest for Immortality*, London, 1979.

[22] Tsukamoto (1985), I, p. 73; Zürcher (1959), p. 27-28; Soper (1959), p. 4; Mizuno and Nagahiro, *YK*, XI (text), p. 78.

[23] The account of Tse Jung appears in the biography of T'ao Ch'ien 陶謙 in the *Hou-Han shu*, chüan 103, p. 6r (or Vol. 8, chüan 73, biography volume 7, Biography no. 63, pp. 2366-2368).

[24] A note from the *Hsien-ti Ch'un-chiu* 獻帝春秋 says the mats spread over an area of 4-5 li and the expenses were 10,000 cash. *Hou-Han shu*, chüan 73, p. 2368, note 3 (Chung-hua shu edition).

merrymaking (i.e., at a banquet), he killed Yü and let his army loose to ravage and loot. Afterwards [Tse Jung] crossed the Yangtse [River], and fled south to Yü-chan 豫章, [where] he killed the commander (chün-shou 郡守) Chu Hao 朱皓 and took over the city (ch'eng). Later [Tse Jung] was destroyed by the Yang-chou 揚州 censor (tz'u-shih 刺史), Liu Yao 劉繇 (or Yu 由). [Tse Jung] went into the mountains and was killed by [some] person.

The version in the *San-kuo chih (Wu-chih)* 三國志吳志 is very similar,[25] but with a few different, significant details:

As for Tse Jung, he was a man from Tan-yang. To begin, he assembled a crowd of several hundred who followed him to the Hsü-chou magistrate T'ao Ch'ien. Ch'ien employed [him] to be in charge of the transportation of grain to Kuang-ling and P'eng-ch'eng. He profited by cutting off the transportation to these three prefectures. Then he built a great Buddha shrine (fu-t'u tz'u 浮圖祠) with a bronze [figure] of a man with gold (huang chin 黃金) smeared on the body and clothed with elegant colorful garments. [It had] nine layers of hanging copper (?) plates (ch'ui t'ung p'an chiu chung 垂銅槃九重). Below (hsia 下) was a storied pavilion (lou-ko-tao 樓閣道), with a capacity of 3,000 some persons, all of whom examined and read the Buddhist scriptures (fo-ching 佛經). People within the region and in the adjacent prefectures who were good Buddhists (devotees) (chün jen yu hao fo che 郡人有好佛者) listened and received (accepted) the Way (doctrine). As an alternative he employed others as servants in order to bring this about. Those who because of this came from far and near at different times reached to more than 5,000 persons. Each time the Buddha was bathed, much wine and food was arranged and mats were spread out on the road for several ten's of li (one li is 1/3 of a mile). People who came to see and to partake of the food moreover were 10,000 persons. The expenditures ran into the hundred millions...

Tse Jung, an opportunist who led a large group of followers to the Hsü-chou area for asylum from the devastations in Tan-yang south of the Yangtze River (Map 1.3), obtained the important post of supervising the transportation of grain in three prefectures from T'ao Ch'ien, magistrate of Hsü-chou and a compatriot from Tan-yang. Aggrandizing the grain, Tse Jung used the profits to build a large Buddhist temple or shrine (*ssu* or *tz'u*) where ceremonies were held and thousands of people fed. Despite the possibility of exaggerated numbers in the text, these gatherings must have been spectacular affairs—certainly worthy to be recorded in the histories. Clearly some degree of popular knowledge of Buddhism and Buddhist practices were known, though many of the people who attended these functions may not have been true believers. Buddhist sutras are mentioned and the ceremony of bathing the Buddha was apparently done more than once.

[25] *San-kuo chih* 三國志, compiled by Ch'en Shou 陳壽, Chung-hua shu edition, Vol. 5, *Wu Shu* 吳書 Bio. No. 4 (bio. of Liu Yü 劉裕), iv, p. 1185.

What is especially significant in regard to the early Buddhist art of China is not only the apparent large quantities of people who were attracted to the festivities, readings, food, etc., which Tse Jung provided at the temple, but also the actual description of the "temple" and the image.[26] From the details provided by both literary excerpts, the main structure described appears to have been a Buddhist pagoda/stupa with "piled up metal plates on top" (*HHS*) or "nine layers of copper plates" (*SKC*). These "plates" are undoubtedly the *chattra* (umbrellas) of a stupa, which look like plates in many early examples from India and Central Asia (Figs. 4.4 a-f and 5.70 a,b). The plates were apparently metal (chin 金), possibly copper or bronze (t'ung 銅). Nine plates as noted in the *SKC* is an impressive number (most early stupas have three or five), possibly resembling examples seen in some small votive stupas from Central Asia, the earliest surviving ones from Lou-lan (Figs. 5.70 a-d, f). The famous Stupa of Kaniṣka, ca. first quarter of the 2nd century A.D., was said to have had 25 gilded plates (umbrellas).

The structure below the "plates" was apparently in "stories" called lou-ko "layered stories" (*HHS*) or lou-ko-tao "storied pavilion" (*SKC*). The characters for lou-ko-tao in the *SKC* are similar to the later term lou-ko-t'a 樓閣塔 (the characters lou-ko are the same and tao and t'a could be considered phonetically similar) used to designate the storied type of pagoda/stupa as opposed to the hemispherical stupa. The earliest known representation in China of the storied type pagoda/stupa (lou-ko-t'a) survives in a tile from Szechwan probably of the late Later Han period (Fig. 1.34 a,b). Tse Jung's "lou-ko-tao" may have resembled the structure represented in this tile, although this representation appears to have only three *chattra* ("plates" or umbrellas).

These two evidences, one written and one visual, present the earliest reliable references of one form of early Chinese Buddhist pagoda/stupa. Like the lou-ko-t'a type in the Szechwan tile, the "lou-ko-tao" of Tse Jung was a multi-storied structure; we are not told precisely how many stories, but at least two is implied just by the term. Tse Jung's building represents our earliest known example in Chinese literature of the lou-ko t'a or storied type of pagoda/stupa, which, however, may be more of a shrine for containing an image than a traditional stupa with hemispherical dome (the so-called "overturned rice bowl shape" in Chinese modern terminology) to contain a śarīra. Indeed, the written excerpts seem to clearly suggest a kind of amalgam of a shrine and a stupa rather than a stupa *per se*. The description in the *Hou-Han shu*

[26] Zürcher suggests this building was probably at Hsia-p'ei. Zürcher (1959), p. 28, note 55. For discussion of the building, see A. Soper, *Evolution of Buddhist Architecture in Japan*, Princeton, 1942, p. 39; Mizuno and Nagahiro in *YK*, XI (text), p. 78 interpret it to be a storeyed stupa with ko-tao 閣道 (roofed corridor).

of a series of stories as well as halls and pavilions encircling it, could be a description of multiple stories such as appear to "encircle" the storied chaitya or shrine in some early Indian reliefs (Figs. 1.35 a-e). The *Hou-Han shu* excerpt states the structure held (3,000) persons; even if the people were not all inside the building, the implication seems to be that the structure was capable of holding many people inside and was indeed impressive in size (see below IV.B.3 for further discussion).

Both texts further relate the existence of a gilded Buddha image inside the structure—the earliest clearly dependable reference to an actual Buddha image in China. As we shall see, some of the earliest surviving Buddha statues from China are gilt bronze figures and one, the Harvard Buddha in Fig. 1.44 is probably from this period, as discussed later in this chapter. Though the exact nature of the clothes of the image in Tse Jung's structure is not clear, the sculpture may have been venerated by the placing of brocade robes around it, a practice still carried out by Buddhists, especially Tibetan Buddhists, who continue the Indian traditions.

In sum, literary records from the Later Han period indicate interest in the Buddha as one of the great spiritual supernatural beings sufficiently well to be venerated along with the Yellow Emperor and Lao-tzu, as in the mid-1st century case of Prince Ying of Ch'u, and to be worshipped along with the Yellow Emperor and Lao-tzu at the court at Loyang in the mid-2nd century. Also, they contain indications of popular expression in the Hsü-chou region, as in the case of thousands of people coming to Tse Jung's Buddhist lou-ko-tao. Although there is little explicit evidence at present, it is also reasonable to expect that such important cities as Ch'ang-an, the main city on the Silk Road in China before reaching the capital at Loyang, likely had Buddhist adherents, at the very least among the foreigners engaged in the lucrative east-west trade.[27] Many of the foreigners, such as the Yüeh-chih and Parthians, were undoubtedly Buddhist and may have contributed to the dissemination of Buddhism in China, although no particular note is made of this in the official documents of the time known to date.

III. Translators and Translations of Buddhist Texts

Another significant facet of Buddhism in the Later Han period revolves around the important work of translating the Buddhist scriptures, which began to take place seriously and with increasing vigor, mainly in Loyang, the capital of the Later Han, from around the middle of the 2nd century A.D. Some elements of the Buddhist

[27] Tsukamoto (1985), I, pp. 65-67.

doctrine and stories of the Buddha's life and perhaps some Jātakas were probably known prior to the mid-2nd century through travellers and foreigners and the teachings of Buddhist monks. However, the first major work of translation which provided China with a relatively meaningful body of Buddhist scriptures in the Chinese language occurred during the period of emperors Huan (r. 147-167) and Ling (r. 168-189).[28] From the mid-2nd century until the end of the Han Dynasty in 220, three quite distinct phases of translation activity occurred. All were centered in Loyang under the guidance of foreign monks—Parthian, Kushan (Yüeh-chih or Indo-Scythian), Sogdian, and Indian. The translations, apparently based mainly on oral explanations, seemed to have been funded by interested laypersons.[29]

The first major translation phase is associated with the monk An Shih-kao 安世高, a Parthian prince turned monk, who came to Loyang "early in the period of Emperor Huan" (ca. 148 A.D.). From information contained in his biographies and in some other old documents recorded in the *Ch'u san-tsang chi chi* (compiled in 515 A.D.),[30] he was probably the son of the Parthian king by his official consort, and upon "surrendering his realm to his uncle, he left his native land in great haste."[31] An Shih-kao was known to be skilled in astronomy, medicine, and meditative practices as well as in the Abhidharma studies of the Sarvāstivādins, a prominent Hīnayāna sect, especially powerful in Kashmir and northwest India (Gandhāra) at that time. According to the *Tsung-li chung-ching mu-lu* 綜理衆經目錄 (called the *An-lu* catalogue for short), the comprehensive catalogue of Buddhist scriptures compiled by the prominent 4th century Chinese monk Tao-an 道安 (312-385) and considered the earliest reliable work on early Chinese Buddhist translations, An shih-kao seems to have translated 30 some texts over a period of not more than 20 years (from ca. 148 to some time in the Chien-ning era [168-172 A.D.] during the reign of Emperor Ling). Some are lost, but those that remain are texts from the Āgamas (the basic Hīnayāna texts) that deal with the Abidharma philosophy, and with texts of meditation practices. Almost all are considered to be Hīnayāna works. The most important and in-

[28] There is the tradition that the *Sūtra in 42 Sections*, a text dealing with the Virtues, was brought to Loyang with Kāśyapa Mātaṅga and Chu Fa-lan (Dharmaratna) and was translated by the latter in 67 A.D., but it is generally believed to be a work written later. Zürcher thinks it was probably written in the late 1st or early 2nd century A.D. Zürcher (1959), p. 29. Soper discusses this in conjunction with Emperor Ming's dream, etc., Soper (1959), pp. 1-4. Tsukamoto addresses the problem together with Emperor Ming's Dream, the Pai-ma ssu and the text for Removal of Doubt, Tsukamoto (1985), I, pp. 41-47. He thinks the 42 Articles may have appeared by the end of Han-Three Kingdoms and by Chin times was considered historical fact. *Ibid.*, I, p. 49.

[29] Zürcher (1959), I, p. 31.

[30] *Ibid.*, I, p. 32-33; Tsukamoto (1985), I, pp. 80-83.

[31] *Ibid.*, I, p. 81.

fluential texts translated by An Shih-kao were the *Scripture of Ānāpāna Mindfulness* (on the five mindfulnesses—a text which remained influential into the 3rd century and later inspired Tao-an, who wrote a commentary on it in the mid-4th century), and the *Greater Scripture of the 12 Gateways*, a detailed dhyāna (meditation) sūtra. An Shih-kao is credited with establishing in China the dhyāna lineage of practice mainly based on the Hīnayāna tradition. The date and place of his death are not known, but his lineage was carried on by his disciples, notably the converted layman Ch'en Hui 陳慧, who fled south at the end of Han, and by other followers in the mid-3rd century, such as the monk of Sogdian parentage from Hanoi, K'ang Seng-hui 康僧會.[32]

The second influential monk and main personage of the second translation phase in Later Han is the Yüeh-chih monk Lokakṣema (Chih Lou-chia-ch'an 支婁迦讖, or Chih Ch'an 支讖 in the shortened version), who came to Loyang late in the reign of Emperor Huan, sometime after 165 A.D.[33] Initially, Lokakṣema worked in Loyang at the same time as An Shih-kao, but while the latter was translating primarily Hīnayāna texts, Lokakṣema translated mostly Mahāyāna texts, about 14 in number, thus establishing the first major corpus of Mahāyāna scriptures in Chinese. Tao-an's catalogue mentions 12 works (9 are attributions) as being translated by Lokakṣema and his team, which included the Indian monk Chu Shuo-fo 竺朔佛 and three Chinese laymen, two of whom were previously Taoists. The major works translated by Lokakṣema mainly consisted of the *Shou-leng-yen san-mei ching* 首楞嚴三昧經 (*Śūraṃgama-samādhi*) now lost, but translated a total of 8 times over the next two centuries (including by Kumārajīva in the early 5th century), which discusses the *samādhi* (meditation) of the 10th stage Bodhisattva; the *Po-jo tao-hsing p'in* 般若道行品 (*Tao-hsing p'in* 道行品 for short); the first chapter of the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra*, the same as the *Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā Sūtra* or Wisdom Text in 8,000 verses, edited in 179, which contains a vision of the Buddhas of all 10 directions; and the *Po-chou-san-mei ching* 般舟三昧經 (*Pratyutpannasāmadhi Sūtra*) edited in 179 A.D. Tao-an attributes 10 other works to Lokakṣema, including the *A-ch'u-fo kuo ching* 阿閦佛國經 (Scripture of the Realm of Akṣobhya Buddha), and others.[35]

Lokakṣema remained in Loyang, but the place and time of his death are unknown. His lineage was continued by Chih Liang 支亮, a Yüeh-chih, and then by Chih Liang's pupil and naturalized Yüeh-chih raised in Loyang, Chih Ch'ien 支謙 (also known as

[32] Zürcher (1959), I, p. 36; Tsukamoto (1985), I, pp. 80-93, 191.

[33] Biography of Lokakṣema in *Ch'u san-tsang chi chi* 出三藏記集, 13 (Hereafter: *CSTCC*); Tsukamoto (1985), I, p. 98.

[34] *Ibid.*, I, pp. 98-102; Zürcher (1959), I, pp. 35-36.

[35] Tsukamoto (1985), I, pp. 99-100.

Chih Yüeh), who fled south to Wu at the end of Han.[36] Other foreign monks at Loyang during the period of Lokakṣema included the Sogdian monk K'ang Chü 康巨, and another Yüeh-chih, Chih Yao 支曜. By the second half of the 2nd century in Loyang ordinations and circulation of the Pratimokṣa rules (the vows of a monk) occurred, but the Vinaya (rules of monastic conduct) was not translated in the Han Dynasty.[37]

It is during this crucial period of ca. 150-180 A.D. that both the Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna texts were established in China, but, as Tsukamoto emphasizes, the Chinese accepted them all as one body of texts without the rivalry and debate which was raging in India between the Hīnayānists and Mahāyānists at this time. Indeed, Tsukamoto claims that not until the time of Kumārajīva in the early 5th century were the Chinese aware of the intensity of the issues between Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna adherents.[38]

Significant work was also accomplished by the Parthian An Hsüan 安玄 who came to Loyang in 181 A.D. Not a monk, but a merchant, he was awarded the honorary title of "tu-wei" 都尉 (commander-in-chief). Together with Yen Fo-t'iao 嚴佛（浮）調, the first known Chinese monk (from the banks of the Huai River in Anhui), An Hsüan translated the *Ugradattaparipṛcchā* ("The Questions of Ugradatta", under the title *Fa-Ching ching*, "The Scripture of the Dharma Mirror"), which explains a method of cultivating Buddhahood while still a householder, a text that apparently remained popular for sometime.[39]

After the burning of Loyang in 190 A.D. by the warlord Tung Cho 董綽, from the end of the 2nd century to the beginning of the 3rd century, another group of translators emerged at Loyang. In this third phase of Buddhist translation work in late Later Han, Lokakṣema's disciple, Chih Liang 支亮 represented his lineage. Others included the Indian monk Dharmaphala (T'an-kuo 曇果), said to have come from Kapilavastu, together with Chu Ta-li 竺大力, his compatriot, and the Sogdian K'ang Meng-hsiang 康孟祥, who translated the earliest known accounts of the Buddha's life.[40]

With the fall of the Han in 220 A.D. the Buddhist translators apparently disappeared, but during the latter part of Later Han dynasty An Shih-kao, Lokakṣema and others had succeeded in translating a core of texts dealing with meditation (dhyāna), the prajñā (wisdom) subjects, the Buddha's life, some of the cosmic Bud-

[36] *Ibid.*, II, Appendix, 21, p. 1140; Zürcher (1959), I, p. 36.
[37] *Ibid.*, I, p. 32.
[38] Tsukamoto (1985), I, p. 81.
[39] *Ibid.*, I, pp. 93-97; Zürcher (1959), I, p. 34.
[40] *Ibid.*, I, p. 36.

dhas (Akṣobhya and Amitābha), and had established both Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna practice lineages. Interestingly, the foreign monks hailed mainly from the western part of Central Asia, especially from the Kushana and Parthian empires. Recent studies by scholars indicate that the language of most of the early scripture translations reveals that they were probably translated from texts written in Northwest Prākrit and not Sanskrit, a factor which clearly supports the importance of the Gandhāra-Bactrian-western Central Asian region for the Buddhism in China at this particular time.[41] Furthermore, among the populace settled in Loyang—and probably also in Ch'ang-an—were substantial communities of Yüeh-chih and Parthian immigrants and naturalized citizens, mainly involved with the mercantile trade.[42] Very likely at least some of them were Buddhist and supported Buddhist activities, including the making of Buddhist images. The extremely interesting and rare stone fragments from the curb of a well said to be from Loyang and inscribed with writing in Kharoṣṭhī script (script of the Gāndhārī language of the Kushanas and also used in Central Asia up to ca. 400 A.D.) may be an example of this foreign Buddhist activity in the Loyang area. The inscription records the donation to a Buddhist "Saṅgha of the four quarters" and is thought to date around the late Later Han period (see Chapter 5, note 5.33 and Fig. 1.1 b).

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[41] J. Brough, "Comments on Third Century Shan-shan and the History of Buddhism, " *BSOAS*, 3, 1965, p. 587. Brough claims that it has been baffling to Buddhist scholars why the early translations into Chinese were so poor with respect to the Sanskrit originals. "During the past few decades, several scholars have suggested that some of the earliest Chinese translations of Buddhist texts were made from Prākrit rather than from Sanskrit. In the earlier stages of discussion, there was some reticence as to the identity of the language in question. Sufficient evidence, however, has now accumulated to establish that the originals of these early Chinese translations were mostly, even if not exclusively, texts written in the North-Western (Gāndhārī) Prākrit." If so, then this is certainly a major factor pointing to the importance of the Buddhist materials from the Gandhāran, old Bactrian and western Central Asian region during this phase of early Chinese Buddhism.

[42] Some foreigners became naturalized Chinese citizens (kuei hua 歸化). Tsukamoto (1985), I, p. 60. Even before Lokakṣema there were groups of immigrants of the same nationality, some probably Buddhists; many Yüeh-chih resided in Loyang — some were naturalized and some were permanently settled. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 102-103. One interesting evidence occurs in the account of Chih Ch'ien in the *CSTCC* (though not mentioned in the *Kao-seng chuan*), where we learn that his grandfather, a Yüeh-chih, "brought several hundreds of his compatriots to settle in Loyang." *Ibid.*, II, p. 1139. Apparently referring to the same data, Lin Mei-ts'un asserts that considerable numbers of Yüeh-chih were coming to Loyang during the reign of Emperor Ling (168-189). Lin Mei-ts'un 林梅村, "A Kharoṣṭhī Inscription from Ch'ang-an" (in English), in Li Cheng 李錚 and Chiang Chung-hsin 蔣忠新 (eds.), *Chi Hsien-lin chiao-shou pa shih hua-tan chi-nien lun-wen chi* 季羨林教授八十華誕紀念論文集 (Papers in Honour of Prof. Dr. Ji Xianlin on the Occasion of his 80th Birthday), 2 vols., Beijing, 1991, Vol. I, p. 124.

IV. Buddhist Art

Just as the written records and histories disclose a complex amalgam of differing levels of society, various regions and activities associated with early Buddhism in China, so do the remains of Buddhist art from the Han period. In many ways, the literary and visual evidences mutually complement each other. Taken together they help open up a larger and clearer view of the apparently diverse and complicated strata of responses of the Chinese in their early encounters with this foreign religion and its art. Though the remains are still few from this period, new finds and reassessments of known works now provide more insight into this earliest period than we ever thought possible a few decades ago. At the same time, they create new, challenging problems whose investigation could lead to yet more fruitful results. In this section we examine the intriguing cliff carvings at the site of K'ung-wang shan in eastern China, then some pertinent works, some recently discovered, from tombs in Szechwan in the southwest, and finally offer a new study of one of the most important images in Chinese Buddhist art—the Harvard University Museum's flame-shouldered bronze Buddha.

A. *K'ung-wang Shan*

At this site, popularly known since Sung times as K'ung-wang shan 孔望山 ("Mountain where the [Master] K'ung (Confucius) was Gazing"), are carved some of China's oldest Buddhist images. Although recognized from the 1960's that the site contained images of more than one religion, it was not until the Chinese investigations and preliminary reports of 1979-1980 that the identification of some of the figures as Buddhist was established.[43]

K'ung-wang shan forms part of a branch of the Yü-t'ai shan range, and is located

[43] Preliminary studies by the Chinese have appeared in five major articles, which form the primary sources of the data summarized here: 1) Lien-yün-kang shih po-wu-kuan 連云港市博物馆, "Lien-yün-kang shih K'ung-wang shan mo-yai tsao-hsiang t'iao-ch'a pao-kao" 連云港市孔望山摩崖造像調查报告 (A Report on the Stone Statues Discovered in Mt. Kongwangshan, Jiangsu Province), *Wen Wu*, 1981, No. 7, pp. 1-7; 2) Hsüeh Wei-ch'ao 兪偉超 and Hsin Li-hsiang 信立祥, "Kung-wang shan mo-yai tsao-hsiang ti nicn-tai k'ao-ch'a" 孔望山摩崖造像的年代考察 (An Examination of the Date of the Cliff Images at K'ung-wang shan), *Ibid.*, pp. 8-15; 3) Yen Wen-ju 阎文儒, "K'ung-wang shan Fo-hsiang tsao-hsiang ti t'i-ts'ai" 孔望山佛教造像的題材 (K'ung-wang shan Buddhist Image Materials), *Ibid.*, pp. 16-19; 4) Pu Lien-sheng 步連生, "K'ung-wang shan Tung-Han mo-yai Fo-hsiang tsao-chiao ch'u-pien" 孔望山東汉摩崖佛教造像初辨 (Preliminary Theory on the Eastern Han Buddhist Cliff Images at K'ung-wang shan), *Wen Wu*,1982, No. 9, pp. 61-65; 5) Li Hung-fu 李洪甫, "K'ung-wang shan tsao-hsiang chung pu- fen t'i-ts'ai ti k'ao-ting" 孔望山造像中部分題材的考訂 (K'ung-wang shan Images: Consideration of Various Themes), *Ibid.*, pp. 66-70.

MAP 1.4
Kiangsu Region
(Ssu and Huai Rivers Area
in the Later Han Dynasty
25–220 A.D.)
SHANTUNG
T'ai-shan
Ssu River
T'UNG HAI
(Eastern Sea)
KIANGSU
Lien-yün-kang city
K'ung-wang shan
T'ung-hai chün
P'ing-ch'eng
Hsia-p'ei
HSÜ CHOU
Ssu River
Huai River
Kuang-ling
Yangtzu River

about 5 *li* (1 1/2 miles) south of the city of Lien-yün-kang 連雲港 in Kiangsu province (Map 1.4). This area, part of the Han Dynasty T'ung-hai 東海 prefecture, is about 100 *li* (30 miles) west of the P'eng-ch'eng and Hsia-p'ei region where we have previously noted the Buddhist activities of Prince Ying of Ch'u in the mid 1st century and Tse Jung in ca. 192 A.D. Mention of the site and its "old style" carvings appear in various travel accounts, poetic phrases, and visitor's inscriptions from the T'ang dynasty (618-906 A.D.) onwards.[44]

A total of about 105 individual images are reported to be carved in relief on the large boulders of the hill, approximately 129 meters high, which runs east-west about 700 meters in length. The area containing the carvings is about 17 meters east-west and 8 meters high (Fig. 1.2). In addition, a few large stones fashioned into animal and other shapes are located in scattered positions in the plain below the hill, including a boulder carved as a huge elephant (Fig. 1.19), a smaller stone carved as a toad (Fig. 1.3), and a large "head-shaped" stone.[45] The arrangement of both the reliefs and the boulder sculptures is puzzling and many of the figures have not yet been identified, but it seems clear that Buddhist and popular religious figures are mixed with secular figures. No known inscriptions at the site enable us to date or identify the works, nor do they reveal the donors. In the opinion of some Chinese scholars, the site appears to date in the latter part of the Later (Eastern) Han Dynasty, ca. second half of the second century A.D. Because of its historical interest, the site will be presented in some detail, focusing on the identifications, technique, dating and pertinent historical factors. The same numbering system established by the Chinese for the various images will be used here (Fig. 1.2).

1. *Images of Popular Religious Belief*

Some images appear to relate to popular Later Han beliefs associated with Hsi-wang-mu 西王母, Queen Mother of the West. The seated figure X68 dressed in Han style clothes and carved at the highest location among all the reliefs has been identified as Hsi-wang-mu (Fig. 1.4a). According to the study by Li Hung-fu, the faint remains of a peacock-tail shaped ornament hangs from the left side of Hsi-wang-mu's headdress, but the right side is indistinct. Li interprets the 2 cm deep niche-like space carved around the figure as the "cave place" or "stone room" of Hsi-wang-mu where she is worshipped together with the "2,000 stone officials".[46] This image is one of only three

[44] Pu Lien-sheng (1982), p. 61; Lien-yün-kang shih po-wu-kuan (1981), p. 1.
[45] *Ibid.*, pl. 4, Fig. 1.
[46] Li Hung-fu (1982), p. 66.

figures at the site to have a special level place carved out in front of the image to hold a lamp or candle for the purpose of worship.

Approximately 17 meters out in the level plain in front of the hill and in line with the Hsi-wang-mu image lies a large flattened round stone (diameter approx. 290 cm) with a large toad carved on top (Fig. 1.3). Lying on a hemispherical rock possibly meant to be the moon, the toad looks up towards the west in the direction of the Hsi-wang-mu image, and the direction associated with her paradise abode in the K'unlun Mountains in Central Asia (Maps 1.1 and 1.2). In Han popular mythology the toad is associated with the moon and appears in many tomb decorations of Later Han in conjunction with Hsi-wang-mu and other spirits in her circle. The toad's head is a blue-green color stone unlike any of the other animal stones at the site. The scale design carved on its back and polka-dot flower design on its upper legs are said to resemble the blue-green colored toad with polka-dot design in the Later Han tomb No. 7 in Loyang.[47] Northeast of the toad stone is one large, black round stone (hgt. 4-5.2 m, dia. 2.87-3 m) which has a slot as though to hold a stele (stone inscription slab). Li Hung-fu identifies this stone as a bird's head with a small nearby stone as its beak. It also faces the Hsi-wang-mu image and is, according to Li, possibly the great golden bird associated with Hsi-wang-mu as seen in other Han Dynasty remains. Thus, the toad on the moon is interpreted to represent the Heavenly Moon and the bird the Heavenly Sun, and both are linked to the presence of Hsi-wang-mu.

The relief figure X66 (Figs. 1.2 and 1.4b), carved below the image of Hsi-wang-mu (X68) and about the same size, similarly has a shallow concave niche-like space encircling the figure and a circular level place carved in front for worship activity. The figure, with its tall torso turned slightly to the side, sits in a formal, upright posture of respect in Han style dress. The headgear, clearly discernible with a band at the forehead, triangular segment above, and a flattened top, is identified as part of a military costume typical at the end of the Later Han. The well-preserved face, with its long, bony contours, wide open eyes, long nose, and simply outlined mouth, is similar to elements in many late Later Han examples from tomb sculptures and tiles, such as those in Figs. 1.8 and 1.24. At his left side is an attendant reported to hold a medicine mortar, which Li Hung-fu interprets as representing a wish for the long-life of the master (Fig. 1.2). The X66 image in Li's opinion is either a donor or one of the 2,000 stone officials attendant to Hsi-wang-mu in the "stone room".[48] However, because of his evident high status indicated by the presence of the "niche"

[47] *Ibid.*, pp. 66-67.
[48] *Ibid.*, p. 67.

and worship place, this figure could be construed as another important spiritual figure of the time, such as Tung-wang-kung 東王公 (King Father of the East), who, during the Later Han period in the Shantung region, appeared as the "yang" principle complementary to Hsi-wang-mu's "yin" principle. His lower position in relation to Hsi-wang-mu could be consistent with Tung-wang-kung's generally subsidiary role vis-à-vis Hsi-wang-mu, but in other paired representations they are on the same level to create the necessary balance. Possibly figures such as the Yellow Emperor or Lao-tzu, both worshipped in high circles and at the court at the end of Han, or some other Taoist figure related to T'ai-p'ing Taoism, should also be considered for this intriguing yet unsolved figure.[49]

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[49] For recent studies on Hsi-wang-mu and Tung-wang-kung see Wu Hung, "Xiwangmu, the Queen Mother of the West", *Orientations*, 18, No. 4, (April, 1987), pp. 24-33; Wu Hung, *The Wu Liang Shrine*, the Ideology of Early Chinese Pictorial Art, Stanford, 1989, pp. 126-141, 116-117; Jean M. James, "An Iconographic Study of Xiwangmu During the Han dynasty", *Artibus Asiae*, LV, 1/2, (1995), pp. 17-41. For texts relating to Hsi-wang-mu from pre-Han through Han, see M. Loewe, *Ways to Paradise: the Chinese Quest for Immortality*, London, 1979.

Hsi-wang-mu has been known in Chinese writings from pre-Han times, but it is mainly during the Han Dynasty that she rose to considerable popularity, apparently primarily among the common people. The *Han-shu* records a march to the capital in 3 B.C. by her devotees from throughout China carrying branches in protest to hardships caused by a drought. Some of the earliest representations in art come from the Early Han period tombs in Honan. During the Later Han period her representations proliferate and are found not only in Honan, but in Shansi, Shantung and Szechwan in particular. In the Shantung region, which especially concerns us here, she appears in at least two, if not more, apparently differing functions according to the work of Wu Hung and Jean James. She is on the one hand the beneficent helper of souls and as such is usually shown on Mt. K'un-lun, her mountain abode associated with her paradise where she is attended by a court including various strange creatures such as the tall, skinny figures with wings (hsien), the toad, the hare with mortar and pestle, a nine-tailed fox, and devotees. On the other hand, in the Wu shrines of ca. mid 2nd century A.D. and some related shrines, she assumes an apparent cosmic role as the yin force paired opposite the yang force represented by Tung-wang-kung. They also appear equated with the moon goddess and sun god respectively. In this cosmic role they appear in the upper zones of the shrine, usually in the gables, in the western and eastern direction respectively. From earlier times and other regions, Hsi-wang-mu had normally been represented seated either 3/4 or frontal view and wearing her jade hair ornament, the sheng. In the Wu shrines, however, she is always frontally seated, wears not the sheng but a high crown-like hat, and has wings. In the Wu shrine dated 151 A.D., in addition to being represented in the western gable, she also appears in the ceiling slab as a representation on Mt. K'un-lun. Thus she is separately represented in the two apparently differing forms, but is clearly relegated in both cases to the upper zones of the structure. At the I-nan tomb, possibly dating ca. 193 A.D., Hsi-wang-mu and Tung-wang-kung, each sitting on a mountain, appear as apotropaic figures on each side of the double entry door. For the characteristics of examples from Shantung, see James (1995), pp. 25-37.

The example at K'ung-wang shan clearly follows the high placement, suggesting either her cosmic and/or her helper function as the deity on Mt. K'un-lun. However, without clear identification of Tung-wang-kung, the cosmic yin function for her as seen in the Wu shrines may not be indicated here. Her crown is cap-like, but there is an appendage on her left side (the right side is broken) which could suggest the sheng. It is not, however, the three pointed crown that appears in some later bronze

The large figure Xl, located at the far western end of the hill (Figs. 1.2 and 1.5) and seated in a frontal position with hands folded in front inside his sleeves, wears a similar kind of military hat seen in X66 (Fig. 1.4b). Li proposes this figure to be a guardian holding a shield in front of his body similar to other figures known in Later Han tomb carvings.[50] No shallow niche space or circular worship place such as used with the X68 and X66 figures appears for the X1 image. Stylistically, it is similar to both X66 and X68 and, like X66, is well preserved with a big, long face possessing protruding, high cheekbones, long, straight nose and a small mouth. However, the eyes are strikingly different with their large size, upward slant and strong, diagonally slanted, heavy eyebrows. This facial type is characteristic of other images at K'ung-wang shan.[51]

A long, narrow rectangular panel (length 110 cm, hgt. 18 cm) containing a scene of figures (X97-X105) located just below the X66 image (Fig. 1.2) may be a feasting scene of the kind commonly appearing with Hsi-wang-mu images in the Han period.[52] It shows a seated man and woman, possibly husband and wife, facing each other on either side of a three-legged table on top of which is a tripod cauldron with a ladle. Two figures stand behind the man and six rather animated figures stand behind the wife, all portrayed in Han style dress.

Although few in number, these carvings, apparently related to popular religious usage, and possibly associated with the Hsi-wang-mu belief and/or popular Taoistic religious elements, are nevertheless rather large and prominently placed. They seem to have been construed according to some plan with the image X68 (Hsi-wang-mu) as the central and highest image and figures X66 and X1 of lesser ranking status.

The usage of the carved out area around the figures may have some special significance, as it occurs in conjunction with only a few figures at K'ung-wang shan. Although possibly a simple device to indicate divinity, it is also interesting to note that similar spaces are carved around the king figures in the reliefs at Tang-i-Sarvak, Elymais, western Iran, dating from the Parthian period, ca. 150-225 A.D. (Figs. 1.6a,b). It may not be possible to establish any direct relation between these reliefs and those at K'ung-wang shan, but this is not the only case where elements of Later Han art resemble features of Parthian art. Other examples will become apparent during the course of this chapter, so it is of more than passing interest to note these similari-

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mirrors (see for example, Chapter 2, Fig. 2.12 c and d for both Hsi-wang-mu and Tung-wang-kung).

[50] Li Hung-fu (1982), pp. 67-68.

[51] Similar facial types appear in some Later Han clay tomb figures, such as the large male figure in the Nelson Gallery and the standing figure in the Asian Art Museum. M. Pirazzdi-t'Serstevens, *The Han Dynasty*, trans by Janet Seligman, N. Y., 1982, Fig. 136.

[52] Li Hung-fu (1982), p. 68.

ties, especially in light of the known trade activities in the hands of Parthian merchants during the late Later Han period.

2. *The Buddhist Images*

In the lower portions to left and right of the two large figures X1 and X66 are carved some prominent individual figures and group configurations clearly of a Buddhist nature.

a. *The Standing Buddha (X2)*

The standing Buddha X2, carved near the western end of the site near X1 (Figs. 1.2, 1.5 and 1.7), is surrounded by the shallow concave niche-like setting similar to X68 and X66. This shallow depression, generally conforming to the contours of the figure, is not a standard Buddhist type niche or halo form, but again reminds us of the Parthian examples at Tang-i-Sarvak. It also bears some resemblance to the depiction of the Buddha on Kaniṣka Buddha coins, especially that on the copper didrachm inscribed "Sakamano Bouda" (Fig. 1.18g). The figural form, body posture, shape of the legs and feet, etc., are remarkably similar, suggesting a possible prototype for the X2 image in the Kushana coinage, a medium readily transportable. Though most known Buddha images from Kushana period in India and Central Asia do not have a body halo, the gold stater inscribed "Boddo" clearly shows a head and body halo (Fig. 1.18f).

The figure is raised in moderate relief a few centimeters above the surface of the depression. It has a bun-like uṣṇīṣa on the top of the head and both uṣṇīṣa and hair appear to be plain (unlined). The right hand is held in front of the chest with the palm facing out in the abhayā-mudrā and the upraised left hand grasps the hem of the robe (saṅghāṭī). The figure appears to be barefooted with feet spread to the side. The robe, flaring outward, hangs to the shins, has a round neckline, and simply indicated "collar" fold. The figure is identifiable as a correctly portrayed Buddha image different from the images in Han dress or the secular figures at the site, and very similar in all its aspects with the Buddha on the Kaniṣka coins.

The shape of the face with narrow forehead and sloping cheeks conforms to a common type appearing among many of the K'ung-wang shan images and in other Later Han period tomb sculptures. The eyes, which are tilted upwards, are rather deeply set under the overshadowing eyebrows; the nose, though mostly broken, appears to have been high, long and wide; the mouth, now a little indistinct, may have been rather small; and the ears—not long—stick out prominently to the sides.

The position of the two hands raised high in front of the chest follows the style of

the early Kushana Mathurā Buddha images, particularly those dated between Year 49 (ca. 159 A.D.) and Year 83 (ca. 193 A.D.), such as Figs. 1.27 and 1.54a,b.[53] However, the body and drapery are distinctly different from the usual, large, Kushana Mathurā or Gandhāran standing Buddha images. In the X2 figure the body appears slightly bent due to the slanted and curved edges of the robe; although such a posture could be related to Kushana Gandhāra standing Buddhas, it is more naively and simply rendered in this K'ung-wang shan image. The unlined robe is also an unusual feature.[54] In contrast, sculptures of the Buddha from Indian schools of this period all utilize schematic linear patterns of drapery folds in the Buddha's saṅghāṭī. The unlined robe of the X2 figure suggests several explanations: perhaps it is a naive rendering and therefore did not follow standard western modes; perhaps it follows only the simple forms as seen in the Kaniṣka Buddha coins (Figs. 1.18f, h); or assumes prevailing Han garment depiction without lines; or, the lines were there but are now worn out; or the image dates later when the unlined garment is common; or unlined garments for Buddha images were used in India or Central Asia at this time, but no clear example survives other than in coins. In Han sculpture the clothes are frequently depicted as plain and not lined with folds, so it is plausible that the Chinese sculptor adopted prevailing Han style in rendering this Buddha image, perhaps one way of comfortably sinicizing the strange figure of the Buddha. As depicted in the bronze charioteer figure from Tomb No.1 at Tao-tzu-p'ing, Heng-yang, Hunan (Fig. 1.8)—a figure which has a number of stylistic elements in common with some of the K'ung-wang shan sculptures—a typical late Later (Eastern) Han way of representing clothes is with broad smooth planes rather than with numerous folds or crease lines. This same bronze figure possesses a similarly awkward bent or walking posture and large head with sloping planes and big features as the K'ung-wang shan Buddha X2. This tomb is dated by the excavators to the Later Han period on the

[53] See Ludwig Bachoffer, *Early Indian Sculpture*, New York, 1929, 2 vols., Vol. II, 84 right: the Buddha from Set Mahet, dated Year 49 of Kaniṣka (possibly ca. 149-159 A.D.); Stanislaw Czuma, *Kushan Sculpture: Images from Early India*, Cleveland, 1985, pp. 228-230: Figs. 16, the Anyor Buddha, Year 51 (possibly ca. 151-161 A.D.); Fig. 22, the Buddha from Kauśambī, Year 83 (possibly ca. 183-193 A.D.). Also, for undated standing Buddhas of this period see Bachoffer (1929), Pl. 86 left.

The year dates refer to the era established by the Kushana king Kaniṣka I and subsequently followed by succeeding monarchs of the Kushans. The problem of the establishment of the first year of Kaniṣka is one of the most debated and controversial in Asian studies. For more details on this problem see Chapter 3, footnote 6. For this book, the date of ca. 100-110 is used for the first year of Kaniṣka, based on the prevailing accumulation of favorable arguments and data supporting a date near that time. A summary of the recent materials appear in footnote 3.6. However, the reader should be aware that the dates of 78 A.D., 125-128/129 A.D. and 144 A.D. have also been seriously considered (though both 78 and 144 are loosing credulity), thus making a possible fluctuation of about plus/minus 20 to 30 years in collating the dates with western years.

[54] According to Pu Lien-sheng, the Buddha's robe is without creases. Pu Lien-sheng (1982), p. 61.

basis of its tomb structure and typical Later Han contents, including five Later Han coins.[55]

b. *The Seated Buddha X76*

The seated Buddha figure X76 appears in the central area a little towards the eastern end (Figs. 1.2 and 1.9). In face and hand positions it resembles the X2 standing Buddha in Fig. 1.7, and it also has the shallowly carved depression surrounding the whole figure. The manner of defining the robe with a few incised lines around the raised arms creates the effect of loose sleeves, a style unlike Indian seated Buddha images, but one that seems to be adapted to indigenous Chinese modes appearing in Later Han images (Fig. 1.73).[56] Other than the few lines for the "sleeves", the robe of this image also appears to be without the patterns of crease lines common to Indian Buddha images of the Kushana period. Overall, this image has a sense of some solidity and weight, and the continuous yet subtly asymmetric curves of the contours create pleasing rhythms in the work despite its simplicity.

c. *The Parinirvāṇa Group*

The Parinirvāṇa (final Nirvāṇa) Buddha and attendants form the largest group scene at the site, comprising 57 individual figures (X4-X60) (Figs. 1.2, 1.10, 1.11) occupying a prominent front position 4.6 x 2.3 meters in the central portion of the site (Fig.1.2). The reclining Buddha image (X21) is created from a lump of red colored rock in front of the boulders carved with low relief images of monks, Bodhisattvas and other beings, mainly represented as heads or busts lined up in rows. The Buddha lies with his right arm under his head in the iconographically correct posture. His face is full and long, he has an uṣṇīṣa, and the round collared robe has a coarse "net-like" design (possibly representing the Buddha's patched robe) on the lower part.[57] Two circular depressions for ritual lamps appear at the lower end of the reclining Buddha (Fig. 1.11)—the third of the three images at the site to have this ritual space.

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[55] This is a large brick tomb excavated in 1976 among a group of 76 tombs on a plateau 15 li from Heng-yang hsien city in Hunan. Though previously robbed, it still contained many fine objects, including two bronze charioteers, two bronze horses, etc. See Hunan sheng po-wu-kuan 湖南省博物馆, "Hunan Heng-yang hsien Tao-tzu-p'ing Tung-Han mu fa-chüeh chien-pao" 湖南衡阳县道子坪東汉墓发掘簡报 (Excavations of the Eastern Han Tombs at Daoziping in Heng-yang County, Hunan Province), *Wen Wu*, 1981, No. 12, pp. 35-37.

[56] Other examples of this kind of sleeve design occur in the Wu Liang shrine (2nd half of the 2nd century) Wu Hung (1989), Fig. 120c, as well as in other Later Han reliefs: *Ibid.*, Fig. 48 (from Shantung).

[57] Lien-yün-kang shih po-wu-kuan (1981), p. 1.

On a separate rock situated below the head of the reclining Buddha is carved a figure (X13) wearing a crown and sitting in a contemplative pose where both the left arm and left leg are raised up and both the right arm and right leg are folded horizontally. It is a form of contemplative pose different from the asymmetrical positioning of the limbs known in later Chinese representations of the "contemplative" pose. This figure may represent one of the mourners, or the last monk disciple of the Buddha, but its prominence distinguishes it from the other figures in the scene. It could be a representation of the contemplative Prince Siddhārtha in his First Concentration. If so, then juxtaposed with the Parinirvāṇa, it may have the meaning of referring to the beginning and end of Śākyamuni's goal: the First Concentration is the first incident in his life that eventually culminates in his Parinirvāṇa, a juxtaposition occurring in some Kushan works.[58]

On the same rock as the lying Buddha appear the faint traces of a figure who has thrown himself on the ground in front of the Buddha. This could be the monk disciple Ānanda. Among the rows of figures on the wall behind the Buddha some monks are distinguishable by their apparently shaven heads and the presence of a halo. Others wear crowns (one seems to be a three sided crown) or different style caps and have various hair styles (Fig. 1.10). These probably variously represent the monks, Bodhisattvas, the Mallas, and the guardians of the quarters, said to have been in attendance at the Buddha's Parinirvāṇa. Mainly distinguished by their full, large faces and round collars, all appear to face the Buddha. Most of the faces, though similar, are reported to have individualized expressions of grief. Carved among the group of heads is a lotus, the flower associated with Buddhism.

The Parinirvāṇa scene is well known among Kushana period (1st-3rd century A.D.) relief sculptures of the Gandhāra region of northwest India. Although the K'ung-wang shan representation is iconographically correct, it does not really bear any strong stylistic resemblance to the known Indian forms. In the regular manner of lining up the images in close-set rows of large, slightly turned faces it is perhaps closest to the fragments of a wall painting showing the Buddha and his disciples from Shrine MIII at the eastern Central Asian site of Miran (Fig. 5.24), which probably dates ca. mid-3rd century (see Chapter 5).

Even though this Parinirvāṇa representation appears naive, it is nevertheless rather complex and inventive and a moving testimony to the early Buddhist faith in this area. Attention to detail and interesting usage of the natural lumpy boulder for the

[58] In a recent study of the Contemplative Bodhisattva, Junghee Lee suggests this kind of relationship in discussing the famous Kushan Gandhāra relief in the Freer Gallery of the Buddha's Enlightenment. Junghee Lee, "The Origins and Development of the Pensive Bodhisattva Images of Asia," *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. LIII 3/4, 1993, p. 313.

Buddha image in contrast with the low relief carving of the attendant mourners creates a novel effect. Possibly only a factor of unsophisticated carving, it nevertheless is an effective technique akin to modern sculptural modes that incorporate the natural with the artifically sculpted form. It may be an expression that seeks to relate the image with a supernatural base, represented by the untouched boulder as a force of nature. Because of the prominent position at the front of the site, and with not one, but two, places for ritual worship, this Parinirvāṇa scene was obviously of special importance at K'ung-wang shan.

d. *The Standing Buddha X6l*

Carved on the right (facing) side of the boulder containing the Parinirvāṇa scene, and at a right angle to the rows of faces on the upper part of the Parinirvāṇa group, is the standing figure X61 (Figs. 1.11, 1.12). Probably a Buddha rather than a monk, it most likely is not related to the Parinirvāṇa group. According to initial reports, two extremely weathered heads (X62 and X63) appear at either side of the image.[59] Despite similar arm and hand positions, the X61 Buddha is quite different stylistically from the standing Buddha X2 (Fig. 1.7): the X61 Buddha is portrayed in a strictly frontal rather than bent pose, the heart-shaped head is considerably larger in proportion to the body, the undergarment appears below the sanghati and conforms to the general shape of the lower legs, and the feet face front rather than to the side as portrayed in the Buddha X2 (Fig. 1.7). The triangular shaped feet resemble the representation of the Bodhisattva's feet on the belt buckle from a tomb dated corresponding to 262 A.D. at Wu-ch'ang, Hupeh of the Three Kingdoms period (Fig. 2.6), one factor that further suggests a slightly later dating for this X61 Buddha. The image imparts a sense of considerable mass and exudes a dignified calm and composure with its heavy head, sloping shoulders, and simply defined legs. In its quality of mass, proportions emphasizing a large head and hands, and particular shape of the right hand and side-projecting thumb, the figure is not unlike, though less refined and controlled, the Fujii Yūrinkan bronze Bodhisattva discussed in Chapter 2 as a work of the late 3rd century (Fig. 2.10). The factors in common with 3rd century works may point to a dating for the X61 Buddha to that period, possibly in the late days of the Later Han or early Three Kingdoms.

e. *The Mahāsattva-Jātaka (Sacrifice to the Starving Tigress)*

At the easternmost end of the site is carved X82 (Figs. 1.2, 1.13, 1.14), apparently an image of prince Mahāsattva sacrificing his body to the starving tigress, one of the

[59] Lien-yün-kang shih po-wu-kuan (1981), p. 3.

most popular and well-known Jātaka Tales. The prone figure of the prince—the Buddha in a previous life—rendered in low relief with a few incised lines for details, conforms to the horizontal shape of the boulder from which it is carved, similar to the method adopted for the Parinirvāṇa scene. His right arm is positioned behind his head, his left arm lies across his chest, his right leg is outstretched, and his left leg crosses over his right thigh. The upper body is naked and a pair of parallel incised curved lines describes the band of his short lower garment. The pose is one commonly used for Mahāsattva in some of the early wall paintings from the Kizil caves near Kucha on the northern Silk Road in eastern Central Asia, but different from the famous rendering in Tun-huang Cave 254 of ca. 475.[60] In the K'ung-wang shan relief the prince wears a pointed cap, apparently indicative of secular attire and his status as a prince. Indeed, the pointed cap is prevalent in Kushan art of the 1st-3rd century in depictions of Yüeh-chih and princely figures.[61] A recent, spectacular example dating ca. 1st century A.D. appears in a princely figure wearing a tall pointed cap from the newly excavated site of Dalverzin-tepe near Termez in southern Uzbekistan (Fig. 3.22). Pointed caps appear in other figures at K'ung-wang shan and in a Later Han ceramic head from Chekiang (Fig. 1.16h,i). They may also be associated with the representation of a foreign type of figure, possibly wearing Kushan dress (see below). The cap on the Mahāsattva figure may be indicative of an intention to literally represent the prince as a person related to the Gandhāra area, the place where traditionally the events of this Jātaka occurred. The tigress, fashioned from a large curved rock behind the prince figure, appears to be hovering over his upper body. The head of the tigress is a lumpy stone approximately 24 cm long and 10 cm high with incised lines rendering the mouth and eyes (Figs. 1.13 and 1.14).

The scene represents one of the most popular of the Jātakas appearing in early Central Asian Buddhist art, especially as known from the cave paintings of Kizil. However, the uncertainty of the dating of most of the Kizil Caves as yet precludes any definite conclusion as to the contemporaniety of the Kizil paintings with these K'ung-wang shan reliefs. One small relief fragment from Gandhāra of a stupa with one side of the base carved with the Mahāsattva-Jātaka representation attests that

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[60] The Mahāsattva-Jātaka occurs in a number of wall paintings at Kizil, none of which appear, however, to date as early as the K'ung-wang shan sculpture. Two of the earliest examples occur in Caves 17 and 47, possibly late 4th or early 5th century caves. See *Kiziru sekkutsu* キジル石窟 in *Chūgoku sekkutsu* 中国石窟, Vol. I, Tokyo, 1983, Figs. 61, and 151. For the Tun-huang Cave 254 example of ca. 475, see *Tonkō Bakkō-kutsu* 敦煌莫高窟 in *Chūgoku sekkutsu* 中国石窟, Vol. I, Tokyo, 1980, Figs. 36, 37.

[61] For examples of the Persian style cap in Kushan art see J. Rosenfield, *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans*, Berkeley, 1967, Figs. 4, 14-16, 22; and Hackin, *Begram*, Figs. 521, 522.

this Jātaka was at least known and portrayed in the Gandhāran region in the Kushan period (Fig. 1.15), though this is an exceedingly rare example.

f. *Rectangular Panel with Five Images*

At the western end of the site a rectangular panel (60 cm long, 36 cm high and 8 cm deep) contains five carved images (X88-X92) in bust form, all with a head halo (Fig. 1.2). The central figure is largest and has an uṣṇīṣa, thus suggesting that this configuration may be a Buddha with four attendants.[62] Head halos occur rarely among the K'ung-wang shan figures; others occur only in the Parinirvāṇa scene and with standing figure X71. This panel seems likely to be one of the latest works at the site.

3. *Other Figures*

a. *Guardians and Worshippers*

The standing figure X85 (Fig. 1.16a) is identified by Yen Wen-ju as a guardian image (*li-shih* 力士) of foreign type unlike the Han dynasty Chinese type.[63] Portrayed in a posture of activity or squatting with both elbows akimbo and fists on his thighs, he wears a large hat on his head and X-crossed straps cross his bare chest. Such crossed straps (channavira) occur frequently in male figures in Kushana period art 1st-3rd century A.D., such as seen in the Begram ivories,[64] and they are common in Greek and Roman art, especially on warrior figures. Not being an established type in the Han repetoire, this representation can probably be as much associated with the guardian figures introduced into China with western or Buddhist art as with a more "Han" type "li-shih" which appears in some examples of art from Szechwan tombs, such as one from the money tree in Tomb No. 1 at Ho-chia shan discussed below (Fig. 1.31f).

The standing male figure X65 (Fig. 1.16b), possibly a worshiper or donor image, is depicted as though either walking or dancing in side view. He wears a belted coat and pointed hat with a flying ribbon, and in his right hand he holds the stalk of a flower, probably a lotus—a flower strongly linked with Buddhism and possibly representing here a Buddhist's offering. Furthermore, this figure, like several others discussed below, wears a type of costume and hat resembling that of the Kushans, thus these figures could be donors representing the Yüeh-chih (Kushans) or a foreign nationality in China.

[62] Lien-yün-kang shih po-wu-kuan (1981), p. 5.

[63] Yen Wen-ju (1981), p. 18.

[64] For an example of the channavira in the ivories from Begram, ca. 2nd century A.D., see Rosenfield (1967), Fig. 97a.

b. *Secular Figures (Acrobats and Dancers)*

Some figures at the site are interpreted by Li Hung-fu as secular figures of acrobats, dancers, and musicians typical of Han art, among which he notes X69 as a dancing figure, X73 (probably mistaken for X76) as a figure playing music on the reed flute, X77 as a flute playing image, and X74 as reciting like an actor to figure X69 (Figs. 1.2, 1.13, 1.16g). Such performers are known from Han period records and appear in tomb carvings, such as the Wu tombs in Shantung. The group of figures at the lower right of the Parinirvāṇa scene are thought to be nine acrobats or low class dramatists performing in five layers. The scene is active, some figures stand on a lower person's hands and shoulders, some bend their elbows, one wears a mask, etc. (Fig. 1.2).[65]

c. *Figures in Kushan Style Dress*

A number of figures at the K'ung-wang shan site have not yet been identified, including some scenes in rectangular frames and some figures in what appear to be foreign dress and hat. This latter group includes X3, a seated image with head in profile (Figs. 1.2, 1.5); X74, a standing figure also with head in profile (Fig. 1.16g); and two profile busts: X72 and X78 (Fig. 1.13). This particular group bears rather close resemblance to figures of the Kushan kings on the early Kushan coins, such as those from the period of Vima II Kaḍphises (possibly ruled between ca. 90-110 A.D.) and Kaniṣka I, the great king accredited with support of Buddhism (dates unsettled, rule of about 23 years possibly began between ca. 100 and 110 A.D., see note 3.6) (Figs. 1.17 and 1.18 a-f). The correspondence is especially noticeable in the shape of the hat with its flying ribbons. Also, the boots in X74 (Fig. 1.16g) and the coat-like appearance of the clothes in X74 and X3 relate to the Kushan style of dress. X74 with nearly frontal body, head in profile, and widely spread feet has close reference to images of Kaniṣka I on his coins, such as the famous "BODDO" gold stater coin and the "Sakamano Boudo" copper didrachm (Figs. 1.18f and g). The large, pointed nose of X74 (Fig. 1.16g) resembles those in the prominent profiles of the Kushan kings (Figs. 1.17 and 1.18f). Some of the K'ung-wang shan figures appear to have beards, such as X81 and X75 (Figs. 1.13, 1.16c) like the Kushan kings. The profile bust type of image with hat and ribbons appears in the coinage of Vima II Kaḍphises and Kaniṣka I as seen in Figs. 1.18c and d. The figure X78 (Fig. 1.13) is similar, although it shows only one ribbon. Figures enclosed in a rectangular frame appear

[65] Li Hung-fu (1982), pp. 68-69. He interprets X69 as dancing, X76 (misnumbered as X73 in his text) as holding a flute, X74 as holding a reed organ, and X77 as playing a flute. Some of these seem unlikely, but the figures are not clear.

at K'ung-wang shan in four examples, one (X88-92) resembles depictions in the coins of Vima II Kaḍphises, such as that in Fig. 1.18e.

No apparent resemblances can be discerned between the K'ung-wang shan figures and the coins of Kujula Kaḍphises (ruled ca. 30-80 A.D.), nor any close similarities with the coins following Huviṣka's reign (possibly ruled 2nd quarter of the 2nd century, ca. 126-164), that is, from Vāsudeva I (ca. 164-200) onwards. In spite of uncertainty as to the exact dates of the Kushana kings, thus creating a possible fluctuation of around 20 years according to the most recent assessment (see note 3.6 below), the combined dates of Vima II Kaḍphises, Kaniṣka I and Huviṣka would generally correspond to ca. 100 to ca. 164, the period producing that coinage with which the K'ung-wang shan figures present some definite stylistic resemblance.

d. *The Elephant Stone*

The elephant stone (Fig. 1.19), fashioned from a solid round boulder approximately 4.8 m long and 2.6 m high, possesses the characters "hsiang shih" 象石 —elephant stone—carved in a special style of calligraphy said by Li Hung-fu to exist in the Han period.[66] With the matrix of the original stone left between the legs, this elephant is also typical of some Han period large animal sculpture.[67] The elephant's mahout (driver or trainer) with T-shaped hairdo, manacled feet and carrying a goad, is carved in low relief on the eastern side between the elephant's legs.

The elephant, known from at least the late Shang period in Chinese art, is a relatively prevalent motif in Han tomb art, where it appears in several variants: elephant with riders, the white elephant, and the six-tusked elephant.[68] Some scholars

[66] *Ibid.*, p. 69.

[67] Hsüeh and Hsin (1981), p. 12.

[68] *Ibid.*, p. 12; Wu Hung, "Buddhist Elements in Early Chinese Art (2nd and 3rd Centuries A.D.)", *Artibus Asiae*, XLVII, 3/4, 1986, pp. 271-273.

The elephant with riders theme, well-known in India in both Buddhist and secular context from the 2nd century B.C., occurs as early as the Early Han ca. 1st century B.C. in the bronze chariot ornament from Sanp'an shan in Hopei (Ibid., Fig. 18).

The white elephant occurs in a late 2nd century A.D. Later Han wall painting on the south wall of the antechamber of a tomb in Holinger, Inner Mongolia (*Ibid.*, Fig. 6). Paired opposite it on the north wall was a ball-shaped object on a plate with an inscription "she-li", indicating it to be śarīra, certainly an item of Buddhist connection. This painting, however, apparently no longer survives. On the west and east wall of the antechamber are the figures of Hsi-wang-mu and Tung-wang-kung respectively. The white elephant, in the view of Yü Wei-ch'ao and Wu Hung, came to be associated with conception, and as such was a happy omen, as expressed in a Later Han popular poem: "The white elephant brings about conception." (*Ibid.*, pp. 271-272).

An example of two 6-tusked elephants with riders occurs in a 2nd century relief from T'eng-hsien, Shantung (*Ibid.*, Fig. 22). These foreign elements are discussed by Wu Hung as part of the repertoire of hsiang-jui (good omens), popular strange phenomena that seemed to suggest omens of many different kinds for which the public of that day had an obsessive interest (*Ibid.*, p. 270).

consider these themes to be related to Buddhist origins (i.e., training the mind like an elephant trainer tames the elephant, the white elephant of the Buddha's conception, etc.), but others interpret them as common Han secular themes.[69] Examples in China frequently occur in association with Hsi-wang-mu (Fig. 1.31 e and g), and perhaps the elephant stone at K'ung-wang shan, the largest known single sculpture from the Han period, is indicative of a powerful image related to the popular cult of Hsi-wang-mu or as simply an asupicious omen rather than connected with a strictly Buddhist context. Amalgamation at a single site of various elements and spirits considered auspicious is common in the Later Han period, including some foreign elements,[70] and is reflected in the textual works of the time, which suggest a virtually uncontrolled mixture of spirit figures co-existing in the minds of the populace as powerful, supernatural beings. Well executed with crisp linear elements, this sculpture fully utilizes, as do a number of other sculptures at K'ung-wang shan, the inherent power of the massive boulder in combination with rudimentary human or animal forms, possibly in itself a technique that embodies the supernatural essence so consciously sought after at this time.

4. *Technique and Historical Conditions*

The K'ung-wang shan sculptures employ a variety of carving techniques. Most are executed in rather flat low relief with incised lines or thin, raised lines for details, but some are in high relief using the technique of incorporating the natural lumpy shape of the rock. This latter technique is applied in rendering the Parinirvāṇa Buddha and Mahāsattva Jātaka and is employed for the sculptures in the round: the toad,

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[69] Li Hung-fu (1982), p. 69.

[70] Besides the items listed in note 68 above, one of the most interesting examples is the famous tomb at I-nan in Shantung, a superbly decorated three-chamber stone tomb shrine, containing among its many reliefs a few which have drawn the attention of scholars as possible Buddhistic motifs. They appear on an octagonal pillar in the rear chamber and include two standing figures each with a circular head halo and dressed in tunic and baggy trousers (resembling guardians), and a seated figure with wings but without halo whose right hand is like the abhayā-mudrā and who appears to have a rudimentary uṣṇīṣa and/or cap. These figures, like the elephants, are quite far-fetched to be considered strictly Buddhist. They are probably incorporated, along with Hsi-wang-mu and Tung-wang-kung and the other spirit figures, dragons, etc. on the pillar, as fortuitous spirits or deities (Wu Hung (1986), Fig. 7). The I-nan shrine is dated by its excavators to ca. just prior to 193 A.D. (Ts'eng Chao-yü, *et al* 曾昭燏 *I-nan ku hua-hsiang shih-mu fa-chüeh pao-kao* 沂南古畫像石墓發掘報告 (Report on the Ancient Picture Images Discovered in the Stone Tomb at I-nan), Beijing, 1956). Others consider it to date later, to ca. late 3rd to early 4th century (Hsio-yen Shih, "I-nan and Related Tombs", *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. XXII, 4, 1959, pp. 309-311).

elephant and head stones.[71] According to Chinese researches, the various carving techniques and the Han style dress of some of the figures correspond to late Later Han period art, especially to that from the periods of Emperors Huan (r. 146-167) and Ling (r. 168-189), as borne out by numerous comparative examples from the Han "picture stones" (hua-hsiang shih 画像石), especially from I-nan 沂南 region in Shantung, from the Ch'ü hsien 朐縣 and Hsü-chou districts, from the Lung-ta 龐大 tombs southwest of K'ung-wang shan, and from Tung-shan 銅山, P'ei hsien 邳縣, P'ei hsien 沛縣, T'ung-hai 東海, and Lien-yün-kang 連雲港 regions.[72]

One particularly pertinent example in relation to the K'ung-wang shan style appears in Tomb No. M2, the ancestral tomb of the Ts'ao 曹 family at Tung-yüan ts'un 董園村, Po hsien 亳縣 northwest Anhui province (Fig. 1.20a). This tomb probably dates within the period of Emperor Ling (168-189), but could be the one referred to in the recorded tomb stele bearing the date corresponding to 160 A.D.[73] The style of clothes and hat as well as of the line drawing in simple but broadly sweeping lines appears very similar to some of the figures in Han dress at K'ung-wang shan, such as X66, X68 and Xl (Figs. 1.4a, 1.4b, 1.5). These K'ung-wang shan figures appear more closely related to the style of the Ts'ao tomb guardian than, for example, to the figure and linear style of reliefs from I-nan, probably dating ca. 193 (or later, see note 70 above), where the body has more freedom of movement and the interior lines, rather than forming long curved lines, are arranged in choppy clusters (Fig. 1.20b).

The general region around K'ung-wang shan was economically and culturally flourishing during both the Former and Later Han periods. Prosperous from fishing and from sea and river transportation, by the end of Han the area came to support a

[71] According to Hsüeh and Hsin (1981), pp. 10-11, the techniques of the K'ung-wang shan carvings show the prevailing styles of sculptures and reliefs in the Shantung-Kiangsu region (especially the Hsü-chou area) "picture stones" and tomb art. They classify the K'ung-wang shan carving styles into four categories: 1) convex surface carving; 2) low relief; 3) high relief; and 4) incised. The type 1) carving is seen in X68, X66 and X 21 among others and appears as a mature style in the Wu tombs and other Kiang-nan reliefs of the late part of Later (Eastern) Han. Type 2) is seen in X1, X2, and X82, etc., and is a technique completely matured in the middle periods of Later Han as seen in works dated 113 A.D. and 130 A.D. It also appears in Hsü-chou region tomb reliefs dated 175 A.D. which are comparatively close to the style of the K'ung-wang shan carvings. Type 3) appears in X21, X83 and X82, skillfully using the raw shape of the rock. This type of high relief is seen in animal and other figures in Han tombs and is a technique which also matured in the latter part of the Later Han. Corresponding examples appear in the works of the periods of Emperor Huan (r. 147-167 A.D.) and Emperor Ling (r. 168-189 A.D.). The type 4) technique of simple incised lines appears in the small rectangular panels at K'ung-wang shan. Among other examples, incised lines in carved stones of the Han period begin at the end of the Former (Western) Han in the Hsü-chou tombs and in Shantung.

[72] *Ibid.*, pp. 9-12; Lien-yün-kang shih po-wu-kuan (1981), p. 7.

[73] Hsüeh and Hsin (1981), p. 10.

large wealthy class. Also, the area of Ch'ü-shan 朐山 during Ch'in and Han times was known for its iron works and numerous tombs in the Kiangsu-Shantung region have yielded many artistic evidences of this region's flourishing Han period culture.[74]

K'ung-wang shan is situated in the old Tung-hai chün (Eastern Sea Prefecture), which in the Han period was a flourishing area of Taoism; in particular, it was the main center of the T'ai-p'ing Tao 太平道 sect and the probable place of origin of the *T'ai-p'ing ching* 太平經, the main text of this sect. A prominent Taoist temple, the Tung-hai miao (Eastern Sea Temple) was located near K'ung-wang shan. The stele "Tung-hai miao pei" 東海廟碑 dated corresponding to 172 A.D. records the founding of this temple in 155 A.D., and states that in the Later Han during the Yung-shou (155-158 A.D.) and Hsi-p'ing (172-178 A.D.) eras, three officials, namely, Huan-chün 桓君, Man-chün 滿君, and Jen Kung 任恭 went to the Eastern Sea to Ch'ü-shan 朐山 and adorned the temple.[75] In the view of Hsüeh Wei-ch'ao and Hsin Li-hsiang the prominence of this great temple near K'ung-wang shan may have been a substantial factor in the carving of the "Taoistic" type images there and even related to the making of the Buddhist images at K'ung-wang shan. They argue that since Buddhism was very new and still weak in China at this time, it was probably under the auspices of the Taoists that the Buddhist images were carved. The practice of worshipping the Yellow Emperor, Lao-tzu, and the Buddha suggests to them that a syncretic religious atmosphere existed, and that Taoism and Buddhism were being practiced conjointly. However, with the defeat of the Yellow Turban rebellion of Taoists in 184 A.D., this Taoist sect, centered in this area, was restricted and weakened. Hsüeh and Hsin therefore surmise that the "Taoist" images at K'ung-wang shan would have been made during the 155-184 A.D. period, before the defeat of the rebellion. Furthermore, they conclude, Buddhism probably would have become more independent after 184 and would therefore not necessarily be included in a site mixed with "Taoist" images. The fact that K'ung-wang shan has both "Taoist" and Buddhist images together argues, in the view of Hsüeh and Hsin, that its date is before 184 and after the founding of the Eastern Sea Temple in 155.[76]

Wu Hung, who presents a differing interpretation also based on some written accounts, perceives the relation between Taoists and Buddhists in the period of Huan and Ling as essentially antagonistic. Therefore he seriously doubts that the carvings at K'ung-wang shan possess any co-ordination between the two. Instead, he views all of the carvings there as Taoistic.[77] However, it is hard to entertain the idea that Taoists

[74] *Ibid.*, p. 10; Lien-yün-kang shih po-wu-kuan (1981), p. 7.
[75] *Ibid.*, p. 7.
[76] Hsüeh and Hsin (1981), pp. 14-15.
[77] Wu Hung (1986), pp. 297-303.

would have incorporated a Parinirvāṇa and Jātaka Tale into their religious repetoire since they relate to specific events of the Buddha and are not simply a "spiritual figure". It may be another matter if only Buddha images existed there, because conceivably Taoists, or even other popular beliefs, could, at this time, have incorporated the Buddha as another of the supernatural beings so prevalent at the end of Han.

Another plausible condition, and one that seems to be borne out by the chronology, is that the Buddhist works may have been executed slightly after the time of the other works of popular beliefs, perhaps after the period of the Yellow Turban rebellion and the abandonment of the Taoistic factions in the area. It should also be considered that the Hsi-wang-mu and other figures of "popular belief" may not necessarily be related to Taoists. If, however, we can make assumptions based on materials discovered in Szechwan province, the incorporation of Hsi-wang-mu iconography and Buddhist iconography in one and the same tomb suggests that some sort of popular belief system supported the two icons in a syncretic way, possibly without recourse to the stricter religious tenets. Whether it is Buddhists struggling to adapt their beliefs to the culture, or proponents of popular belief simply incorporating various supernatural beings, is still an open question.

5. *Conclusions*

Most of the carvings at K'ung-wang shan seem to be generally consistent in terms of style and technique with other art from the latter part of the Late Han period. Even if some of the works date slightly later than others, most appear not to date later than the 3rd century. Clearly Buddhist figures are intermixed with popular religious figures probably associated with Hsi-wang-mu, and stylistically both kinds appear to have been carved around the same time, although the Hsi-wang-mu and popular figures could be slightly earlier since their style seems to agree more closely with the guardians from the Ts'ao family tomb M2 of ca. 160 (Fig. 1.20). Buddhas X2 and X76 are stylistically close to the figures in Han style dress, suggesting they were executed without much time differential between them, but the relation of X2 with the bronze charioteer in Fig. 1.8 could indicate a dating closer to the close of 2nd century or early 3rd century. All, with the exception of X1, use the same technique of shallow concave niches, and they have a similar sense of rounded planes and delicate linear details. The Parinirvāṇa and the Jātaka are executed in a different technique, but appear to be from the same general time. Buddha X61, as noted above, could date into the 3rd century. The figures in Kushan style dress appear related to the figure style in the coins from the period of Vima II Kaḍphises and Kaniṣka I (ap-

prox. first quarter of the 2nd century), and they, too, appear generally consistent with the main body of carvings.

It is not clear whether the arrangement of figures at K'ung-wang shan conforms to a particular plan, but the main figures appear to have a certain order. Among the popular religious figures, Hsi-wang-mu is at the top; the two other figures in Han dress in the lower center and left are major, but probably lower ranking figures. In the field in front of the cliff the various scattered figures can be associated with the realm of Hsi-wang-mu, at least as can be intimated from similar type figures seen in tomb art, such as the tile from the Ch'eng-tu area in Fig. 1.24 and from the moneytree from Ho-chia shan in Fig. 1.31. The Buddhist figures—all in the lower part of the site—interestingly also appear to have their own order. If approached in the way of Buddhist circumambulation, moving from right to left, one encounters first the Jātaka (representing the Buddha's Past Life), a seated Buddha, then the Buddha's Parinirvāṇa (the Buddha's Present Life) and finally a standing Buddha. The order in both of these sets of images seems to suggest a degree of authenticity in respect to the internal integrity of each religious system. These indications, tentative as they are, could support a theory of separate systems juxtaposed rather than co-ordinating, including the idea that they were executed separately at different times, though not far apart. Some of the figures attired in foreign dress with western physiognomy may very well be representations of foreigners, especially the Yüeh-chih or Parthians. As noted in section III above, many Yüeh-chih and Parthians were known to be in China, especially in Loyang, in relation to the flourishing east-west trade, and possibly some of them were active in this area and may have contributed to this site. Otherwise, these foreign figures may refer to some stories, such as Jātakas, or foreign worshippers.

If these Buddhist images are works of the late 2nd century, then they confirm the presence of Jātakas and Parinirvāṇa representations at a relatively early time in China. The Parinirvāṇa is well known in Gandhāran art from the 1st century A.D.; the Jātaka of the starving tigress is known at least in one of example from Gandhāra (Fig. 1.15) and is a prevalent subject in the wall paintings of the Kizil caves, though the latter are problematic in dating. The standing Buddha X2 and seated Buddha X76 display hand positions typical for this period and conform to the standard type prevalent in Mathurā in the 2nd century A.D. and in the coins of King Kaniṣka I. The three figures with the specially carved out place for ritual—Hsi-wang-mu, X66, and the Parinirvana Buddha—are all placed roughly on the central vertical axis.

Despite the apparent naive qualities, the art of this site offers a fascinating complexity and intriguing forthrightness in the style of its varied figures. Not only is the art of K'ung-wang shan an example of the typical mixture of relgious elements com-

mon to much of late Later Han art, it is particularly interesting to detect that a considerable portion of the Buddhist imagery can be clearly related to Gandhāran elements and correctly portrayed Buddhist icons. This certainly testifies to a certain level of knowledge of the foreign art forms. Though many questions remain unanswered, the site presents us with a clear picture of the assimilation of Buddhist images with popular religious beliefs probably prevailing in the Later Han period in the eastern region of China.

B. *Evidences from Tombs in Szechwan and Kansu*

Art related to Buddhism from Szechwan province in the southwest casts an interesting light on Buddhist practice in this region around the end of the Han Dynasty and into Shu Han kingdom of the subsequent Three Kingdoms period (220-265). Most of the objects, consisting primarily of small sculptures from tombs, some known for decades, others newly discovered, reflect a surprising degree of knowledge of Central Asian and Indian art styles and an assimilation of Buddhism into the local funerary practices, especially in the west-central area around the Min River and Ch'eng-tu as well as in the Mien-yang area of the Fu-chiang River valley of north-central Szechwan (Map 1.5). Even certain tomb designs, notably those at Ma Hao, seem to reveal an intriguing relation with specific Buddhist cave designs from the Termez region of western Central Asia. In Kansu, though with much less indication of Buddhist activity than Szechwan or the central plains at this time, the appearance of Buddhist motifs may suggest a modicum of interest in Buddhism in this area, which lies on the main trade route into China from the west and, at this time, is primarily comprised of military commanderies related to political control, expansion and defense.

1. *Cave Tomb No. IX at Ma Hao*

The tomb known as Cave IX at Ma Hao, situated in central Szechwan near the junction of the Min and Ta-tu Rivers, a mile or so down the Min River from Chia-ting (present Lo-shan city) (Map 1.5), contains a relief of a seated Buddha, long famous as one of the oldest Chinese Buddhist images (Figs. 1.22b and 1.23).[78] The relatively

[78] This work has been well known for some time and has appeared in numerous references. It was known by Chavannes and Franke, and was studied in a major article by Richard Edwards after his visit to the site (R. Edwards, "The Cave Reliefs at Ma Hao", *Artibus Asiae*, vol. XVII, 1954, part I: pp. 5-28 and part II: pp. 103-129 [Hereafter Edwards, "Ma Hao"]); S. Mizuno noted this image along with the P'eng-shan

large tomb with antechamber and series of separate shafts is not structural like most tombs of the Han period, but is carved like a cave into the sandstone rock and faces north—overlooking the Min River—rather than the customary southern direction. Three entrances lead to the single, laterally positioned antechamber, the space used for performing worship for the ancestors. From the rear of the antechamber three separate, narrow, tomb shafts project deep into the hill (Fig. 1.21). Customarily cave tombs continued to be used for several generations. In this case the middle shaft is unfinished, suggesting it was the last to be carved.

The plan, especially with regard to the long shafts, a type apparently employed in this region of Szechwan, remarkably resembles the plan of the caves of complex C at Kara-tepe (Fig. 3.13), a Buddhist site under excavation by the Russians in the old Termez area near the Oxus River (Amu Darya) in the ancient region of northern Bactria, now southern Uzbekistan (Map 3.3). The Kara-tepe caves and their associated temples are dated by the excavators to ca. 2nd-3rd century A.D. in the Kushan period (see Chapter 3). Given the possibilities of the transference of ideas and art forms along the east-west trade routes between China and the Kushan empire, such correspondences may not be surprising, especially in a context where a Buddha relief is also present, indicating some knowledge of Buddhism in this area. Although this similarity could be coincidental, and certainly the Kara-tepe caves are also a rare example of this kind of deep shaft plan, it nevertheless remains as an interesting factor among others indicating artistic currents between Central Asia and China, particularly with respect to Buddhism, in the latter part of the Later Han dynasty and into the Three Kingdoms period.

Panels of low relief carvings decorate the entrances and walls of the antechamber (Fig. 1.22a, b). Two of the three panels at the entrance are still discernible: a bearded ram with two embracing figures (a typical motif among Later Han tomb figures) on its back, and a group of three people playing musical instruments. Inside the antechamber from left to right as one faces the rear are carved a series of panels and some separate figures below a design simulating roof eaves that runs along the top of the walls. The style of the eave design resembles examples in some Later Han terracotta models of houses from Szechwan.[79] The relief figures include, in an ap-

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ceramic and the Buddha on the door lintel of the cave tomb at Shih-tzu-wan (Fig. 1.24 below) in the same district as Ma Hao (S. Mizuno, *Bronze and Stone Sculpture of China*, Tokyo, 1960, p. 9. Ma Hao Cave IX has been recently reported by L. Lim, "The Mahao Cave Tomb at Leshan", in *Stories from China's Past*, San Francisco, 1987 (exhibition catalogue), pp. 194-199, and both the Ma Hao and Shih-tzu-wan examples appear in Ho Yün-ao 賀雲翱, *Fo-chiao ch'u ch'uan nan-fang chih lu* 佛教初伝南方之路 (Early Remains of Buddhism from the Southern Regions), Beijing, 1993 where they are dated to Eastern Han to Three Kingdoms (Shu) period (p. 159).

[79] *Ibid.*, color plate 6.

parently random, or as yet undiscerned, order: the depiction of Ching K'o's attempted assassination of the King of Ch'in (later the Ch'in emperor Shih Huang-ti) in 227 B.C., a panel of "reigning in the horse of heaven", a seated Buddha, a monster mask, a fisherman—identified by Richard Edwards, who was one of the first to recognize and study the art of this cave, as probably Lu Shang, who served both kings Wen and Wu of Chou and was instrumental in the overthrow of the Shang dynasty—, a building, a gateman(?) in a house, and a scene with a carriage.[80]

The single Buddha image appears in the most prominent location in the center of the antechamber above the entrance to the unfinished middle tomb shaft (Figs. 1.21b, 1.23), the location to receive offerings, one of the important functions in a tomb or mausoleum according to Chinese custom. As noted earlier, signs of worship also appear at K'ung-wang shan with the circular depressions for a lamp or candle.[81] As at K'ung-wang shan, the Ma Hao Cave IX Buddha figure is juxtaposed with images of non-Buddhist content—not those of the popular Hsi-wang-mu cult as at K'ung-wang shan, but historical, legendary and auspicious figures. Both sites also mix secular subjects with the religious ones, a typical trait in the art of Han tombs.[82] General correspondences in artistic mode also link these two sites: usage of rectangular framed panels, the "floating" character of some of the images which appear without any base or base line setting, poses of wildly vigorous movement in some figures, and incorporation of the natural rock or rock surface as part of the design, such as usage of lumpy boulders for some sculptures at K'ung-wang shan and of uncarved portions of the walls as noted by Edwards in the fisherman scene in Ma Hao Cave IX.

Ma Hao Cave IX was possibly worked on over a number of generations. Although not specifically dated, the stylistic comparability of the relief panels with other late Later Han materials suggest a dating from the late Later Han to Shu-Han (Three Kingdoms) period, that is, ca. late 2nd century A.D. to around mid 3rd century. The relief style, especially as rendered in the Ch'in Wang panel (Fig. 1.22a), closely re-

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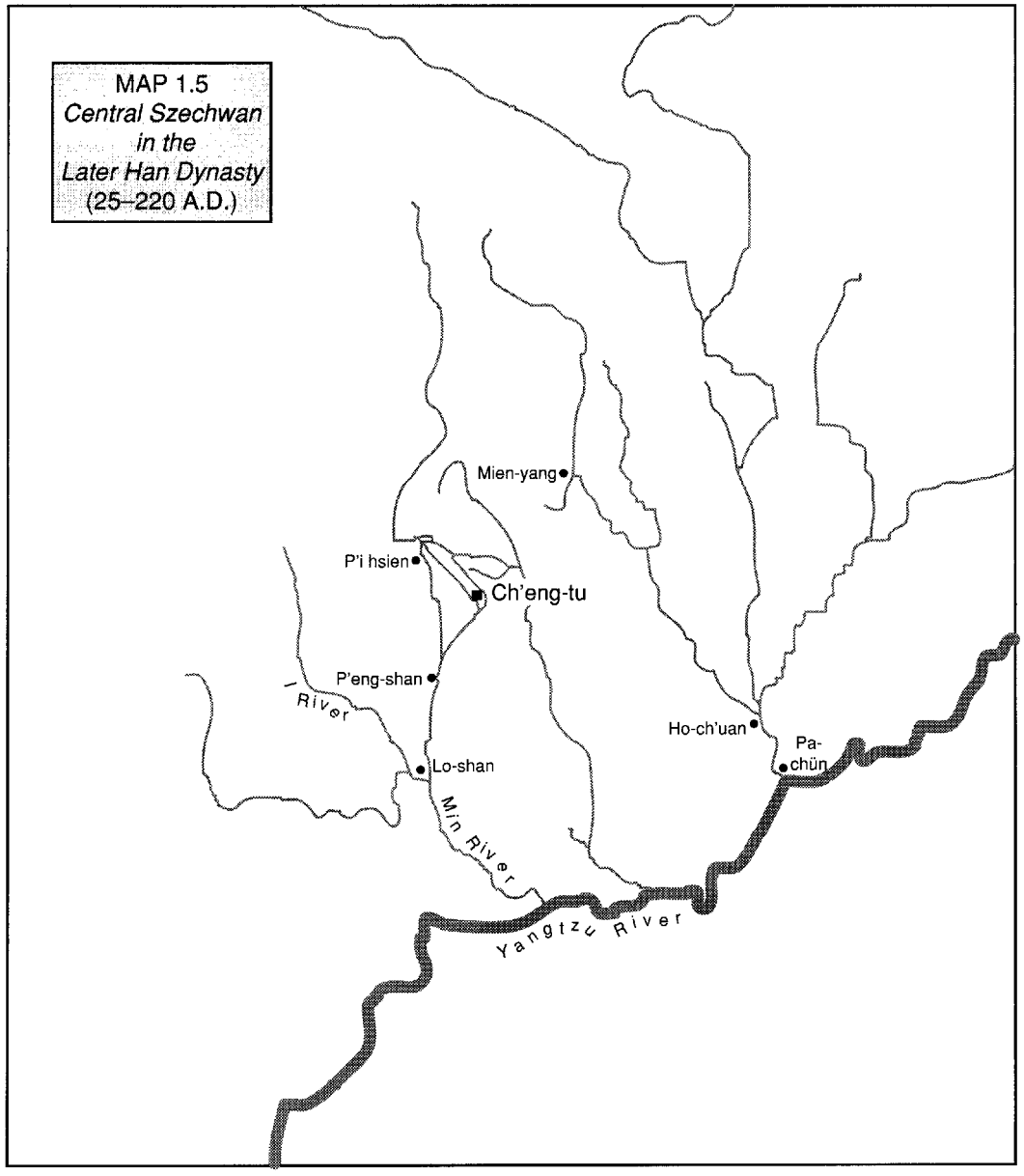
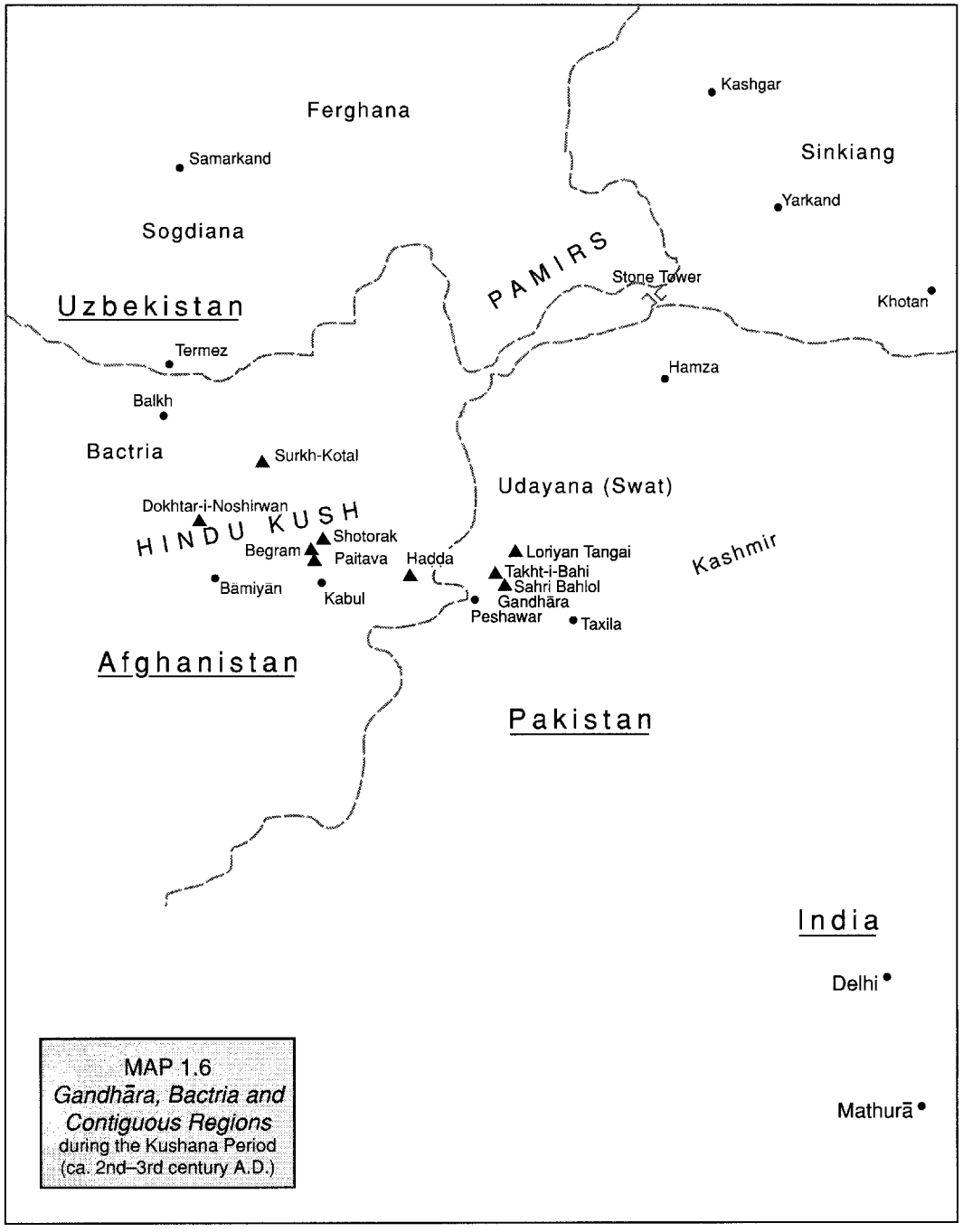
[80] Edwards (1954), pp. 6-28; 103-126. In note 111 on p. 129 he suggests that this tomb could be Shu Han of the Three Kingdoms period.

[81] Yü Wei-ch'ao 俞偉超, "Tung Han Fo-chiao t'u-hsiang k'ao" 東汉佛教图像考 (An Examination of Eastern Han Buddhist Picture Images), *Wen-wu*, 1980, No. 5, p. 75.

[82] Wu Hung discusses the question of these early Buddha images being "Buddha-like Chinese deities" rather than "real Buddhas" and the way in which Buddhist art secured a foothold in China. In his view, such figures as the white elephant (and its association with the Buddha's conception), the stupa-like form in the Wu Liang shrine, the plate of she-li, and the Buddha or "Buddha-like" figures, all represent a kind of "random" borrowing of Buddhist elements, not with any particular Buddhist meaning attached, but more probably as a kind of auspicious omen of the "xiangrui" type (i.e., omens interpreted as the will of Heaven). In this way he sees Buddhist art gaining a foothold in the Chinese culture to which Buddhist ideas were in large part foreign. Wu Hung (1986), p. 273.


MAP 1.5
Central Szechwan
in the
Later Han Dynasty
(25–220 A.D.)
Mien-yang
P'i hsien
Ch'eng-tu
P'eng-shan
River
Lo-shan
Min River
Ho-ch'uan
Pa-
chün
Yangtzu River



MAP 1.6
Gandhāra, Bactria and Contiguous Regions
during the Kushana Period
(ca. 2nd–3rd century A.D.)

sembles relief examples in another late Later Han tomb in Szechwan at Ho-ch'uan hsien 合川縣 (Fig. 1.30c and d and Map 1.5).[83] The taut, tough, smooth curves of the horse representation in the Ma Hao relief relates to the bronze horses discovered in the late Later Han tomb at Heng-yang, Hunan, noted earlier for the compatible style of its bronze charioteers with some of the K'ung-wang shan figures (Fig. 1.8).[84] Other tombs in the locale of Ma Hao Cave IX reportedly contain dates corresponding to 149 and 159 A.D., indicating activity in the area during the latter part of Later Han.[85] Incorporation of a Buddha image in the prominent position for worship may have been a customary feature in a number of late Later Han-Shu Han period tombs in the Ma Hao region. The Shih-tzu wan Cave I, an antechamber type tomb with two finished shafts and one unfinished long rear shaft, contains two seated Buddha relief images carved on the lintel, one above each of the two completed shafts (Fig. 1.24).[86] These occurrences suggest a serious degree of assimilation of Buddhism by at least some members of society in west-central Szechwan able to afford the construction of these large, fairly elaborate cave tombs.

When carefully examined, the finely carved Buddha image of Ma Hao Cave IX, as well as the example from Shih-tzu wan Cave I (although it is more weathered), reveals interesting elements for understanding the earliest Buddhist imagery in China, and in the Szechwan region in particular (Figs. 1.23, 1.24). Carved in low relief against a plain background, the Ma Hao Cave IX Buddha sits cross-legged with a round head halo, but without either a body halo or a pedestal. Since the top of the halo is broken, it is not possible to discern if the halo had a slight peak, but in all probability it was round as characteristic of the Buddhist halos of Indian and Central Asian examples of this general period. While the face of the image is rather worn or damaged, the round and full shape of the head is apparent, as is the low shape of the uṣṇīṣa, which, though unusual, occurs in the Buddhas in the row of niches from Lou-lan in eastern Central Asia dating before the 4th century A.D. (Fig. 5.58) and in the Buddha painting from Kara tepe (Fig. 3.17). Like the images at K'ung-wang shan, the Ma Hao Buddha displays the abhayā-mudrā with the right hand and with the left hand holds up the hem of the garment, which falls in a spreading "S" curve of delicate parallel pleats in front of the crossed legs. This type of gesture

[83] The Ho-ch'uan tomb, investigated in 1975, is a cross-shaped stone tomb said to be similar to other late Eastern Han tombs dated to 211 A.D. and to between 192-214 A.D. Chung-ch'ing shih po-wu-kuan 重庆市博物馆,*et al*, "Ho-ch'uan Tung-Han hua-hsiang shih mu" 合川東汉画象石墓 (Picture Images from the Eastern Han Stone Tomb at Ho-ch'uan), *Wen-wu*, 1977, No. 2, pp. 63-69, Figs. 17 and 18 on p. 67.

[84] Hunan sheng po-wu-kuan (1981), Pl. 3, Figs. 3 and 4 for the horses.

[85] Edwards (1954), p. 128-129.

[86] Yü Fu-ch'ao (1980), p. 75; Ho Yün-ao (1993), p. 159.

and style of the falling drape is most common in the Kushana period seated Buddhas of the Mathurā school in Central India during the 2nd century (Fig. 1.27).[87] It appears in some figures from the Swat Gandhāran school (Fig. 1.28), but is not the mode generally used in images from the main Gandhāran schools around the Kushana capital of Puruṣapura (present-day Peshawar in northern Pakistan). Both arms of the Ma Hao Buddha, though positioned in front of the chest, are rendered with a subtle asymmetry—the right hand slightly higher than the left—unlike the strongly symmetric manner of the Mathurā and Swat images. Also, both hands are unusually small in size compared with the Indian and the K'ung-wang shan styles (Figs. 1.7, 1.9, 1.12). As a type, the hands of the Ma Hao Buddha are similar to those of the charioteer from the Hunan Heng-yang tomb in fig. 1.8 and they closely correspond to portrayals in the wall paintings of Shrine M-III at Miran on the southern Silk Road in eastern Central Asia (Figs 5.24, 5.23a) with their small fingers and a double-jointed look to the thumb. As discussed more fully in Chapter 5, the Miran wall paintings probably date around the mid-3rd century A.D.

The shaping of the robe imparts a full and substantial impression to the body of the Cave IX Buddha which is re-enforced by the thick legs and chunky proportion of the figure. The drapery forms series of loose, nearly symmetric, U-shaped drapes across the chest and large swags over the arms, obscuring the shape of both chest and arms but creating a pleasing rhythm of heavy curves. Similar loose folds are employed in the depiction of Hsi-wang-mu on a Later Han tile from a tomb near Ch'eng-tu (Fig. 1.24a,b). With considerable sophistication and rhythmic spirit, the lumpy folds, thick body, small hands and lively pleat folds of the Ma Hao Cave IX Buddha combine to produce an image highly Chinese in style.

Despite this strongly Chinese artistic interpretation, as already indicated above, the figure clearly shares interesting points with certain Indian and Central Asian works. The V-shaped neckfold is common in Mathurā Kushana images, the coarse folds for the Buddha's drapery—a distinctly non-Indian style—are remarkably similar to the portrayal of garment folds in the terracotta Serapis and Harpocrates relief probably dating in the 1st or 2nd century A.D. from Khotan (Fig. 4.3), the cluster of four narrowly spaced pleat folds formed by the falling of the cloth from the left hand, besides relating to the Mathurā images noted above, also relates to the

[87] The Buddha from Jamalpur, Mathurā, in Fig. 1.27 is closely related to the Buddha from Anyor dated Year 51. For the Anyor Buddha see J. E. Van Lohuizen-De Leeuw, *The "Scythian" Period*, Leiden, 1949, Pl. XXIII, Fig. 39, and pp. 196-197 for the date, which she attributes to ca. 129 A.D., taking the first year of Kaniṣka I to be 78 A.D. See also, Czuma (1986), p. 228, Fig. 16, who accepts the same ca. 129 A.D. dating. If, however, the first year of Kaniṣka I is ca. 100-110 (which we are adopting for this book), the date would be ca. 151-161 A.D., a more likely result according to the most recent assessments of the reign dates of Kaniṣka (see below Chapter 3, note 6 for more discussion of this issue).

pleated cloth in images from Lou-lan (Fig. 5.78a). The number of these correspondences—probably more than mere coincidence— must suggest some relation with the art of the Mathurā school and of major sites of the Silk Road in Central Asia, especially those along the southern route and Lou-lan, that is, from the territory associated with the kingdom of Shan-shan. These elements, however, have all been ingeniously combined and fashioned into a coherent Chinese variant style.

This small Buddha figure may, with its combined elements of the Mathurā, Khotan, Miran, Lou-lan and local (the Hsi-wang-mu tiles) art reveal traces of the particular influences at work on the art within Szechwan, and in fact, may reflect certain historical and geographic circumstances characteristic to the Min River area during the latter part of Later Han and during the Shu Han kingdom of the Three Kingdoms period. A recent study by Wu Cho has brought out some pertinent factors which shed some light on the conditions surrounding the early Buddhist images of Szechwan.[88] One factor concerns the communication routes of this period. Records reveal the existence of an old route through Burma between Central India and Yünnan to Szechwan.[89] As yet, however, discoveries of any early Buddhist or other imported wares are lacking from the areas of this route. Nevertheless, it is still of interest in that it suggests a more direct link between Central India (and therefore Mathurā, the most important Buddhist and artistic center of Central India during the Kushan period) and Szechwan. Such a route, if used at this time, could account for the relatively strong Mathurā elements in both the Ma Hao and the P'eng shan Buddhas (discussed below) from the Min River region.

Another communication route apparently active at this time links west-central Szechwan via the Ch'ing-hai region directly to western Kansu (Chiu-ch'üan) and to Central Asia without going through southern and eastern Kansu on the main trunk route to Central Asia. This alternate route, as shown by Wu Cho from historical references, connects in one branch with Chiu-ch'üan and in another branch with the kingdom of Shan-shan on the eastern part of the southern Silk Road in eastern Central Asia (Maps 1.1, 1.3, 5.1). During the Three Kingdoms period (220-265) when

[88] Wu Cho 吳焯, "Szechwan tsao-ch'i fo-chiao i-wu chi ch'i nien-tai yü ch'uan-po t'u-ching ti k'ao-ch'a" 四川早期佛教遺物及其年代与傳播途径的考察 (An Investigation of the Relics of Early Buddhism in Szechwan and Their Dates and Dissemination), *Wen-wu*, 1992, No. 11, pp. 40-50. It could also be noted that Kao Wen mentions the existence of a bronze "Buddhist" statuette discovered in a Han tomb in 1974 in Hsia-lu-shan hsien. It is reported to be 14.1 cm in height, is seated in a kneeling position, has the hair in a "topknot", has a bare torso, lines on the body, and is supported by a pedestal with four animals and a circular base decorated with pointed leaves. No reference or photo is provided, however, so the piece remains a mystery. Kao Wen 高文 "A Brief Overview of the Han Tomb Reliefs from Sichuan", in Lim (1987), p. 50.

[89] *Ibid.*, pp. 44 and 46.

Szechwan was the independent kingdom of Shu Han (see Chapter 2), this route, especially from Ch'ing-hai to Shan-shan territory, was probably used in lieu of the main trunk road through the Ho-hsi corridor of Kansu to Ch'ang-an and central Szechwan.

In the Three Kingdoms period, Kansu was controlled by Liang-chou, which in turn was under the [Ts'ao]-Wei kingdom, an adversary of Shu-Han. In 264 Ssu-ma Yen 司馬炎 of Wei defeated Shu-Han and incorporated it into the newly formed Western Chin Dynasty (265-317), which repressed religious activities in the Shu (Szechwan) region after 264, primarily aiming at the strong shamanistic religions of Szechwan, but with the resulting effect of stifling growth in Buddhism as well. Buddhist activity appears to have declined in Szechwan after 265.[90] The fact that during the Shu Han kingdom period (220-264) the Ch'ing-hai route seems to be the most active for Szechwan's communication with Central Asia may explain the appearance of artistic elements related to some of the art of Khotan, Miran and Lou-lan—the latter two sites in the Shan-shan kingdom—in the Ma Hao Buddha. It would also argue for a Three Kingdoms dating for the Ma Hao Cave IX Buddha image, though other reliefs in the cave could be earlier.

Tsukamoto recognized the intrinsic importance of Szechwan Buddhist art for the study of early Buddhism in China and he wondered whether Buddhism had entered Szechwan from Ch'ang-an, Kansu, or the south. In this respect it can be suggested that Buddhism may, at least in part, have come to Szechwan from the west via the old Burma road as well as through the Ch'ing-hai route from the southern route in eastern Central Asia, particularly as far as the Min River region is concerned.

Another factor in Szechwan Buddhism discussed by Wu Cho concerns the possible involvement of the minority people of the area with Buddhism. Some tomb inscriptions and figurines, notably figures in minority dress and pointed caps (associated from early Han times with foreign minorities, especially the Ch'iang), suggest that members of minority families became prominent in Szechwan society, particularly in the military. By the end of Han and into the Three Kingdoms period these minority families with surnames such as Ho 何, Lo 羅, and Kua 郭, had attained high social status. There is indication that these minority families were often Buddhist and were mostly concentrated around the Min River valley.[91] If so, it is possible the Buddhist images in the Szechwan tombs were related to these minority families. Certainly, as the Ma Hao tomb and other works discussed below indicate, Szechwan is emerging as a significant area for further fruitful research into the art and prac-

[90] *Ibid.*, pp. 46-47.
[91] *Ibid.*, pp. 47-49.

tices relating to Buddhism and its infusion into local customs and beliefs during the late 2nd-first half of the 3rd century.

2. *Buddha Images from "Money Trees"*

During the Later Han period decorative "money [or coin] trees" were items found in some tombs of Szechwan and southern Shensi.[92] The few known ones contain images of various deities and spirits in conjunction with the coins which lend the distinctive character and name to this curious and fantastic object. Probably these money trees were treated like an offering to a shrine; the tree itself may be an auspicious object, perhaps associated with the Fu-sheng tree of popular mythology. Buddha images are found on some of the money trees along with elements associable with Hsi-wang-mu (Queen Mother of the West) or depictions of Hsi-wang-mu herself and the spirits in her entourage. The incorporation of a Buddhist figure into objects associated with an indigenous Chinese custom or belief again demonstrates the tendency at this time to gradually assimilate elements of this new and foreign religion into established Chinese traditions, in this case by adding the Buddha as another spiritual figure in the repertoire of those in the current popular beliefs, which, at the end of Han, seem mainly to center around Hsi-wang mu, especially in the eastern provinces and Szechwan.

a. *The Ceramic Money Tree Base from P'eng-shan*

The green glaze ceramic base of a money tree in Figs. 1.25 and 1.26, found during the period of Japanese occupation and now in the Nanking Museum, came from a cliff tomb at P'eng-shan 彭山 between Ch'eng-tu and Chia-ting on the Min River in west-central Szechwan (Map 1.5).[93] Though humble and small, this work is of great interest on several accounts for the evidence it affords concerning the relation with some Kushana period images of India, with Shan-shan art, and with local practices.

Against the pillar-like shaft which originally held the stalk of the tree (now missing) are three figures modelled in high relief: a seated Buddha flanked by two standing figures. The Buddha image, without either halo or pedestal, sits with legs crossed under his robe, his right hand apparently in the abhayā- mudrā and the left hand, quite worn and damaged, probably raised and holding the hem of the robe. The

[92] Yü Fu-ch'ao (1980), p. 75. For an excellent intact example, also from Szechwan, see Lim (1987), color pls. 8, 9 and text pp. 160-163. Jean James suggests the money trees represent the interest of the mercantile class of Szechwan. James (1995), p. 38.

[93] This work has been mentioned in many references, among them Mizuno (1960), p. 9; Wu Cho (1992), p. 40-41; Wu Hung (1989), pp. 136-137.

arm and hand postures, like the Ma Hao Buddha (Fig. 1.23a), reflect prevailing Mathurā Kushana imagery of ca. 2nd century A.D. (Fig. 1.27). The collar fold of the Buddha's robe is round and fits close to the neck like those of the Buddhas at K'ung-wang shan (Figs. 1.4, 1.7) and Ma Hao, however, unlike those images, the robe of the P'eng-shan Buddha falls with a single sweep from the shoulders over the legs making a symmetric pattern of parallel folds that stretch across the body in wide, nearly horizontal, parallel, U-shaped curves. This particular mode is most clearly related to images from the Kushana Mathurā school of the 2nd century A.D. (Fig. 1.27)[94], though it also appears in some Kushan images from Swat, northern Pakistan (Fig. 1.28). Though both are carved in stone, they also use the incised line technique typical of clay images like the P'eng-shan Buddha, which emerges as an important early Chinese example of the incised technique in a clay Buddhist figure. The P'eng-shan image is also another interesting case of the relation of Min river region Buddha images with the Kushana Mathurā school, possibly, as noted with the Ma Hao Buddha, because of the direct route from Szechwan through Burma to central India.

The large, round head, similar to that of the Ma Hao and Shih-tzu wan Buddhas (Figs. 1.23, 1.24), has a "kapardin" style uṣṇīṣa, the distinct type of the early Kushana Mathurā Buddhas, which are also notable for their round head style. This uṣṇīṣa style also curiously resembles the twisted hair of the famous clay story-teller figurine from P'i-hsien 郫縣 near Ch'eng-tu.[95] However, uncharacteristic of the Mathurā Kushana images are the incised, vertical lines that create large, coarse creases for the hair on the cranium of the P'eng-shan Buddha, a feature that is prevalent in early Kushan period clay sculptures from the Termez region (Figs. 3.30a,b, and 3.34) and also appears in the clay head from Khotan in Fig. 1.29. The P'eng-shan Buddha has a striking overall similarity with the Khotan head, which, because of its close relation with the Termez sculptures of ca. 1st -2nd century A.D. probably dates to the same period, not only in clay technique and prominent hair ridges, but also with respect to its round shape and small, lumpy, rounded features. In sum, the P'eng-shan Buddha reflects early modes from Mathurā, western Central Asia and the Khotan region, sources mostly corresponding to those observed in analysis of the Ma Hao Cave IX Buddha and cave plan.

The two attendants are somewhat damaged (Fig. 1.26), but the Buddha's right attendant appears to be a Chinese male donor or worshipping figure wearing a coat crossed in the front with the left side lapping over the right side in Chinese fashion (the Yüeh-chih style is the reverse, i.e., right over left), long, baggy trousers, and

[94] See above note 87.

[95] Lim (1992), color pls. 2, 3.

soft boots. Incised lines indicate the low belt, edge of the long coat, and vertical ribbing pattern on the hem. In his left hand he holds a rounded object, possibly a lotus bud, as an offering. The left figure, more difficult to discern, is a monk according to Wu Cho. His right hand is raised and holds a lotus flower; his left hand reaches across the chest with palm facing up. These figures are certainly not Bodhisattvas, but may represent the combination of a secular donor and a monk. A similar secular/spiritual attendant combination appears in an example of Hsi-wang-mu carved on the side of a small coffin from the Later Han cliff tomb at I-p'ing 宜宾 region's Nan-ch'i hsien 南溪縣. On her left side stands a naked "spirit man" and on her right side appears a standing, secular, clothed lady.[96] Many examples of secular donor or worshiper juxtaposed with Buddhist monk also occur in the art of Kushana Gandhāra (Fig. 1.75a and b).

On the circular base appear a dragon and a tiger facing a "pi" disc located below the Buddha (Fig. 1.25). The incorporation of the pi disc and dragon-tiger motif, distinctly Chinese, non-Buddhist motifs, demonstrates another combining of indigenous and Buddhist themes. The dragon-tiger throne is the typical throne of Hsi-wang-mu and appears in many examples from Later Han art, including in Szechwan tomb tiles, such as that in Fig. 1.24. Clearly, in the P'eng-shan money tree base elements associated with Hsi-wang-mu mix with the Buddhist representation. The dragon and tiger depiction is stylistically similar to the dragon and tiger pulling on ribbons attached to a pi disc carved on the lintel above the main entrance of the tomb at Ho-ch'uan datable to ca. early 3rd century in Fig. 1.30b.[97] The forms of the P'eng-shan dragons also compare to the composite griffin-dragon type animals carved on some wooden lintels of ca. mid 3rd century A.D. from the eastern Central Asian site of Niya (Fig. 5.2a), a site on the southern Silk Road (see Chapter 5).

Like the Ma Hao Buddha, this P'eng-shan work reveals some links with art of 2nd century A.D. Mathurā, with Kushana period art of the Termez region in southern Uzbekistan, and with the southern Silk Route in eastern Central Asia of ca. mid-3rd century. These sources may reflect the communication routes noted above from central India through Burma to central Szechwan, but probably more strongly relate to the route through Ch'ing-hai to the Shan-shan kingdom of eastern Central Asia. Both also exhibit the tendency to incorporate Buddhist images within popular beliefs current in the Later Han. This factor testifies to the presence of Buddhist art at a popular level, very possibly among minority members of society living around the Min River region in the latter part of Later Han.

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[96] Wu Cho (1992), p. 41.

[97] Chung-ch'ing-shih po-wu-kuan, *et al*, (1977), p. 66, Fig. 9. For data on the tomb see note 83 above.

b. *The Buddhas on the Money Tree from Mien-yang (Ho-chia shan Tomb HM No. 1)*

A money tree with five small Buddha images was discovered in 1989 in a tomb about 1 km west of Mien-yang on the Fu-chiang River (Map 1.5). The tomb, about 30 m above ground level in a 50 m reddish sandstone cliff, was found in tact with its tomb contents undisturbed. According to the excavation report, the tomb, typical of late Later Han style in this area,[98] consists of a trapezoidal main room lower and narrower in front and higher and wider in back, a room at the rear connected to the main room by a passage, two coffins in each room, and various funeral contents in good condition, mostly distributed in the main room, including earthenware, copper and iron vessels, mirrors (one with Hsi-wang-mu on a tiger and dragon throne and Tung-wang-kung sitting on the back of a deer)— all reported to be similar in style with late Later Han works. Confirming this date is the stash of coins (210 pieces), which included the Early (Western) Han *wu-chu* type, Later (Eastern) Han *wu-chu* and knife types. One type—the *yen-huan wu-chu* 緣環五銖 (ring *wu-chu* with circular hole)—appears only in the late period of the Later (Eastern) Han.[99]

A money tree in two parts, consisting of ceramic base and bronze "tree", was discovered in the main room behind one coffin. Placed at regular intervals on the 79 cm long stalk of the "tree" are five small seated Buddhas, each 6.5 cm in height (Fig. 1.31a-d) with a figure of Hsi-wang-mu (Fig. 1.31e) at the pinnacle in a position of prominence suggestive of the configuration at K'ung-wang shan where Hsi-wang-mu was the highest figure at the site. The "branches", most of which have broken off, depict amidst their filigree tendrils and coin appendages the fantastic figures and motifs prevalent in late Later Han popular belief: a "li-shih" (musclemman) (Fig. 1.31f), birds, elephant (Fig. 1.31g), dragon head, etc.—a virtual repetoire of popular spirits associated mainly with Hsi-wang-mu, some like those at K'ung-wang shan. As at K'ung-wang shan, this money tree juxtaposes Buddha figures with those of popular religious belief, particularly centering on Hsi-wang-mu. Whether or not the five Buddhas in this case have any particular significance at this time is not certain. The five Buddhas appear in written records of the late 4th century in the Eastern Chin and in surviving images in Ping-ling ssu Cave 169 in Kansu of ca. late 4th-early 5th century. In the latter they probably form a configuration of the Buddhas representing the four directions and center. This could be the case here, with the possible intention of emphasizing a cosmological scheme. If so, then it would be an

[98] Ho Chih-kuo 何志国, "Szechwan Mien-yang Ho-chia shan i-hao Tung-Han ai-mu ch'ing-li chien-pao" 四川綿阳何家山1号東汉崖墓清理簡报 (Excavation of the Eastern Han Cliff Tomb No. 1 at Hejiashan in Mianyang, Sichuan), *Wen-wu*, 1991, No. 3, pp. 1-8. I am grateful to Wu Hung for pointing this article out to me.

[99] *Ibid.*, p. 8.

early example and one quite compatible with the level of thought in Late Han.[100]

Each Buddha sits with legs crossed, right hand in the abhayā mudrā, and the left hand grasping the hem of his robe, like the seated and standing K'ung-wang shan, Ma Hao and P'eng-shan Buddhas. They possess a circular, wide band form of halo, but no pedestal. An unusually large uṣṇīṣa on the large head spreads out like a mushroom cap with a raised, dividing rim at the widest part. Lines of the hair are only portrayed on the front part of the cranium, a feature already noted with respect to the P'eng- shan Buddha and early sculptures of the Termez area as well as in the Khotan head in Fig. 1.29, a work which the Ho-chia shan Buddhas closely resemble, having similar small features, round eyes, short nose, pursed mouth and pointed chin. Spreading prominently across the jowls is a long, thin, sharp mustache—a well-known element in the art of Gandhāra, Swat and western Central Asia of the Kushana period. This is the first example encountered among the images examined so far, but this element will appear in a number of the major, but undated, bronze images discussed below. This work is important in confirming this style in the late Later Han period. Both the round neck fold and the lower hems of the robe draping over the arms in U-shaped loops are depicted as a thick ridge. This particular style and pattern are related to Kushana period images from both Mathurā and Swat (Figs. 1.33 a and b). On the arms, which form a curved unit with the body, the robe is creased in a series of narrow parallel lines, the presence of which in this early

[100] By early Han times a theoretical framework had been established for a body of works dealing primarily with the cosmic dualism of yin and yang and the doctrine of the Five Activities. Parallels were drawn between the cosmic and political worlds, the astral and biological worlds, etc., and the theory of the Five Activities explained unpleasant occurrences. To the Taoists the stars were especially important. Some astrological elements, such as the 28 lunar lodgings may have been introduced from foreign sources, possibly India. By early 1st century A.D. astral cults appear to have been firmly established. In 26 A.D. a great imperial sacrifice to Heaven in the southern suburbs of Loyang is recorded. Sacrifices of oxen were made to the sky gods on a round "altar" or ceremonial platform, and external altars to the five paramount gods of the directions and lesser altars for the planets were set up. The celestial deities had a special relationship with the imperial house, "the earthly nexus of power that radiated from them." E. Schafer, *Pacing the Void*, Berkeley, 1977, pp. 54-55, 218, 221. Also, Tsukamoto (1985), I, pp. 27-32 speaks extensively on the cults, astrology, and various spirits of the Later Han period.

With specific regard to the cult of Hsi-wang-mu in Szechwan, see James (1995), pp. 37-38. She notes that in Szechwan the goddess appears as the "object of prayers for the benefit of the *hun* soul of the deceased ... She also has the role of giver of good fortune, and as such appears on money trees and with the tiger and dragon throne." According to record in the *Han-shu* "her devotees prayed to her on the money tree for rescue from hunger, drought and danger" (*Ibid.*, pp. 38-39). There is no apparent cosmic role for her in Szechwan as the counterpart of Tung-wang-kung as appeared in Shantung (see above note 49). Wu Hung observes that she is the most popular deity for the central position in Szechwan Han sarcophagi. Wu Hung, "Myths and Legends in Han Funerary Art", in Lim (1987), pp. 75-77 and p. 167.

image is important for establishing the existence of this mode by the late 2nd or early 3rd century A.D. A nearly identical figure clearly from a money tree is now in the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto (Fig. 1.32).

Though these money tree Buddhas are small, the strong likelihood of their date in the late 2nd to early 3rd century imparts to them a special significance for confirming the presence of certain styles and motifs in China by that time. The style sources of these Buddhas is most clearly related to Buddhist imagery of Kushana Swat, western Central Asia, and Khotan. Mien-yang is in the more northerly part of central Szechwan on the Fu-chiang River, northeast of the P'eng-shan and Ma Hao region on the Min River. Possibly the Ho-chia shan bronze money tree Buddhas reflect an artistic style more associated with the Ho-hsi corridor-Ch'ang-an route as opposed to the Ma Hao and P'eng-shan area works, which, though reflecting styles from some of the same area, do not have the stronger Gandhāran/Swat appearance (with mustache) of the Ho-chia shan Buddhas. Possibly there is a distinction to be drawn between the west-central and north-central parts of Szechwan related to their distinct trade routes and possibly also with the composition of their population. These small images offer some glimpse into such distinctions which would perhaps be fruitful to pursue in more detail.

3. *The Pagoda Relief Tile from Shih-fang*

The fragment of a tile with the representation of a lou-ko-t'a type pagoda structure flanked by two lotus flowers in Fig. 1.34a,b was noted earlier in section II as an important example paralleling the description of Tse Jung's pagoda of the late 2nd century A.D. Found in 1972 in Ma-tui-tzu 馬堆子 Pai-kuo ts'un 白果村 Tsan-chüeh hsiang 皂角鄉 Shih-fang 什坊 a little north of Ch'eng-tu in Szechwan (Map 1.5), since 1986 this rare tile has been in the collection of the Szechwan Provincial Museum. According to the initial report by Hsieh Chih-kao and subsequent writers, it is probably a Han Dynasty work.[101]

The lou-ko-t'a in this tile is a tower consisting of a rather high square platform base with three stories above, each divided by four columns and a Chinese style roof. On the top roof, though somewhat damaged and unclear, there appears to be a bowl-shaped form, from which rises a mast adorned with three thin umbrellas (hasta) decreasing slightly in diameter towards the top and with circular shaped finial above. On each side of the lou-ko-t'a stands a large flower, probably a lotus, each

[101] Hsieh Chih-ch'eng 謝志成, "Szechwan Han-tai hua-hsiang chuan shang ti fo-t'a t'u-hsiang" 四川汉代画象砖上的佛塔图像 (The Szechwan Han dynasty Buddhist Stupa Relief), *Szechwan Wen-wu*, 1987, No. 4, p. 62. Also, Ho Yün-ao (1993), p. 160, No. 3 and Wu Cho (1992), p. 40.

nearly as tall as the pagoda and composed of a tall, straight stalk topped by a flower with triangular and rounded petals and/or leaves and what may be a bud in the center. These flowers are not unlike those carved in the Begram ivory in Fig. 1.70d. The presence of these flowers reinforces the Buddhist character of the theme of the tile, which probably depicted a Buddhist temple or monastery complex, since it appears other structures may have been present in the representation as well.

The lou-ko-t'a of this tile generally matches with the written description of the "lou-ko-tao" structure built by Tse Jung ca. 194 in the P'eng-ch'eng area of Kiangsu (see section II above), only Tse Jung's structure had "nine [levels of] piled-up [metal] plates (hasta)" above the pavilion structure rather than the three appearing in this tile. In the *Hou-Han shu* Tse Jung's structure is called a great Buddha temple (ta ch'i fu-tu ssu 大起浮屠寺) and in the *San-kuo-chih* it is called a great Buddha shrine (ta ch'i fu-tu tz'u 大起浮圖祠). We do not know the number of stories in the pavilion portion, but the texts say the halls circling around had a capacity of 3,000 persons. This could suggest multiple stories which could be entered and used like halls. These two evidences, one textual and the other pictorial, from eastern and western China respectively, constitute the earliest substantial data so far concerning the lou-ko-t'a type Buddhist structure in China.[102]

The origins and development of the lou-ko-t'a pagoda in China remain major, unresolved topics in early Chinese Buddhist art. The Chinese Buddhist lou-ko-t'a has been thought to be a storied tower or "pagoda" evolved as a Chinese form from the Indian hemispherical stupa, well known in early examples from India and Central Asia. From its resemblance to the Chinese storied watch tower, it was construed as a stupa modified in accord with Chinese traditional architectural forms. However, it is likely that the hemispherical stupa and the square storied lou-ko-t'a are two different forms, perhaps signifying differing connotations, both with their origins in India. There is no problem concerning the hemispherical type stupa, which possesses undisputedly clear origins and lineage from the earliest times in India. In Central Asia the hemispherical stupa seems to be a mainly Hīnayāna structure during the 1st century B.C.-4th century A.D. (see Chapters 3, 4 and 5). On the other hand, the multi-storied square tower in Buddhist art seems to have a later origin, possibly ca. 1st century B.C.-1st century A.D. period and to be more characteristic of

[102] It should be clearly noted that the character t'a 塔 to designate the Chinese style Buddhist pagoda or stupa was not used in this early period of the Han and Three Kingdoms. Lo Che-wen in his discussion of the origin of the Chinese character t'a (commonly translated as stupa or pagoda in western languages) notes that it apparently begins to be seen in writings and dictionaries from around the Northern Wei/Liang period and is very simply described as a Western Regions Buddhist [structure]. Lo Che-wen 罗哲文, *Chung-kuo ku-t'a* 中国古塔 (Chinese Ancient Pagodas), Beijing: Chung-kuo ching nien ch'u-p'an-she, 1985, p. 3.

a shrine or chaitya, possibly deriving from structures of the kind depicted in some early reliefs from Mathurā, such as those in Figs. 1.35a-e, and possibly related to the square based tower at Bodhgaya.

The Shih-fang tile lou-ko-t'a bears remarkable resemblance to Fig. 1.35a, a square, "shrine" structure, which has four pillars on the first level and several stories above (the top is broken off), each marked by roofs (and/or balconies). Variants of this chaitya-shrine type occur in several other early (pre-Kushana to early Kushana) reliefs from Mathurā, all with square base, multiple stories of decreasing size and varying design, and topped with a square or octagonal cupola, which is ribbed in Figs. 1.35c and d. Most have an entrance door and openings on each storey, usually on the central axis, showing they can be entered. Figs. 1.35b and c are both three-storied with clear demarcations and Fig. 1.35d, which dates ca. mid 1st century A.D., has an elaborate sequence of units, starting with a square base, octagonal section with chaitya windows, followed by another unit with square base decorated with floral pattern, octagonal railing section and cupola roof with chaitya windows, and topped by a sequence of base with railing motif, chaitya window mid section and octagonal cupola.[103] The later relief with two monks in Fig. 1.35e with square base and regular repetitive sequence of five octagonal stories decreasing in size, each with balcony railing and capped with square cupola, has the clarity and regularization that affords a more striking comparison with the Chinese lou-ko-t'a. An early example of what may be a square two-storied shrine with a dome-shaped top member in Gandhāran art appears in the small relief in Fig. 1.36.

From such square based, storied shrines, the Chinese could perhaps easily formulate their version of a square, storied Buddhist tower (the lou-ko pavilion, which is

[103] In H. G. Franz's study of the Origin and Preliminary Stages of the Indian Tower Temple ("Ursprünge und Vorstufen des Indischen Turmtempels", in *Orientalia Iosephi Tucci Memoriae Dicata*, Serie Orientale Roma, LVI, Vol. 1, Rome, 1985, pp. 417-443 he recognizes the fully developed form of the tower temple in ca. 7th-8th century in India and cites known literary sources from as early as the Gupta period 5th century. The earliest form of this structure, which is distinguished by a square base plan and multi-storied tower, appears in north India under the Kushans in fully developed form by ca. 2nd-4th century. He perceives the earliest form in some reliefs from Mathurā of ca. 1st-2nd century A.D., which he credits as decisive examples for the origin of the tower temple in India. Before ca. 1st century A.D. the temple shrine in India was oval, apsidal or rounded (as in examples from Amarāvatī), but was not square. The square form first appears under the Kushans in the context of Buddhist devotional shrines as a one-roomed, square based (or polygonal) with storied superstructure. He cites Bamiyan Cave 15 (of uncertain date but between 2nd-5th century A.D.) as evidence of the probable existence of structures with square room and pyramid high wooden tower type ceiling and he relates this possibly to Inner Asian forms. Also, the square base may have some relation to the mausoleum structures of the Near and Middle East. Also see H. G. Franz, *Pagode, Turmtempel, Stupa*, Graz, 1978, pp. 4-18 and "Der Indische Terrassentemple", in *Studies in Indian Temple Architecture* (Pramod Chandra, ed.), New Delhi, 1975, pp. 166-178.

termed a *ssu* or a *tz'u*, i.e., a temple or shrine at this early period). Whether or not it should be termed a stupa and considered as a stupa in the same sense as the hemispherical stupa in this early period are crucial and vexing questions which still need to be addressed. The Buddhist lou-ko-t'a may be more closely associated with the enshrinement of images, like that of Tse Jung, which contained a gilded Buddha, thus possibly indicating more of a Mahāyāna predilection. The tower type of shrine or shrine-stupa could have been adopted by Mahāyānists as a distinctly different type from the traditional hemispherical stupa associated with early Buddhism (Hīnayāna). Not that the hemispherical type would not be used by the Mahāyānists, but the lou-ko-t'a would perhaps be more favored as its function could be either different and/or inclusive, that is, it may maintain the symbolism of the stupa and yet have an added, qualitative difference emphasizing its expanded meaning compared with the traditional stupa. Also, its function could be perceived as different from that of the hemispherical stupa which normally contains the śarīra or relics of the Buddha or other saintly Buddhist. As will be discussed in the sequel to this book, the lou-ko-t'a may later become associated with characteristics of Buddha's Pure Lands or Paradises.

4. *The Later Han Tomb at Lei-t'ai, Wu Wei, Kansu*

Although most well known for its world-famous bronze "flying horse," the tomb at Lei-t'ai in the city of Wu Wei (ancient Ku-ts'ang), a large garrison town and a main center of the Liang chou region (central Kansu) during the Han period, has some interest for the study of early Buddhist art in the region. The occupant of the tomb is unknown, but he made a yearly salary of 2,000 piculs (about 300,000 lbs.) of grain, and was probably a general. From the particular type of coins and several of the inscription plaques on the horse sculptures, it has been determined that the tomb dates to ca. 186-219 A.D. in the late Later Han.[104]

The tomb, discovered in 1969, had been incorporated into the base of the Lei-t'ai,

[104] On the inscription plaques of 24 of the 84 bronze horses discovered in the tomb was mentioned the military title of an office in Chang-yeh: shou tso-ch'i ch'ien jen Chang-yeh chang 守左騎千人張掖長 (head of the Chang-yeh 1,000 man chariot guard of the left). According to the *Hsü Han shu* 續漢書 this was an office established in the Han period at the hsien level. In this case the office was not established before the Later (Eastern) Han and not seen after the Later Han. According to the Kansu Museum report, the ceramics, iron mirror and other tomb items are close to those of the Chien-ning 3rd year (170 A.D.) tomb at Loyang (Hsiao-kuo M 1037). There were many Later Han coins (20,000 some), including 7 pieces of the "ssu-ch'u wu-chu" 四出五銖 type. A record dated Chung-p'ing 3rd year (186 A.D.) in the *Hou-Han shu*, Record of Ling-ti (r. 168-189), concerning the casting of this kind of money, would probably serve as the early limit for this tomb. Kansu sheng po-wu-kuan 甘肅省博物馆, "Wu-Wei Lei-t'ai Han mu" 武威雷台汉墓, *K'ao-ku hsüeh-pao*, 1974, No. 2, pp. 105-108.

a large, Ming dynasty tamped earth terrace, now holding some Ch'ing period structures, about 2 km from Wu Wei center. The exterior mound of tamped earth covering the original Han tomb was 40 x 40 meters with a square base. Underneath, the tomb proper, constructed of brick tiles 32 x 16 x 4 cm. (12 1/2 x 6 1/4 x 1 5/8 inches) was comprised of a long, sloping (6 degrees) passage, arched entrances, three main vaulted chambers on the longitudinal axis, and three side rooms (Fig. 1.37a). The plan and vaulted chambers are typical of other late Later Han tombs in Kansu, Shensi, Honan and Hopei, and there are elements in common with the famous stone tomb at I-nan in Shantung.[105] The openings were arched and the three main rooms had corbelled vaults. The walls of the long front passage were decorated with floral patterns on white lime plaster; the main rooms had geometric designs and stripes in red and white painted directly on the tiles (Figs. 1.37b,d).[106]

The Lei-t'ai tomb had been desecrated, probably not long after it had been made; all the funerary objects were disturbed and their original positioning lost. Bronze money of various kinds was scattered throughout; the front chamber and its two side rooms contained chariots, wheels, horses and attendant figures; the middle and its one side room had mainly bronze and ceramic vessels; the rear room held the remains of a black lacquer wooden coffin, bones, a turtle stone, four silver seals, mirror, jewelry, and many *wu-chu* coins.

Of particular interest in the present context are the three vaulted main chambers and their flat stone, "well" type ceiling (Figs. 1.37c). The vaulted tomb design, well-known in other tombs of the Later Han period and frequently used in tombs of the Three Kingdoms (Wei) and Western Chin periods (220-317), is possibly later reflected in some of the earliest Buddhist cave temples in Kansu. Of more immediate concern is the painting of a large open lotus in red, white and black on the flat central square ceiling stone of each of the three main chambers of the Lei-t'ai tomb (Fig. 1.37c); the approximate design is sketched in Fig. 1.37e from a photograph I saw at the tomb site in 1992. The seed pod is clearly delineated with circles, the upper layer of petals are separated from each other and have a stemlike base, and the lower petals form three solid layers, creating a full, elaborate, open flower.

The lotus is generally associated with Buddhism in China—perhaps even from its earliest introduction—and its placement here may allude to Buddhist, or at least foreign, associations. However, an in-depth study of the early lotus symbol in China

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[105] *Ibid.*, pp. 87-89, 108. The I-nan tomb has corbelled vaults (only the front chamber has laternendecke ceiling), and the plan has three main chambers on a longitudinal axis and five side chambers. H. Y. Shih, "I-nan and Related Tombs," *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. XXII, 4, 1959, pp. 280-282.

[106] Kansu sheng po-wu-kuan (1974), p. 89 and text Fig. 2 on p. 89. This flower is not unlike an abbreviated version of Roman floral plant designs as used in some border designs in the frescoes at Pompeii.

and Korea by Uehara Kazu suggests the appearance of the lotus in a square ceiling "well" has its roots in early Han Chinese palace architecture. Remaining records not only describe such features, but imply that its probable meaning is as an auspicious symbol or to act in preventing fire because of its connection with water. Uehara suggests that this indigenous usage later became merged with the Buddhist symbol of the lotus.[107] It is, however, difficult to be certain if there is or is not any Buddhistic or foreign content or allusion intended in the usage of the lotus among the late Later Han tombs. Either it is a totally traditional Chinese usage coming from palace architecture, or is a completely Buddhist motif, or is a combination of the two, with the newer, Buddhist motif overlaying, reinforcing, merging or supplanting the traditional Chinese usage.

With respect to the Lei-t'ai tomb, although it may not be possible to know to what degree Buddhist ideas existed in the Wu Wei area at the end of Later Han, it may not be inaccurate to think there was some awareness of Buddhism or the incorporation of Buddhist motifs, either as a representative of some degree of Buddhist faith or used as a status symbol merging a novel new motif with a customary one either in terms of content or in terms of a new style. Its position at the top of the tomb would seem to indicate some special importance of a transcendent or cosmic nature, judging from other ceiling designs in Han tombs and in the well-known examples of the Koguryŏ tombs from the mid-4th century and later, of which the earliest, the tomb at Anak dated 357, has an eight-petal lotus with rosette-like inner row of petals and pointed surrounding petals painted on the central part of a simple lanternendecke ceiling (Fig. 1.37k).[108]

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[107] Uehara Kazu 上原和, "Koguri kaiga no Nihon e oyoboshita eikyō" 高句麗絵画の日本へ及ぼした影響 (Influence of Koguryŏ Paintings on Japan), *Bukkyō Geijutsu*, No. 215, July, 1994, pp. 82-86. As literary sources he particularly cites: 1) The *Lu-ling-kuang tien fu* 魯靈光殿賦 by Wang Yen-shou 王延壽 (Eastern [Later] Han), which is a poem about this hall, built by the son of the Western [Former] Han emperor Ching-ti (r. 157-141 B.C.), that describes the "well" ceiling with "reversely planted lotus flower"; 2) the *Wen-hsüan* 文選 by prince Chao Ming 照明, the eldest son of Liang emperor Wu-ti (r. 502-549 A.D.), which not only contains in chüan 6 (kung-tien 宮殿) the poem noted in 1), but another poem, the *Ching-fu tien fu* 景福殿賦 which describes the palace of emperor Ming-ti (r. 266-239) of Wei [Three Kingdoms] as having a lotus stem and root planted upside down with a blooming lotus flower. Uehara further cites references from the Warring States period which describe the lotus as the seat of immortals, and notes that many references from the Han and Six Dynasties periods refer to the lotus as analogous to the light of the sun and moon. *Ibid.*, pp. 82-83.

[108] Some of the Koguryŏ tombs have designs of the sun and moon (E. McCune, *The Arts of Korea*, Rutland and Tokyo, 1967, Figs. 37, 38 [Shinba-ri Tomb No. 1]), the sun and moon with the Great Dipper Constellation (*Chip-an Koguryŏ Kobun Byŏkhwa* 集安고구려고분벽화 [Koguryo Old Tomb Wall Paintings at Chip-an] Seoul, 1993, Fig. 69) and dragon (*Ibid.* Fig. 142). The axial tomb at Ch'ang-li reservoir in Chiangsu has snakes coiled around circular patterns in a lanternendecke ceiling. Shih (1959), p. 281 and *Wen-wu*, 1957, No. 12, p. 39.

Of further interest in the context of the late Later Han period is the appearance of a lotus in the center square of the ceilings of a number of late Later Han tombs, including the famous I-nan tomb in Shantung, a tomb in Chia-hsiang hsien 嘉祥縣 in Shantung, and in Mi hsien 密縣 Hopei (Figs. 1.37 f-i). These examples, some of which have individual petal shapes relatively similar to the design of the lotus petals of the Lei-t'ai tomb, though simpler in overall form, clearly establish that this motif had some currency in late Later Han in varied sites within north China in particular. An elaborate, multi-layered lotus in the ceiling of the famous Tomb No. 5 near Chiu-ch'üan in Kansu shows continued usage in the 2nd half of the 3rd century (W. Chin) (Fig. 1.37j). It is an interesting factor that the major tombs of the Kansu region have more elaborate lotus designs than those of the Shantung and other northeastern tombs of a period at least comparable to the Lei-t'ai tomb. Though the design style of the Kansu tomb lotuses are not precisely like those known in Kushana art, they are closer to those foreign forms than those of eastern China.

Not only the lotus, but also the lanternendecke style ceiling structure as appears in the I-nan tomb, suggests at least some linkage with western forms. The lanternendecke is the prominent ceiling type employed in Parthian architecture, often in wooden forms, such as at the palace in Nisa in western Central Asia. Hsio-yen Shih suggests that the lanternendecke ceiling could have been an outgrowth of Chinese wooden architectural forms, which indeed could be the case. However, given the growing number of evidences suggesting a substantial degree of western artistic elements in late Later Han art, it would not be surprising to see Chinese architectural forms, both in wood and stone, assimilating elements from foreign sources, particularly Parthian and Central Asian.[109] If indeed a similar type ceiling had developed in Chinese wooden architecture, it could conceivably have been easy to assimilate the western form of lanternendecke ceiling, as may have been the case with the lotus as well.

C. *Three-sided Miniature Gilt Bronze Shrine in the Asian Art Museum, San Francisco*

This unusual, 3 inch high gilded bronze object in the Asian Art Museum in San Francisco is fashioned with a number of sculptures and panels to form what appears

[109] Shih (1959), p. 281: "...there is no indication that the inspiration could not have been given by wooden structures such as wood framed dome arrangements. When all other elements so strongly recall wooden sources, when in pictorial as well as in literary description wood is so consistently represented as the usual building material, it would appear highly unusual if the roof structure alone owed its conception elsewhere."

to be a miniature opened shrine (Figs. 1.38-1.39 and color Pl. II a,b).[110] An irregular, triangular shape, it is cleverly made with one side, presumably the front with a standing Buddha, in the form of a shrine with curved top, and the other two sides, as though being two sides of a triptych, joined as a pair and sharing a slightly taller, but separate, curved top that has a finial at the apex. The curved top and finial resemble the arch with finial in the Kushana period Gandhāran fragment of a decorative "gable" with Dīpaṃkara relief in Fig. 1.40. No known shrine object is quite like the Asian Art Museum example, though there are other miniature shrines, usually as a diptych or triptych in stone or wood, mostly from Gandhāra or Central Asia. Because of the lack of holes for suspending it by a cord or chain, it does not appear to be an amulet or object hung on the body, and since it seems self-contained, it was probably not part of a large grouping or configuration. Though it remains something of a mystery, stylistically it appears datable to ca. late late 2nd-3rd century A.D. and reveals some interesting elements in common with the K'ung-wang shan and other figures.

a. *The Front Face*

The front face (Fig. 1.38) consists of three levels within the frame, which slopes inward on the sides and comes to a rounded point at the top, all of which project slightly forward forming an angle on the central axis. The figures are portrayed in the round with the background cut out, allowing the hollow inside and the forms of the opposite side to be seen through the open spaces around the images. It is a novel effect, perhaps akin in a general way to the shallow spaces carved around some figures, or the figures in rectangular panels at K'ung-wang shan.

The main icon of this shrine is clearly the standing Buddha in the large middle zone within the rectangular frame. He stands with feet apart and slightly over the rim of a circular base which is the upper part of a pillar, connected at the top to the sides of the frame. The Buddha's head touches the upper border of the rectangular frame, thus eliminating the upper part of the head with the uṣṇīṣa and the top of the round head halo. Both arms hang down at his side, and the hands appear to be facing palm inward in an unusual mode. The hanging right arm is known in a number of images from the 5th century with the right hand usually holding an edge of the robe and the left hand generally held at waist level, also holding an edge of the

[110] d'Argencé, R. Lefebvre (editor-in-chief) and Diana Turner (ed.), *Chinese, Korean and Japanese Sculpture* (The Avery Brundage Collection, Asian Art Museum of San Francisco), Tokyo, New York and San Francisco, 1974, p. 228 (no. 115). Alexander Soper, who wrote the entry, dates it to the 8th century on the basis of similarity with the sandalwood shrine brought to Japan from China by Kōbō Daishi in 806 A.D.

robe. This small Buddha may be holding the hem of his robe with both hands, but in a different way from the images of the 5th century. Also, the Style VI images at Rawak near Khotan generally have both arms down (see Chapter 4). This type of arm/hand position appears to be current from ca. 2nd-5th century, but with slight changes from one period to another.

The mass of drapery folds possesses a bold, insistently similar patterning. With a linear scheme and technique very similar to the Buddha from P'eng-shan (Fig. 1.26), the outer robe is composed of semicircular parallel folds which curve across the chest and arm with little distinction or change of direction as they move over the rounded forms of the torso and arms. Such insistent curves of the folds appears in Śuṅga period terracottas from Orissa and in Three Kingdoms-W. Chin period ceramic Buddhas in China (Figs. 1.50b, 2.3, 2.4, 2.6). The under robe, which hangs to ground level with a series of vertical, rounded folds that emphasize each leg, is portrayed like the Buddha X61 at K'ung-wang shan, suggested earlier as a late Han-Three Kingdoms period work (Fig. 1.12).

The large, round head of the Buddha has summary but forceful linear features and hair with the same kind of repetitious vertical parallel grooves without a part as already observed on the P'eng-shan (Fig. 1.26) and Ho-chia shan (Fig. 1.31) Buddhas and the early clay heads from Termez and Khotan (Fig. 1.29). The plain circular head halo with an outer rim resembles the halos from the wall paintings of Miran Shrine M-III of ca. mid 3rd century (Fig. 5.24) and the halos of some deities in the I-nan tomb in Shantung dating to the Later Han period.[111]

Seated above on the central axis and as though in a curved niche, is a single Buddha covered with the strong parallel folds of his garment whose patterning is akin to that seen in many Kushana Mathurā Buddhas, such as those in the stone lintel of Buddhas in the Lucknow Museum (Fig. 1.41), and in the small seated Buddhas on Three Kingdoms-W. Chin period ceramics noted above (Fig. 1.50b). Below, in the lowest zone the pillarlike pedestal of the main standing Buddha divides the space into two parts. The significance of the pillar is not clear, but perhaps it is reminiscent of an Aśokan pillar, but supporting a Buddha rather than an animal or symbol on top. The axis nature of the pillar plays a major part of this configuration, suggestive of the symbolism of the axis mundi known in early Indian Buddhist art. On either side of the pillar is a seated figure; the outer leg of each is pulled up and supports the elbow of the outer arm as the hand touches the head; the inner leg is folded under as though kneeling and the inner hand is placed on the knee. This is a posture known in Gandhāran attendant figures, but perhaps of more interest in

[111] For the halos at I-nan see Wu Hung (1986), Fig. 7. See above note 69 for I-nan.

this case is the relatively close correspondence with the "contemplative" figure at the head of the Parinirvāṇa scene at K'ung-wang shan (Figs. 1.10 and 1.11), although this latter figure does not place the hand on the knee, but holds it across the body. The appearance of such similar postures in two separate images which appear to date among the few scarce remains of Buddhist art from the Later Han period deserves special attention. This particular form of the posture does not appear prevalent in 4th or 5th century works. These two kneeling figures are probably Bodhisattvas as they appear to each wear a thick necklace and other jewelry, such as armbands and bracelets.

Taken as a whole, the front portion of the shrine possesses a resemblance, in very simplified form, to the central composition of some sculpted reliefs from Amarāvatī and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, such as the one in Fig. 1.42, which shows a hierarchical standing Buddha with a seated Buddha above and a symmetric configuration of two kneeling worshipping figures below.

b. *The Two Sides at the Back*

The other two sides of the Asian Art Museum small shrine constitute the two wings of the shrine (Fig. 1.39 and color Pl. II b) with each panel depicting narrative scenes of the Buddha's life as follows:

1) top right: the birth of Buddha
2) top left: Buddha's first steps
3) lower left: one of the four encounters[112]
4) lower right: the Parinirvāṇa

taking the sequence of events from a temporal point of view, which presents them couterclockwise from the upper right. Though the identification of scene 3) is ambiguous, it would probably in any event be placed after the first steps and before the Parinirvāṇa.

The top two panels contain a prominent tree motif with trunk, limbs, and leaves abbreviated in semicircles with a central line. Though this latter motif is known at least by ca. 475 in the painting of the White-robed Buddha on the rear wall of Cave 254 at Tun-huang, where it is used in the seat, possibly representing a mountain, I have not yet encountered it in an earlier example comparable to this shrine. The pearl border that surrounds each side and each individual panel with the apparent exception of the base of the Birth Scene, is a common feature of of Gandhāran sculpture, particularly in the Afghanistan stone works of ca. late 3rd-early 4th cen-

[112] Soper suggests this is one of the Four Encounters, possibly the one where Siddārtha meets the sick man, shown here as a "fat, naked squatting figure." d'Argencé (1974), p. 228.

tury, like the Great Miracle of Śrāvastī stele (Fig. 3.73). The garments of Queen Māyā and the Parinirvāṇa Buddha, portrayed with the same lumpy folds and deep grooves as noted in the figures on the front, are surprisingly similar to some female figures in the art from Palmyra of ca. 1st century A.D. (before 254 A.D.) (Fig. 1.43b) and also in some Gandhāran reliefs.[113] In the panel of the first steps the baby Buddha, who is smoothly and generally shaped, points his right arm upward and steps with each foot on a lotus flower as a third lotus waits for him under the tree. The standing large figure, perhaps Siddhārtha, at the right in the "encounter scene" is dressed with folded V-shaped crossed robe and what appears to be either a scarf or long sleeve looped over the left body and arm. The movements of robe relate to the style of the Ma Hao Buddha and the Hsi-wang-mu tile in Figs. 1.23 and 1.24 of ca. late Later Han-Three Kingdoms period; similar robes also appear in some figures in the the panels of the I-nan tomb (Fig. 1.43c). The Parinirvāṇa group affords some comparison with K'ung-wang shan in the depiction of the heads of the numerous monks and mourners behind the Buddha. The two monks in front are probably derived from Gandhāran type representations and stylistically resemble the Palmyra relief in Fig. 1.43a.

Clearly, the iconography represents scenes of the Buddha's life on the two sides of the shrine and a more iconic, hierarchical, perhaps cosmic, manifestation of the Buddha standing on an axis pillar on the front part of the shrine. In the juxtaposition of the narrative life scenes with the hieratic, there may be a parallel, in miniature size and simplified form, with configurations as known in the Kizil caves utilizing colossal Buddhas and Jātaka tales. It can also be interpreted as a simple, perhaps prototypical form of one kind of Chinese Buddhist stele, which appears in well developed form by the mid-5th century, as seen in the examples dated 457 and 459 A.D. This type of stele portrays a main Buddha on the front, usually with attendants, and narrative scenes on the rear. This small shrine, if it dates to this early period, may afford some clue about the development of the Chinese stele representation with larger image, possibly indicating that such a stele is the microcosm of a shrine.

D. *The Harvard Flame-shouldered Buddha*

Outstanding for its superior artistry, the magnificent independent bronze sculpture of a Buddha with flames issuing from its shoulders in Harvard University's Arthur M. Sackler Museum (Winthrop collection, formerly in the Fogg Art Museum) has been consistently considered one of the most important and prized statues from the early period of Chinese Buddhist art (Fig. 1.44 and color Pl. I). Compared with the

[113] Kurita Isao 栗田功, *Gandāra bijutsu* ガンダーラ美術, I, Tokyo, 1988, Fig. 496.

Buddhist images we have seen from K'ung-wang shan and the Szechwan tombs, it contains even stronger foreign elements and reflects a different level of religiosity and patronage, related more to the authentic usage of Buddhist icons in the Indian tradition of serious Buddhist practice and worship than to the currents of popular assimilation of Buddhistic elements.

In the past, this statue has been epitomized simply as one of the earliest Chinese Buddhist images. Since it bears no inscription or documentation, it has been variously attributed by the most eminent scholars of early Chinese Buddhist art to the early 4th, 4th, or early 5th century mainly on the basis of its strong "Gandhāran" characteristics.[114] Previously, very few securely dated early Chinese Buddhist, or even non-Buddhist, works have been available for a comparative analysis, the major one being the Later Chao Chien-wu 4th year (338 A.D.) seated Buddha in the Asian Art Museum (Fig. 1.48), but in recent decades new discoveries from tombs of the Han, Three Kingdoms, and Chin have amplified the materials for study of these periods. As critical as these materials are for the study of the Harvard Buddha, including those discussed earlier, in themselves they are an insufficient basis for deriving a firm conclusion concerning the dating of this complex sculpture. Because of the

[114] Mizuno and Nagahiro (1953) in *YK*, XI, p. 86 state: "There can be little doubt that this figure is derived from that of the standing Bodhisattva from San-yüan [the Fujii Yūrinkan image in Fig. 2.22 below] stylized and developed in the 4th century." In Mizuno Seiichi 水野清一 *Chūgoku no bukkyō bijutsu* 中国の佛教美術 Tokyo, 1990 reprint of 1968 edition, p. 36, Mizuno offers more analysis, stating that the Fujii Yūrinkan Bodhisattva is more "western " in style than the Winthrop (Harvard flame-shouldered Buddha) image; therefore the dating is simple: i.e., the Fujii Yūrinkan image is prior to the Winthrop Buddha. He goes on to say, on the other hand, that the Winthrop image is less matured and has a fresh, new feeling, and that the Fujii Yūrinkan Bodhisattva is "further advanced" than the Winthrop Buddha and the 388 Buddha. Finally, after such equivocation, he says "anyhow, the time of make may not be that much different" [among these].

Matsubara Saburō 松原三郎, *Chūgoku Bukkyō chōkoku-shi kenkyū* 中国仏教彫刻史研究, Tokyo, 1966, pp. 2-3, merely cites both the Fujii Yūrinkan Bodhisattva and the Harvard Buddha as very early remains, "at least in the 4th century". Without going further into the problem, he simply says a lineage from Gandhāra to the Western Regions "can be considered." In his more recent book *Chūgoku Bukkyō chōkoku shiron* 中国佛教彫刻史論 (A History of Chinese Buddhist Sculpture), Tokyo, 1995, text p. 243 for no. 3 and 4ab, Matsubara designates the Harvard Buddha as latter half of the 3rd century and states that according to tradition it was discovered from Shih-chia-chuang, Hopei province.

Yashiro Yukio 矢代幸雄 in "Kandara shiki no kondō butsu" 健駄羅式の金銅佛 (Buddhist Statuettes of Gilded Bronze in Gandhāra Style), *Bijutsu Kenkyū*, No. 117, Sept., 1941, p. 276 [also numbered as 12], suggests that the flame-shouldered Buddha, which he thinks is Śākyamuni, dates to the latter half of the 4th century—an earlier dating than others of the time thought. He considered the metal quality to be similar to that of the Fujii Yūrinkan Bodhisattva.

Mizuno (1960), pp. 11 and 21 notes that the color of the gold is unusually bright, the image has "apricot" eyes and is "less Gandhāran" than the standing Buddha inscribed "one of nine" (see Fig. 2.32 h below). In Mizuno and Nagahiro (1953) in *YK*, XI, p. 86 it is stated that this statue "is said to have come from Shih-chia-chuang 石家庄, Hopei, and to date from the Later Chao period."

extensive degree of foreign elements in the Harvard Buddha, it is necessary to examine carefully its position within the larger Buddhist art tradition, particularly that of Kushan period India and Central Asia. Therefore, a two-pronged comparative analysis is essential: with Chinese art, particularly sculpture, on the one hand and with the Buddhist art of India and Central Asia on the other hand. Taken together with other historical and religious factors, this method proves to be the most fruitful in shedding new insights not only into the dating, but also for the sources and interpretation of this major image. This comprehensive approach is essential, and effective, for understanding Chinese Buddhist materials, especially for this enigmatic early period. The tendency for Buddhist icons in general to follow the prototypes of the land of origin and to portray the Buddha in relation to authentic Indian modes aids in discovering, at least to some degree, their artistic sources which, in turn, significantly help in resolving other issues surrounding Chinese Buddhist art.

Because of the inherent complexities surrounding the analysis of this image, in the first section we present a fairly detailed analysis of its characteristics and plausible stylistic sources in order to expose relevant art historical facts, circumstances, and interrelationships with the art of other areas in this period. This analysis lays the foundation for the conclusions and implications presented in the second section, which addresses specific questions of dating, provenance, iconography, and interpretation of the image in respect to Buddhist and historical circumstances.

1. *Descriptive and Comparative Analysis of Technique and Style*

This sculpture of a Buddha sitting in meditation posture (dhyānāsana) on a lion pedestal is surprisingly large and heavy, especially in comparison with other surviving early Chinese Buddha bronze images, and in spite of two cavities inside, one in the head and a large one in the bottom. The bronze, dark with large patches of patination, was once brilliantly gilded, except for the cavities, hair, and uṣṇīṣa. Little gold now remains on the back, but considerable amounts are retained on the sides and front, continuing to impart a rich, glowing effect to the image.[115]

The Buddha figure, robed with complicated, subtly fashioned drapery, displays a sturdy and massive aspect with a sense of human softness. A hint of outward awareness in the smiling expression is coupled with an inner concentration that befits the meditative pose. Though the sources of the style seem derived in part from the main

[115] The eyes and the ends of the sideburns are gilded, a factor that seems incongruous. It would seem that original gilding would not have deliberately done this, but there are any number of possible explanations. Perhaps the image has been gilded more than once and in a later regilding not much care was given. However, technical investigation would have to be done to determine this point.

schools of Indian Buddhist art in central and northwest India of the Kushana period (1st-3rd century A.D.), the strongest stylistic links point to the art from western Central Asia (present-day southern Uzbekistan) that is in turn strongly related to Parthian and Hellenistic art. This sculpture, because of what has been perceived as a strong "Gandhāran" appearance, has even been suggested to be a foreign image imported into China.[116] However, despite its dominantly western appearance and relation to foreign styles, the image clearly bespeaks of Chinese make, as various specific points presented below will indicate.

a. *Body Form and Drapery*

The body, broad-shouldered and squared in shape with rounded muscular torso, arms and knees all revealed though the drapery, has a pronounced forward bend and rolling movement in the masses of arms and upper chest (Figs. 1.44 and 1.45). Portrayal of solid, generalized masses occur in Chinese sculpture in statues as early as the Ch'in Dynasty (220-206 B.C.), such as in the bronze kneeling charioteer in Fig. 1.46, a major work in the early bronze figural tradition of China, where the compact, solid form and firmly rounded masses are a primary component of the style, although the tighter form and plain, tauter surfaces connote its earlier stylistic character, and its face, garments, posture and hair style, etc. are all clearly Chinese. In the figure of a man playing a ch'in (zither) from a late Later Han tomb in O-mei hsien, Szechwan, qualities of solid but fleshier mass more consonant with the Harvard Buddha style are apparent, even though it could be an unfinished work (Fig. 1.47).[117] Despite greater sinuosity and vigor of form in the Harvard Buddha, the general proportions emphasizing a large head and the flexible quality of the mass are compatible with the style of the O-mei hsien figure. On the other hand, it is important to notice that the body of the seated bronze Buddha dated 338 (Later Chao), the earliest known Chinese dated Buddha sculpture, is straighter and less massively rounded (Fig. 1.48), among other major differences with the Harvard Buddha.

Turning to the relation with Indian Buddhist art, for more precision in analysis it is desirable to clearly differentiate the various pertinent regional schools of Buddhist art in the 1st-3rd century A.D. Besides the southern school associated with Amarāvatī and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa and their related sites during the period of the Later Andhras and Ikṣvākus (from ca. 1st-early 4th century A.D.), the other major schools

[116] Mizuno has argued against Yashiro's suggestion of a foreign make and for a Chinese make. Mizuno (1968), p. 39.

[117] *Ch'in Han tiao-su* 秦漢雕塑 in *Chung-kuo mei-shu chüan-chi* 中國美術全集, Sculpture, Vol. 2, text for Pl. 99 (p. 36); Lim (1987), color pl. 5 and No. 44.

of central and northwest India are associated with the Kushan dynasty, generally dated to ca. 1st-3rd century A.D. and loosely referred to as the Mathurā and Gandhāra schools respectively. For the purposes of this study, stricter designation by specific local area within the northwestern area in particular is required. So, Gandhāra refers to the actual ancient province of Gandhāra in northern Pakistan—the area of Puruṣapura (modern Peshawar), winter capital of the Kushans, and Taxila (near modern Rawalpindi)—along with parts of eastern Afghanistan around Kabul and Kāpiśa (modern Begram), the summer capital of the Kushans. Parts of northern Afghanistan and southern Uzbekistan, comprising part of the old Bactrian region and probably under the control of the Kushans to some degree, is an important area for our study, as is that of Swat in far northern Pakistan, both generally linked with Gandhāra. Since each of these areas had a distinct local school of Buddhist art in the Kushana period and later, for specificity in apprehending the correspondences of Chinese Buddhist art with the art of India, whenever possible reference will be made to the specific local schools of Kushana art. The Harvard Buddha exhibits elements of all three major areas, but reveals greater reliance on the northwestern schools. Even so, it is a distinctly separate style with its own character and not completely patterned on one school or the other.

Compared with the early Buddha images from India, in an overall, general way, the Harvard Buddha relates relatively well with the Kushana period imagery of the kind represented by the seated flame-shouldered, but undated, Buddha from Paitava in Afghanistan (Fig. 1.49). Though the Harvard Buddha stresses greater narrowing of the mid-section and more rounded mass of the thick arms, these factors are in evidence in the Buddha from Śrāvastī of the Mathurā school dated Year 36 (ca.213 A.D.), though its drapery fold type is completely different (Fig. 1.50a). The round, solid arm type of the Harvard Buddha style seems to have been codified in the abbreviated Buddha images on some Western Chin ceramic vessels of ca. 2nd half of the 3rd century (Fig. 1.50b and other figures in Chapter 2).

The drapery of the Harvard Buddha is complex and varied in terms of subtle textural qualities, schematic composition and artistic technique. Over the knees the cloth is tightly stretched and makes thick, fairly wide but shallow, parallel "step" folds. The outer robe (saṅghāṭī), on the other hand, imparts the impression of light cloth that both adheres to the form, especially in the upper body, and softly drapes over it with an unusual silken lightness and fluidity, particularly in the lower part as it falls over the lap and crossed legs. It should be pointed out that this light quality of the cloth is different from the majority of Kushana period Indian Buddhist figures, especially those in stone, but even those in stucco do not seem as light as this Chinese example. Though the asymmetrical or off-center axis of the fold lines on the

chest as well as the loose semi-circular draping of the cloth over the legs are both typical of most Kushana Buddha figures, especially those from the northwest, the close parallel arrangement of folds encircling the arms is different from the images of the major schools of Gandhāran art.

Further focus on the techniques of drapery portrayal in the Harvard Buddha reveals some surprising associations. Most of the drapery folds over the arms and chest use a distinctive fold: a rounded crease (not a tight rib fold or flat raised strip) with an incised line at the apex. It is not the same as the series of flat raised strips with incised line that appear in the early Kushana Mathurā sculptures. Only some of the folds on the lower part of the arm and chest of the Harvard Buddha lack this central incised line, and between the arms and trunk of the body delicate incised lines are used as an extension of the rounded crease folds of the arms. The rounded crease fold with incised line of the type employed in this image is relatively rare, even in later periods. This specific type is not seen in Indian, Gandhāran, Afghan or Swat art[118], but it does occur in some art of widely separated regions of the Silk Road: it appears in Parthian sculpture in Iraq in ca. mid-2nd century A.D., notably on the inscribed statue of Ubal from Hatra (Figs. 1.51, 1.52) and in Chinese ceramics from the Hang-chou region (southeast) datable to the late 3rd century A.D. (Fig. 2.6). The Harvard Buddha image's folds are remarkably similar in technique with those in the statue of Ubal, known to have died in 137 A.D., a date generally accepted for this statue.[119] The execution of the folds in the Harvard Buddha demonstrates more flexibility than that of the Ubal statue, but the folds are not as simple and abbreviated as those in the Hang-chou ceramics of late 3rd century. The usage of various types of folds in the Harvard Buddha, including step pleats on the legs and loose folds at the side, is a similar approach in both the Ubal and Harvard statues, as is the solid rounding of the form and thick hands. These common traits not only suggest that the Harvard Buddha may date between the Ubal and Hang-chou ceramics—and perhaps closer to the period of the Ubal statue—but that the sculptural styles of Parthian art need to be seriously considered in understanding the stylistic sources of the Harvard Buddha.

[118] This type of fold is related to the raised flat strip with rounded edges and medial incised line seen in the images of the early phase of Kushana Mathurā school, such as seen on the famous Friar Bala Bodhisattva dated year 3 of Kaniṣka (ca. 103-113 A.D. with first year of Kaniṣka as ca. 100-110) in the Archaeological Museum at Sārnāth, but it is not the same. The Harvard Buddha's folds are not as wide and flat, so the crease does not have the strip-like effect as seen in the well-known Mathurā school variant.

[119] "The inscription on the base informs us that Ubal died at the age of eighteen and that her husband erected this statue to her memory." R. Ghirshman, *Persian Art*, New York, 1962, p. 385 (for Fig. 106); Ingholt and Lyons (1957), text Fig. VII; Rosenfield (1967), Fig. 141 (where she is called Princess Washfari).

Over the shoulders of the Harvard Buddha the robe forms a plain, unlined area whose shape is markedly distinct from the creased areas. Although in effect resembling shoulder padding, it is a way especially used in sculptures from Swat for rendering the effects of the robe pulling tightly over muscular shoulders (Fig. 1.53). It seem to be a pattern in Swat sculpture extending through the 3rd-4th century. Other early Chinese Buddha bronzes utilize this pattern (Fig. 1.48), and it appears as a more emphatic abstract pattern in some small bronze Buddha images of ca. 2nd quarter of the 5th century, which form a specialized group that seem to reflect the lineage of the Harvard Buddha sculptural style as conventionalized icons. The usage in the Harvard Buddha seems to be the most naturalistic, a factor that would probably argue, along with other factors, for its earlier date.

Other elements of the drapery also tend to support considering an early date for the Harvard Buddha. A particularly relevant point concerns the manner of depicting the folds of the saṅghāṭī around the neck and the large U-shaped drape over the legs. Both have a thick rim fold at the edges and very delicate, slightly raised, riblike creases in the center. Though this technique may be related more to stucco or clay sculpture than to stone (Fig. 1.50c), no examples in either the stucco or stone sculpture of India or Central Asia yield precisely close parallels to this patterning. However, in the lyrical beauty of the fine lines and in the graceful clustering of the lines expanding from a narrow point, both the quality of line and the linear scheme relate to the drapery depictions in the engraved drawing of guardian figures from Ts'ao family tomb M2 in Po hsien, Anhui, dating ca. 160 A.D.(Fig. 1.20a). This is a particularly important point in this case. The delicate, lyrical line of the fine interior folds on the Harvard Buddha's collar fold is a distinct linear feature that relates to the delicate, discretely grouped lines seen on the Ts'ao tomb guardians. They contrast, on the other hand, with the fold patterns and type in some of the I-nan tomb engravings of ca. 193 A.D. or later (Fig. 1.20b), which have short lines grouped more densely in scattered clusters. The similar artistic technique exhibited by the Ts'ao tomb engraving and the Harvard Buddha suggest a close temporal correspondence as these kinds of artistic techniques or stylistic predilections do not tend to persist and are usually not repeated in later times. That is, this kind of line is a kind of signature of the time ca. 160 A.D. and as such is an important factor in attaining the dating of the Harvard Buddha. This kind of linear depiction appears to be a Later Han style of ca. 160 A.D., and does not occur in this way in later examples, certainly not in Buddha images, to the best of my knowledge. The pleasing "yin-yang" balance in the Harvard Buddha created by the asymmetric balancing of the neck and lap folds—each has the widest part of the fold on an opposite side from the

other—, though a scheme not unknown in Gandhāran sculpture, seems more pronounced in this image and is possibly a Chinese aesthetic touch.[120]

The most decorative folds in the image fall on both sides of the large U-shaped central lap fold over the legs, forming a complicated series of diamond and jagged shapes whose petal-like quality imparts a shimmering softness in contrast with the solid form. An incised line parallel to the edge of each diamond fold strengthens their linear aspect. It is true that diamondlike shapes appear as a hem motif in some Indian images, such as the two from Kauśambī dated year 83, ca. 183-193 A.D. (Fig. 1.54 a and b),[121] and in a relief from Amarāvatī of ca. 2nd-3rd third century A.D. (Fig. 1.55). Though those of the Harvard Buddha may well be related to the stylistic trends represented by these images, the resemblance to shapes appearing in the antler and leaf patterns of some Ordos bronze open-work animal plaques, generally dating in the early part of the Later Han (Fig. 1.56), suggests that it is a stylistic motif known for some time and also used for differing elements in China. Certainly this motif enjoyed wide geographic distribution in the early centuries A.D. We can observe that the loose and somewhat jagged edges as they fall under the left arm and over the left knee relate to numerous examples in both the stone and stucco art of Gandhāra in particular, such as seen in the seated statue in Fig. 2.17 from Shotorak in northern Afghanistan, and even appear in the Ubal statue of ca. 137 A.D. (Figs. 1.51, 1.52).

The hands of the Buddha, placed flat in the lap in the meditation mudrā, are thick, heavy, large, and well defined. The right hand lies over the left hand and the two thumbs touch at their tips in the orthodox form of the mudrā.[122] The thumbs and index fingers have scores on them marking the joints and fingernails, adding to the naturalism of their form. Large thick hands can be observed in the Śrāvastī Buddha dated ca. 213 A.D. in Fig. 1.50a, one of the earliest dated Kushana Buddhas in the

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[120] An inexplicable feature is the apparent merging of the under hem of the collar fold with the collar bone—an unusual mannerism, perhaps a misunderstood rendering of the foreign manner of wearing the saṅghāṭī.

[121] If the first year of Kaniṣka is taken as ca. 100-110 A.D. (see note 3.6 below), then these images would date ca. 183-193 A.D. For further references to the Kauśambī images year 83 see M. Rhie, "Some Aspects of the Relation of 5th Century Chinese Buddha Images with Sculpture from N. India, Pakistan, Afghanistan and Central Asia," *East and West*, New Series, Vol. 26, Nos. 3-4, Sept.-Dec. 1976, Fig. 15; Czuma (1986), p. 229, Figs. 22, 23; R.C. Sharma, *Buddhist Art of Mathurā*, Delhi, 1984, p. 278, Figs. 128, 129. Though dated year 83, the inscriptions do not mention any Kushana king. Sharma and others generally assign the date to the Kaniṣka era (78 + 83 in the case of Dr. Sharma), therefore ca. 161 A.D. in the reign of Vāsudeva, though the style, according to Dr. Sharma, seems to be earlier, that is, ca. end of the 1st quarter of the 2nd century. Most scholars consider these Kauśambī images to be an off-shoot of the Mathurā school. The hem pattern on the folds falling from the left hand is called honeysuckle motif by Sharma. *Ibid.*, pp. 210-121.

[122] Curiously, there is one extra finger on the hand.

dhyāna-mudrā, although there are numerous undated examples from the earlier phases of both the Mathurā and Gandhāran schools (Fig. 1.41), including the reliquary of King Kaniṣka from ca. first quarter of the 2nd century A.D.(Fig. 1.57). The Harvard Buddha is one of the few early Chinese Buddha bronzes to portray the dhyāna-mudrā in its normal form with both hands lying flat in the lap. From the mid-3rd century and through the 4th century Buddhas in Central Asian and Chinese art portray the hands on edge, as in the 338 Buddha (Fig. 1.48). From each shoulder of the Harvard Buddha issue four discrete, slightly separated, cone-shaped flames scored in front with slanting lines but unmarked in back. While Afghan and Gandhāran Buddha images with flaming shoulders portray the flames as a cohate cluster (Figs. 1.49, 1.78, 1.79) and not as individually discrete and separated flames as in the Harvard Buddha, the flames issuing from the shoulders of the kings on Kushan coins, mainly those from the period of Vima II Kaḍphises and Kaniṣka I (Figs. 1.18a,b,c,d, and f), and also on some from the later, Indo-Sasanian period (ca. 4th century), resemble the Harvard Buddha type, which may well have been patterned after such representations. In a rare example from Mathurā sculpture in Fig. 1.80 of ca. late Kushana period (ca. 3rd-4th century), the flames are more discrete than in the Gandhāran/Afghan examples, but still less so than in the Harvard Buddha. A 2nd century relief of Hsi-wang-mu on a stone sarcophagus from P'i hsien, Szechwan, possesses similar discrete curved strips issuing from the shoulders (Fig. 1.57 b). They are probably wings and not flames and they are longer than the flame shapes on the Harvard Buddha, but they show the existence in Later Han Chinese art of a similar style using separated forms. The flaming shoulder motif can be traced in art back to Achaemenid (4th century B.C. or earlier) art of Iraq;[123] its significance in a Buddhist context will be discussed in the iconographic considerations below.

[123] Flaming shoulders appear as early as the Achaemenid period of Persia where flames appear as three waves on each shoulder of the Sun God Shamash on the stele with the Hammurabi Code (18th century B.C.). F. Berthier, "Le Voyage des motifs", *Arts Asiatiques*, Vol. XLVI, 1991, pp. 118-120. Kushana coins with flames issuing from the shoulders of the king are plentiful and range across the entire spectrum of Kushan kings after the period of Vima II Kaḍphises. For example, see Rosenfield (1967), Figs. 20, 21, 23, 24, 26 (period of Vima II Kaḍphises); Figs. 36, 38, 93 (period of Kaniṣka I); Figs. 50, 55, 56, 60, 71, 73, 109, 114, 120, 136, 138, 151, 152, 153, 154, 161, 162, 174, 177, 188, 191, 193, 195, 196, 204 (period of Huviṣka); Figs. 213, 214, 216, 221, 222, 226, 228, 229, 230, 231 (period of Vāsudeva); Fig. 241 (period of Kaniṣka III), Figs. 249, 250, 253, 254, 256 (period of Hormizd); Figs. 257, 258, 260, 261 (period of Vaharam). The most prevalent usage appears in the coins of Huviṣka (ca. 126/136-164/174). Comparing the usage in the various coins does not yield sufficient stylistic difference to be able to identify the Harvard Buddha with any particular coin or king's reign.

b. *The Head*

The head is powerfully and realistically portrayed with characteristics of clean, sharp features and boldly modelled shape, firm jaw and prominent cheekbones (Figs. 1.58, 1.61). Yet it also possesses a calm and gentle aspect imparted by the slight smile and generally meditative aspect. Though clearly dominated by a foreign, western physiognomy, certain elements of the head are related to Chinese art. For example, the head is somewhat larger in proportion to the body than typical Kushana Buddha images, and even though its cheek and jaw structure appear highly western, the head shape as a whole and certain realistic details, such as the finely combed hair, can be viewed as akin to elements known in Chinese sculpture appearing as early as the soldiers from the tomb of Ch'in Shih-Huang-ti in Sian of ca. 210 B.C.(Fig. 1.63). However, the head can be most closely associated with some images from late Later Han dynasty tombs, like the stone sculpture of a man playing a ch'in from O-mei hsien, Szechwan (Fig. 1.47). Both have the heavy, fleshy face portrayed with firm contours, solid jaws and protruding cheeks. Also, some of the heads of the figures at K'ung-wang shan and the guardians from Ts'ao family Tomb No. M2 at Tung-yüan ts'un, Po hsien, Anhui of ca. 160 A.D. have a similar head type (Figs. 1.5, 1.7, 1.8, 1.20a). A three-quarter view (Fig. 1.45) shows a remarkable similarity with the head of a seated man in Fig. 2.9b in the 2nd century A.D. relief from Kiangsu.

Among western examples those most comparable to the head of the Harvard Buddha are not the head styles of Mathurā, Gandhāra, Swat or Afghan sculpture, but some of the excavated sculptures from the site of Khalchayan near the city of Termez in western Central Asia (Figs. 1.59 and 1.62; Map 3.3). Known as northern Bactria during pre-Kushana days, in the Kushana period (1st-3rd century A.D.) it was under the general influence of the powerful Kushan empire and its culture, though apparently not completely under direct Kushan political control. Excavations from 1959-1963 by G. A. Pugachenkova yielded a rich harvest of painted clay sculptures from a series of friezes decorating a small palace or hall, including statues of royal figures, gods, goddesses, and warriors all dated by the excavators and some other scholars to ca. 1st century B.C. to 1st century A.D.(see Chapter 3). With the recent study by J. Cribb on the dating of the so-called "Heraus" coins, frequently acknowledged to have profile busts that are strikingly similar to the clay sculpture from Khalchayan (Fig. 1.63 a), it seems a dating of ca. mid-1st century may be the most plausible for the Khalchayan group of sculptures (see Chapter 3, note 3.14). What is particularly significant in regard to the Harvard Buddha is its remarkable similarity with some of these Khalchayan sculptures, particularly with the heads in Figs. 1.59 and 1.62. The correspondences are exceptionally close in many regards: in the bony structure with high cheeks, massive jaw and chin; realistic modelling of the nose with narrow bridge,

rounded tip and narrow nostrils; bushy mustache with twisted shape and individually incised hairs that end in a surprisingly sharp, thin point and curve rather far out into the cheek; short ears with thick rims and wide, flared edges; and, most striking, the quite widely open, slightly slanted eyes, cleanly and sharply shaped with drawn out and pointed ends, strongly formed upper and lower rims, low brows and deep, curved upper edge of the eyesocket (Figs. 1.58, 1.59, 1.61, 1.62). It should be emphasized that this striking eye design, somewhat more emphatically patterned in the Harvard Buddha than in the more naturalistic and softer Khalchayan works, seems to be a feature in Chinese and some eastern Central Asian art around the late Later Han to mid-3rd century period and is found in a number of works in slightly modified form, including the late Later Han ch'in player from the O-mei hsien tomb (Fig. 1.47) and in the faces on carved wooden table(?) legs from Lou-lan and Niya (Figs. 1.60, 5.4, 5.76b), both sites which flourished in the 3rd century on the Silk Road in eastern Central Asia and demised by ca. early-mid 4th century (see Chapter 5). The eyes in the Niya and Lou-lan examples have more tilt and are stiffer in comparison with those of the Harvard Buddha, whose form is stylistically closer to eye design of the ch'in player, which, nevertheless, is still closely related to the Niya face in Fig. 1.60, even having a similar short, stubby nose. We can also notice that this distinctive eye type appears in some undated Kushan clay sculptures from Mathurā,[124] but the Khalchayan and O-mei hsien statue examples remain by far the most compatible. It seems reasonable that the Harvard Buddha represents a position between the more naturalistic and earlier Khalchayan heads and the more abstract and later Niya and Lou-lan heads, a conclusion supported by the late Later Han ch'in player with which the Harvard Buddha shares a close degree of similarity in patterning in the eyes and quality of massive head and body.

Other particular features of the Harvard Buddha's head are significant. The sharp carving and shape of the mouth and nose and the shape of the face and jaw are very similar to the style of the Airtam frieze figures of ca. mid-2nd century A.D. (Fig. 3.8). The mustache type is typical of some stone images from Gandhāra, akin to some on Parthian statues of the 2nd century, such as on Santruq, King of Hatra in the Baghdad Museum,[125] and is reflected in the late Later Han period Ho-chia shan money tree Buddhas (Figs. 1.31b,c,d). This kind of mustache is distinctly different from the soft "walrus" type appearing on other images probably of the 3rd century, such as the Fujii Yūrinkan Bodhisattva (Fig. 2.22), and in the large Dīpaṃkara from Swat which probably dates ca. mid 4th century A.D. (see Chapter 4 and Fig. 4.44). The small and thick ears have some Chinese precedent in the style of the clay fig-

[124] Rosenfield (1967), Fig. 19.
[125] Ghirshman (1962), Fig. 105.

ures from the tomb of Ch'in Shih-Huang-ti from ca. 210 B.C. (Fig. 1.43) and the short lobes with a small, round, indented depression (the lobes do not have a perforation in the Harvard Buddha) is characteristic of other early Buddha heads, such as the one from Khotan (Fig. 4.7) and the Asian Art Museum Buddha dated 338 (Fig. 1.48). However, again the closest comparisons are afforded by the sculpture of western Central Asia, in the Khalchayan heads (Fig. 1.62) and also the heads from Dalverzin-tepe (Fig. 1.65b) of ca. 1st-2nd century A.D. (see Chapter 3). A wide area is left around the ears before the hairline appears, a feature noticeable in other early Chinese Buddha bronzes, the neck is short, thick and smooth and without any lines, a small round urna raised in relief has been cast in the forehead, and the hair is slightly puffy in front with individual strands indicated only on the front part, a factor frequently seen in Kushan Buddha sculptures, especially from northwest India. On the Harvard Buddha the strands are combed away from a central part in gentle, overlapping, uneven clustered layers, a style which seems related to western modes as seen in a ca. 1st century A.D. Tyche figure from a silver plate discovered in Termez, southern Uzbekistan (Fig. 3.6), although the execution in the Harvard Buddha is more restrained. This form of hair strand appears also in the Fayaz-tepe stone Buddha (Fig. 5.37), a further indication of the stylistic links with the northern Bactrian region for the Harvard Buddha, which, however, seems to stylistically date earlier than the Fayaz-tepe Buddha, whose hair strands cover the whole head, a feature first seen in China in the 338 Buddha (Fig. 2.28a,b). Long sideburns that curl forward into the cheek at mid-ear level (Fig. 1.61) are a more subdued rendering of the bushier long sideburns of the Khalchayan style (Fig. 1.62) and are distinctly different from the shorter, flatter side burns of the 338 Buddha (Fig. 1.48).

In the overall profile of the head (Fig. 1.65a), the Harvard Buddha is remarkably akin to that of the head with pointed hat (possibly a prince or king) from the "king's hall" of Dalverzin-tepe near Termez, dated by the excavators to ca. 1st-2nd century A.D. (Fig. 1.65b). The shape of the nose and chin are especially similar; both are more gentle with slightly milder curves than the Khalchayan heads. Thus we can see major elements of the Harvard Buddha head relating to both the Khalchayan and Dalverzin-tepe figures, both from the northern Bactrian region and both a part of a distinct regional style different from the Afghanistan, Swat and Gandhāran regional styles in the Kushana period.

The uṣṇīṣa of the Harvard Buddha, more complicated than that of most Buddha images, possesses a peculiar angled upper portion that rests on a smaller and sharply wedge-like, angled, base. In the back the angled shaping is not so pronounced and the uṣṇīṣa as a whole is more evened out (Fig. 1.65). Possibly the wedge base is an interpretation of a band such as those seen on some Gandhāran images and ap-

pearing on the Khotan bronze Buddha heads (Figs. 4.7a,b, and d), although its wedge shape would not tend to suggest a band. Similar though simpler and less pronounced shapes for the uṣṇīṣa do, however, appear in works from eastern Central Asia of ca. late 4th-5th century (from Tumshuk, Kizil, and Khora on the northern Silk Route) and on other early Chinese bronze Buddhas, but these also probably date later. This appears to be a mode that persists for several centuries.

Another mystery is the hole in the top of the uṣṇīṣa and small cavity in the head (Fig. 1.64). The hole is square at the top (1 1/2 cm or 5/8 in. on each side), becomes round inside just below the square opening, is about 1 to 2 inches deep, and leads into a rounded and quite large inner cavity that is self-contained without connecting with the large body cavity in the bottom of the image. The hole in the top of the uṣṇīṣa and the cavity in the head are not readily explainable; the small Buddha in the Tokyo National Museum discussed below as a work of the 3rd century, is another example with such a hole in the uṣṇīṣa (Fig. 2.17). It is unlikely this hole was used to hold a parasol, which would not only be iconographically heterodox but is not the way parasols are attached in the early 5th century examples, which have an extra lug on the back to hold it. Texts explain the mystery of the uṣṇīṣa as being open and unseeable from above.[126] The most plausible reason for these holes it that they were used to hold special relics. Three evidences suggest this may be the case: the famous image of Tao-an (4th century), which is said to have had a relic in the head, the anecdote concerning the monk Hui-yüan of the Wa-kuan ssu during Eastern Chin putting a relic inside the uṣṇīṣa of an image (a copy of the famous Kao Li image),[127] and an actual small copper relic box found by Pelliot in the head of a large clay Buddha at the site of Duldul Akur near Kucha.[128]

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[126] Early texts speak of the Buddha's uṣṇīṣa as a very mystical element. Some traditions say it could not be viewed directly by anyone, that it was open at the top, and emitted a light greater than the sun. See T. Griffth Foulk and Robert H. Sharf, "On the Ritual Use of Ch'an Portraiture in Medieval China," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie*, No. 7, 1993-1994, pp. 162-163.

[127] Tao-an (4th century) had been presented with a foreign image with legs pendant, seven feet tall and covered with gold leaf by the Former Ch'in ruler Fu Chien (r. 357-384). When attempting to change the shape of the uṣṇīṣa, which seemed "incongruous", the uṣṇīṣa emitted a brilliant light. "On close inspection it was discovered that inside the uṣṇīṣa there was a relic." Soper (1959), p. 16 (entry 11). The monk Hui-yüan of the Wa-kuan ssu, a renowned temple in Chien-k'ang, capital of the Eastern Chin (317-420), in 405 made a copy of the famous image of Kao Li (a miraculous image found in the water with a Sanskrit inscription mentioning the fourth daughter of King Aśoka). "When Hui-yüan had made his copy he put a relic inside its uṣṇīṣa. 'The reason why images from the West emit light is usually that they contain a relic'". *Ibid.*, pp. 10-11 and footnote 16.

[128] Pelliot discovered a gilt bronze relic box in the head of a large clay Buddha head from the monastery at Duldul Akur. It is published in L. Hambis, *Douldul Aqour et Soubashi*, Mission Paul Pelliot, Paris, 1967, *Koutcha* Vol. III (plates), Pl. XLI, Fig. 96c.

c. *The Back and Inside*

The back of the Harvard Buddha is well finished and quite elaborate (Fig. 1.66). The thick end of the saṅghāṭī falls over the left shoulder in long vertical folds indicated by incised lines of varied width. Double incised lines make delicate, large zigzag hem patterns near the border, and vertical scoring fills the triangular space between the zigzag pattern and the lower edge, apparently simulating small pinch pleats with a slightly scalloped edge. We can notice that the overhang is unusually thick at the bottom, unlike the nearly flat rendering of the cloth in later images such as the 338 Buddha and later 4th century bronze Buddhas (Fig. 2.28b). Furthermore, six groove-like crease lines curve asymmetrically over the back, widening as they move from the left to the right and merge with the series of closely parallel ribby creases over the right arm, which are more simply portrayed than the raised crease with incised line used on the front side. The groove folds at the back are different from later examples like the Fujii Yūrinkan Bodhisattva and the 338 Buddha, both of which use step pleats rather than grooves (Figs. 2.32c and 2.28a). The areas over the hip and thighs are broad and left plain, emphasizing their solid mass and rounded shape, imparting a sense of wide legs and sturdy shape that recalls the seated Buddha X76 at K'ung-wang shan (Fig. 1.9). The Harvard Buddha image appears exceptionally wide and sturdy from the back.

One lug, angled slightly upward and containing two holes, projects from the back of the head (Fig. 1.64, 1.65, 1,66). The presence of two holes—one in front of the other—is an unusual feature for an image of this size. The lug is for attachment of a halo, probably a round head halo similar to the one in the Gandhāran image in Fig. 1.78. Though the two holes could have been used for two separate halos, it is unlikely, as the angle of the lug is too slanted to accommodate a body halo unless it were markedly curved. Usually a body halo requires two lugs, as seen in the earliest Chinese bronze examples using two halos. Possibly the second hole was used for a parasol, but it is unlikely, or two pins were used to attach the head halo. This particular form may be an early technical feature.[129]

The bottom of the Harvard statue is open and the cavity inside follows the general shape of the image (Fig. 1.67). A slight rim surrounds all sides about one cm. inside the edge, and another, deeper ledge, about 6 cm up from the edge is found on the front and back sides. Probably the image had been originally sealed with relics inside.

[129] The image came to Harvard with a head halo, which is now kept in the storeroom of the Arthur M. Sackler Museum. It has a design of grape vines and grapes and is perforated. Curiously, it has a small niche in the back. Its quality does not seem to accord with that of the Harvard Buddha and is probably a later replacement.

d. *The Pedestal*

The front face of the trapezoid-shaped pedestal is longer (9 in.) than the back (6 1/8 in.) and the sides (4 1/4 in.) (Figs. 1.44, 1.65, 1.66, 1.67). All sides are bordered at the top and bottom by a relatively wide, slightly raised band that probably reflects the common Kushan pedestals with the design of an upper and lower slab layer (Fig. 1.27). While the front and side faces have reliefs that project over the border bands, the back face is entirely plain except for the bands.

At each side in front a roaring lion with triangular eyes and ears and stringy mane stands facing outward (Figs. 1.44, 1.68). The positioning is unlike most early examples of lion pedestals in Indian art as well as those in the Chinese ceramics of the 3rd to early 4th century, where the lions are depicted in side view usually facing towards the center, but also facing outwards (Figs. 1.27 and 1.50b). However, it should be noted that the Buddha from Śrāvastī dated ca. 213 in Fig. 1.50a has front-facing lions, as does a fragment of a pedestal from Gandhāra (Fig. 1.69) and, in fact, in spite of the greater dramatic realism of the Harvard image's lions with their bared teeth, double pair of fangs, grooved tongue, and lurching stance, the overall representation is relatively close to the Śrāvastī Buddha's pedestal.

Between the two lions is a small vase containing a bouquet of graceful spears of lotus buds and flowers: five buds in the center, an open lotus with pod at the left (facing), and a semicircular lotus (or leaf?) without pod at the right (Fig. 1.44). That all the lotus petals have a central groove displays a common feature of lotus petal design in 2nd century Kushan sculpture, such as seen in the Buddha's halo in the reliquary of Kaniṣka (Fig. 1.57a). The vase of flowers motif, no doubt referring to the *pūṃaghaṭa* (vase of plenty), used in the center of a Buddha's pedestal is rare and as yet unknown in Kushana period remains as well as in other early Chinese Buddhist art; however, it appears among the Begram ivories (probably dating before end of the 2nd century A.D.) and the Harwan tiles (ca. 300 A.D.) (Figs. 1.70 a,b,c,d) as well as among the wood carvings of Niya and Lou-lan in eastern Central Asia of ca. mid-3rd century A.D. (Fig. 5.2a).[130] The lotus design on the Harvard sculpture

[130] The dating of the Begram ivories has been quite varied from ca. 1st century B.C.-4th century A.D. See Hackin (1954), pp. 52-54, where he dates the ivories to ca. 1st century A.D. (or between the 1st quarter of the 1st century and at the latest the 2nd half of the 2nd century A.D.). The Harwan tiles with Kharoṣṭhī writing would most likely date before the mid-4th century A.D. when Kharoṣṭhī writing seems to have demised.

With regard to the appearance of the pūrṇaghaṭa motif in the pedestal in Indian art, we can note that according to P.K. Agrawala: "In some cases, curiously enough, the typical Pūrṇa Ghaṭa is found installed under the seat of deities, like Kubera, and the Buddha. In the latter example it may have represented only the indicative sign of the worship by votaries, or if it did have any iconographical significance, is not certain. Coomaraswamy interpreted some of the Sungan bas-relief representations

closely matches the representation in the Begram ivories, and, interestingly, the Begram example in Fig. 1.70c can also be linked with a 2nd century Later Han relief from a tomb at T'ung-shan near Hsü-chou, Kiangsu in the similar usage of the narrow, "combed" parallel line fold technique (Fig. 2.9a,b). In the Harwan tiles the vase is larger and the shape more typically Indian, but the delicacy and lilting grace of the motif is similar to the flowers of the Harvard image. In the Niya lintels (Figs. 5.2a) the shape and petite size of the vase accord well with the representation in the Harvard Buddha's pedestal, which can probably be traced to these kinds of origins in India and Central Asia.

A male figure appears on each side of the pedestal near the front (Figs 1.45, 1.71, 1.76). Both are relatively large and portrayed in careful detail, and both hold objects suggestive of donor-worshipers with offerings. Neither wears the Han style loose robes with drooping sleeves, but are clothed in coat-like clothes with stiffly flared contours and straight hems. Although such stiff, coat garments occur on some figures in Later Han reliefs, such as the example in Fig. 1.72 from the Wu family shrine in Shantung dated 147-167 A.D., the figures on the Harvard sculpture appear to be foreigners, as will be discussed further below. It is rare but not unknown to see donors on the pedestal in the earliest Chinese Buddhist images, such as the two donor-worshipers, one a secular Chinese man and the other probably a monk, on the ceramic money tree base of the late Later Han period from P'eng-shan in Szechwan (Fig. 1.26a,b). Some 4th century bronze Buddha statues have holes in the pedestal for the attachment of objects, possibly including donor figures (Fig. 1.48).[131] It is worth noting that the 4th century figures use a different technique of attaching the figures separately by means of a hole in the pedestal while the figures on the Harvard Buddha are all cast with the pedestal-sculpture as one unit.

The figure on the Buddha's left side wears a calf-length robe with level hem and several incised large U-shaped folds in the front (Figs. 1.71, 1.77b). Parallel lines indicating thick folds diagonally cross his right shoulder and appear from under his left arm as a long swatch (possibly one end of a shawl) with a pointed end. Another end, possibly of the same shawl, appears to curve over his left shoulder and flare stiffly with pointed end behind him (Fig. 1.77b). A slanted hem over the left chest and shoulder indicates the presence of an undergarment of the kind possibly worn

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of the Pūrṇa Ghaṭa alone, as standing for the goddess Śri Laksmī, but he was fully aware of the difficulty that no positive evidence could be adduced for it." P.K. Agrawala, *Pūrṇa Kalaś a or the Vase of Plenty*, Varanasi, 1965, pp. 37-38.

[131] Also the late 4th century seated abhayā-mudrā Buddha in the Nitta collection, which has one hole in the center (slightly towards the front) of each side, most likely for donor figures. See Mizuno (1968), "Chūgoku ni okeru butsuzō no hajimari", Figs. 9 and 10, pp. 32-33.

by Buddhist monks. The figure wears boots like the felt boots of the Kushans or Central Asians and is portrayed as though walking forward with the right foot in front and the left foot slightly raised. His head is large with prominent eyes and bushy mustache similar to the Buddha figure. His hair—not long, tied up, or covered by a hat typical of Han males figures—is unmarked, somewhat puffy and seems cropped close to the head, suggesting the portrayal of the shaven head of a monk or possibly the hair style of a foreigner. Both arms are raised horizontally to waist level with each hand holding a large object, no doubt intended as an offering. His right hand grasps a burning lamp in the center portion between the upper and lower edges of the base. Although lamp offerings held by a donor do not commonly occur in Kushan sculptures, there are some examples, like the excellent one from Swat in Fig. 1.73. The cone of fire is indicated by diagonal lines similar to the flames on the Harvard Buddha's shoulders. His left hand holds a large bud-shaped object with rounded bottom, pointed top, and a few scored lines (Fig. 1.77b). Though it could portray a bag, possibly of incense to feed to the lamp, it is most likely a lotus bud, despite its unnaturally large size. The overall posture of the figure is not unlike that of the monk in the Gandhāran fragment in Fig. 1.74, except the Harvard example is more restrained in posture and different in proportion and details of dress.

The figure on the Buddha's right, somewhat differently portrayed, is shorter and smaller with feet not projecting over the lower band (Fig. 1.76). Also carrying offerings, he walks forward with delicately fashioned feet, presumably in boots, lightly tripping along with the back foot slightly raised. He wears a belted coat that crosses with the right over the left side and curves out stiffly to calf level. The manner of wearing the coat crossing right over left is characteristic of secular figures in Kushan Gandhāra, Afghan, Swat, Parthian, and western Central Asia art. In China, on the other hand, customarily the robe is worn in the opposite way—with the left side placed over the right. These respective modes are borne out by numerous examples, which therefore suggest that this figure is not Chinese, but is probably a secular foreign person from northwest India or western Central Asia.

On the lower part of the coat are two panels of large U-shaped incised line folds on either side of a central vertical groove. This linear fold scheme, though not readily seen in other examples, appears similar to the secular donor figure in the fragment of a Kushana period pedestal from Shotorak, Afghanistan in Fig. 1.75, and in much more abbreviated form in the Bodhisattva from the belt buckle from the Chiao-wei P'eng Lu tomb, Wu-ch'ang, Hupeh dated Yung-an 5th year (262 A.D.) in Fig. 2.13. Stylistically, the stiff coat with a few widely separated incised fold lines somewhat resembles the manner of portraying the coat on some of the coins of the Kushana kings, such as Vima II Kadphises (ca. 100 A.D.) in Fig. 1.17. Unlike the left figure,

the head of this right figure is rounder without prominent cheekbones, and lacks a mustache. His eyes are slanted upwards similar to the Buddha figure, a single curved incised line appears at the base of his neck, and his hair is short cropped and plain. The unusual hairline, squared off in front and sharply angled above the ears, may be a style of a particular group of people, a particular aged person, or a monk's (or novice's) shaven head. In general this figure seems younger and, because of his smaller size, probably less important than the left figure, who could be his teacher or elder. In his right hand he holds some small, oval object; possibly it is a jewel, a small bowl, a piece of fruit, or flower bud. In his left hand he grasps a lotus stalk whose stem arches into three buds. Examples of donors carrying lotus stalks with buds occur frequently in Gandhāran art, but it should be noted that the style of this one is particularly similar to the floral branch held by a walking figure in a tile from the late Later Han Tomb No. 1 at Ho-ch'uan, Szechwan (Figs. 1.77a and 1.30a), which, though more lively and rounded, walking with a faster movement and holding the branch higher, nevertheless presents a closely comparable example with the right donor and furthermore suggests a Chinese interpretation.[132]

Among these two figures, probably offering donors, the left one, seemingly older and given more prominence, is most likely a Buddhist monk, while the other is possibly a foreign lay person or novice monk. The Shotorak relief in Fig. 1.75 shows a similar pairing. The garments, though reflecting some elements of Kushan style, are not completely like Kushana garments from the Gandhāran and Afghan schools, which are either shorter or have markedly curved hems (Figs. 1.74, 1.75). In comparison, the Harvard figures wear a long coat-like garment with straight hems typical of some dress in Han figures, like the standing figure at the right in the relief from the Wu shrine dated between 147 and 168 A.D. (Fig. 1.72a). Thus the dress seems to be a foreign type portrayed in a Han style, or a foreign dress that has been sinicized, such as may be worn by the foreign community of Parthians or Yüeh-chih living in China, who are known to have large populations in north China in the 2nd and 3rd centuries as noted in section III. More specifically, they may be foreign Buddhist monks or lay persons. The portrayal of a religious person and a secular person as donor-worshipers of a Buddha is also a Later Han phenomenon, at least as seen in the P'eng shan ceramic and known in some representation of Hsi-wang-mu, as mentioned earlier in the section on the P'eng-shan image. Though this combination is also prevalent in Kushan art, as seen in Figs. 1.74 and 1.75, the fact that these offering figures, not totally portrayed in the Kushan style, have some clear

[132] The Ho-ch'uan tomb is dated ca. late 2nd-early 3rd century by the excavators (see above note 83).

associations with Later Han Chinese style, helps confirm the Chinese make of this statue.

2. *Considerations of Dating, Provenance, Iconography, Historical Circumstances, and Interpretation*

From the above observations and analysis it appears that evidences both within China and from the regions to the west can provide a plausible dating for the Harvard Buddha. Broad chronological parameters of early Chinese figural art suggest a date somewhere between the sculptures of the Ch'in terra-cotta soldiers and bronze charioteer of ca. 210 B.C. (Figs. 1.63b and 1.46) and the seated Buddha from the Later Chao dynasty dated 338 A.D.(Fig. 1.48). As clearly evidenced from the radically different style and technique of the 338 Buddha and others, Buddha sculptures of the 4th and early 5th century are even further removed from the Harvard Buddha style. In fact, these broad parameters can readily narrow down to ca. 1st-3rd century A.D., since, on the one hand, Buddhism was not a significant factor in China until the 1st century A.D. thus any earlier date for the upper (early) limit would be too early, and, on the other hand, since the late 3rd century Chinese ceramic Buddhas reveal a residue of the Harvard Buddha's major technique of the raised fold with incised line, which does not appear to occur in later works, the Harvard Buddha probably dates before that time. From the consideration of other factors discussed earlier—particularly the rather close compatibility of the Harvard Buddha with the ca. 137 Hatra sculpture of Ubal—the Harvard Buddha could have been executed as early as the 2nd century A.D.; in fact, it seems reasonable that the date may readily be narrowed to between ca. 137 and late 3rd century. Furthermore, similarities with Later Han tomb figures, notably the guardian of the Ts'ao family tomb No. M2 in Anhui of ca. 160 A.D., the stone ch'in player from O-mei hsien, the P'eng-shan ceramic money tree base, and the Ho-ch'uan tile, as well as with some of the K'ung-wang shan figures, all dating within the 2nd half of the 2nd century to early 3rd century period, provide sufficient evidences that point to a probable dating for the Harvard Buddha to that time. The compatibility of certain artistic linear technique with the Ts'ao tomb figures clearly datable to ca. 160 A.D. strongly points to a date for the Harvard Buddha around that time.

Though dating of the Harvard Buddha depends primarily on its relation with internal, Chinese works, the supporting evidences from external sources are especially significant in the case of the Harvard Buddha. In this light the relation of the Harvard Buddha with the Khalchayan sculptures emerges as especially important on several accounts. The dating of the Khalchayan sculpture to ca. 1st century B.C. to 1st century A.D.—a dating which may be more specifically narrowed to ca. mid-1st

century A.D. on the basis of the recent dating of the "Heraus" coins by J. Cribb (see note 3.14)—and the strong association of the Harvard Buddha style with those sculptures and with the figure in the pointed hat from Dalverzin-tepe of ca. 1st-2nd century A.D. tends to support an earlier rather than later dating for the Harvard Buddha, considering that influences normally diminish with time. Furthermore, the Khalchayan sculptures, the Dalverzin-tepe head, and the sculptures from Airtam of ca. mid- 2nd century A.D. offer the best and most direct comparisons as major sources of the Harvard Buddha style, therefore confirming its primary relation with the region of northern Bactria in western Central Asia on the main east-west Silk Road trade routes rather than with sculptures from Gandhāra proper. The Khalchayan sculptures exhibit strong Parthian and Hellenistic elements, which are in turn partly reflected in the Harvard Buddha's drapery and naturalistic style and which the statue of Ubal reinforces. We should remember that in China during the Later Han period Parthian communities were thriving, particularly in the capital of Loyang but probably also in Ch'ang-an, and furthermore, Parthians along with Yüeh-chih and Sogdians apparently comprised the majority of merchants engaged in the trade between China and the west along the Silk Roads at that time.[133] An Shih-kao, a Parthian prince, and Lokakṣema, a Yüeh-chih, were the two first major Buddhist translators engaged in promoting important Buddhist activities in Loyang during the 2nd half of the 2nd century—An Shih-kao from ca. 149-165 and Lokakṣema from ca. 165-195—, and the Parthian merchant *cum* translator An Hsüan worked in Loyang as well in the late 2nd century. It was also noted in section II that recent evidence suggests translation of the early translators were based on texts using the Prākrit language of northwest India (and not Sanskrit), the very region which has been shown to support the style of the Harvard Buddha. Considering these conditions a dating for the Harvard Buddha in the second half of the 2nd century emerges as most reasonable.

From the viewpoint of the history of Buddhism in China during the latter part of the Later Han, the most likely time for such a major and strongly western type image like the Harvard Buddha to be made would be during the period of intense activity and prosperous period during the reigns of Emperor Huan (r. 147-167) and Ling (r. 168-189), when An Shih-kao and Lokakṣema were in Loyang working on the first major translations of Buddhist texts into Chinese and teaching disciples who carried on their teaching and practice methods. The emphasis placed by An-Shih-kao and his disciples on meditation practices, and meditation as the dominant theme in the texts translated by An Shih-kao, such as the *Ānāpāna Mindful-*

[133] See above note 42 for Parthians and Yüeh-chih in China, and Raschke, "New Studies", pp. 637-650 for the Parthians and Yüeh-chih as middlemen in trade.

ness, his most popular text, may have created an environment for the appearance of a Buddha in dhyāna-mudrā like the Harvard Buddha. The fact that the donors are probably foreigners and at least the elder one may be a monk could even suggest that the image belonged to one of the foreign monks in China at this time.

It is not possible with our present knowledge to determine the exact provenance of the Harvard Buddha. The traditional attribution to the Shih-chia-chuang area, though it may be correct, is not confirmable.[134] Most likely the Harvard Buddha is from northern China and probably originated from the Loyang area, the capital and area most active in serious Buddhist translation work and foreign contact. If so, then because of all the difficulties in Loyang from the time of Tung Cho's raid in 190 A.D., through the decades of Ts'ao Ts'ao's conquest and the unsettled final decades of the Han dynasty, and again during the merciless devastations of ca. 311 and 316 at the end of Western Chin, the image may have been taken from that area to a safer haven at some juncture. We can only speculate that such a haven could have been the Buddhist community at Chung shan, near Shih-chia-chuang. At this point, one can only imagine the history of this Buddha image before its home at Harvard.

The Harvard Buddha remains as the only Chinese sculpture known from the early period to have individual flames issuing from the shoulders, and it is the earliest major Chinese image in the dhyāna-mudrā. The closest iconographic prototypes occur in the Kushan period sculptures of Afghanistan and Gandhāra (Figs. 1.49, 1.78, 1.79) and one from Mathurā (Fig. 1.80). Prof. M. Taddei, in his study of the Kushan flame-shouldered Buddhas, has classified the Gandhāran and Afghan flame-shouldered Buddhas into seven categories.[135] The first two comprise examples of the single Buddha and the Buddha in the Miracle of Śrāvastī; the other four relate to the Dīpaṃkara-Jātaka. The Harvard Buddha is unlikely to be related to the Dīpaṃkara-Jātaka, as it does not possess the necessary accompanying elements (Fig. 1.79), though the missing halo could have had such elements. Most likely, this representation depicts either the single Buddha with flames in the dhyāna-mudrā as the Buddhas in Figs. 1.78 and 1.49, or the Great Miracle of Śrāvastī. If the former, the Buddha could be

[134] See above note 114.

[135] M. Taddei, "The Dīpaṃkara-jātaka and Siddhārtha's Meeting with Rāhula; How Are They Linked to the Flaming Buddha?" Note e Discussioni, *Annali*, Vol. 52, fascicolo 1, Napoli, 1992, pp. 103-107; M. Taddei, "Gururājamañjarikā", *Studi in onore di Giuseppe Tucci*, Istituto Universitario Orientale, Napoli, 1974, pp. 435-449. He divides the examples he has found into seven groups: 1) the Flaming Buddha alone; 2) the so-called "Miracle of Śrāvastī" with Buddha emitting flames from his shoulders; 3) the Dīpaṃkara-jātaka with Buddha figure emitting flames; 4) the Dīpaṃkara-jātaka with flaming Buddha and a standing Bodhisattva; 5) the Dīpaṃkara-jātaka with flaming Buddha and scene of meeting with Rāhula; 6) the Dīpaṃkara-jātaka with Stupa or Preaching Buddha and the scene of meeting with Rāhula; 7) the Dīpaṃkara-jātaka and the meeting with Rāhula grouped together in a different context.

Śākyamuni, as the lion pedestal of the Harvard Buddha would tend to confirm. In the case of the Great Miracle of Śrāvastī, the Buddha would also be Śākyamuni, depicted as he rose in the air with flames issuing from his shoulders and water from his feet. However, this feat is generally represented with a standing image as the text describes; the Harvard Buddha is neither standing nor does it have water issuing from the feet, yet it is possible that the vase of lotus flowers, an ancient motif in India for the waters, represents the water. This, however, may not be as plausible as the vase of flowers as an offering or general cosmological motif in this case. Until further evidence shows otherwise, the most probable identification is Śākyamuni with the flame emphasizing his radiance in a special way characteristic of the Kushan Afghan, Gandhāran, and Mathurān schools. Both stylistically and iconographically the Harvard Buddha demonstrates most consistently close parallels with Kushan imagery from the northwest area, that is of Gandhāran and the ancient Bactrian area of Afghanistan and southern Uzbekistan.

The dating of this work to the Later Han period endows it with a special stature as one of the oldest, if not the oldest, and finest of the early Chinese Buddha images. Not only that, it would be the largest and most excellent Buddha bronze image presently known from this early date in all of Asian art. With respect to the other Later Han Buddhist images in China, the Harvard Buddha represents a full-fledged and mature, orthodox Buddha image, different from the images seen at K'ung-wang shan and from the Szechwan tombs which represent the assimilation of Buddhistic elements into the popular customs and culture of China. While the K'ung-wang shan Buddhist images are mixed with images of popular belief, and the works from the tombs of Szechwan have their varied functions as a supernatural spirit within the tomb environment, the Harvard Buddha represents yet another function—that of the serious practitioner of the Buddhist religion and its sutras. This image represents a faith beyond that of mere worship of a supernatural being, but one linked to the deepest practices carried out by Buddhist monks. Literary evidences support the existence of all these functions of Buddhist art in China by the period of Emperors Huan and Ling, the most flourishing period in the Later Han before the serious erosion of control after the Yellow Turban rebellion of 184 and the continual plunge into anarchy in the last decades of the Han dynasty. Apparently all these forms co-existed in the Later Han Dynasty, reflecting different functions and different elements of the society of the time. It should be clear, if the dating of the Harvard Buddha is accurate to ca. 160 A.D. or about the time of the period of emperoros Huan and Ling, that the orthodox Buddhist icons did not develop from the popular religious art or the art with Buddhistic elements. These latter works cannot be considered the progenitors of the major line of Buddhist icons in China which, as

Chapter 2 will confirm, clearly developed from the Buddhist models of the west, notably, in the case of the Harvard Buddha, from models in western Central Asia, the old northern Bactrian region, which had its own distinct regional artistic styles, as Chapter 3 discusses in more detail. It is therefore of interest to note, as also suggested by Dr. E. Zürcher in his recent article, that eastern Central Asia, i.e., Serindia (Sinkiang province) does not appear to be a major factor as the source of Buddhism in China during the Han period. Both translators, as noted by Zürcher, and art come, as far as we know at this point, more directly from the western Central Asian, Parthian and Kushan regions.[136]

In sum, both the popularized and the orthodox expression appear concomitantly according to the responses of different members of the Chinese society at that time. As fully confirmed by the written records, both secular expressions responding to the needs of the populace and the religiously serious work of the translators in Loyang for the advanced pursuit of the dharma communities were part of the early movement of Buddhism in China at the end of the Han dynasty. This "dual track" movement—the popular and the religious—characterizes Buddhism and its art in this early stage in China. Both tracks continue during the 3rd century along similar lines; it is only in the early 4th century, following the devastating series of political and social catastrophes at the end of the Western Chin that shake China to its core and leave China open to the unexpected and momentous changes of the 4th century, that the serious religious Buddhist imagery comes to dominate. The Harvard Buddha and the other "orthodox" Buddhist icons discussed in Chapter 2 clearly reveal that the main stream of early Buddhist art in China did not develop from or emerge out of the art with Buddhist elements used mostly in funerary contexts. Both types are important expressions of early Buddhism in China, each of a different character and function.

Finally, the Harvard Buddha has been shown to exhibit especially close links with the Buddhist art of the western regions, but at the same time it should be recognized that it has a different interpretation from the Kushan images, though related

[136] E. Zürcher, "Han Buddhism and the Western Region", in W.L. Idema and E. Zürcher, (eds.), *Thought and Law in Qin and Han China*, Leiden, 1990, pp. 167-179. Dr. Zürcher is struck by the "up-to-date" character of the Buddhism that came to China in the 2nd half of the 2nd century A.D., a factor he also perceived in the art with Buddhist elements used in a funerary context in Late Han. The spread of canonical Buddhism to China in the 2nd half of the 2nd century A.D. was virtually synonymous with the spread of Buddhism within the Kushan empire, to Parthia and Samarkand, the sources of the first major Buddhist missionaries to China. He does not see the Buddhism of this period in China as an extension of Buddhism into eastern Central Asia (Sinkiang) and then to China, but rather as skipping over the Sinkiang area and going directly to China. He discusses this further in relation to the nature of the spread of institutionalized Buddhism.

to them. Not only is this true in regard to certain aesthetic features, such as the subtle yin-yang elements and the conscious textures of the cloth, but also in respect to the religiosity of the image. The naturalism seen in Kushan imagery, especially of the northwest area, fostered to some degree by contact with Hellenistic, Parthian and Roman art, was accepted but subtly modified to transform images like the Harvard Buddha into more iconic, slightly abstract images in China. Whereas the Kushan image was a realistic super-humanlike Buddha, the Harvard Buddha is a more iconic figure based on elements of the Kushana super-human realism. As an early religious image in China, it is not forthrightly realistic or naturalistic, but emits some sense of the mystery of a spiritual being. One should remember that in India for several centuries after the Buddha's Parinirvāṇa, Buddhist art was largely aniconic and symbolic. The more human stage with the portrayal of a super-humanlike Buddha came only around the 1st-3rd century A.D. In China it was this more "naturalistic" stage that played the role of the basis for the earliest Chinese Buddhist art, but the level of religious acceptance of the images was not yet conducive for the stage of the fully naturalist image, a factor which perhaps underlies, at least in part, the transformation of the Kushan naturalism into a more iconic-symbolic-abstract interpretation in China in these early Buddhist representations, of which the Harvard Buddha is such a splendid example.

V. Conclusions

In an overall assessment of Buddhist art in the Han dynasty, essentially the Later Han period, several points emerge with some clarity.

1) The Loyang community of Buddhists under the direction of foreign monks produced the first major translations of canonical texts (apparently translated from texts written in northwest Prakrit) and, given the probable dating of the Harvard Buddha, there existed very fine gilt bronze orthodox Buddhist icons accurately based on models mainly from the region of western Central Asia (northern Bactria). These evidences suggest a rather strong reliance on foreigners, especially the Parthians and Yüeh-chih, who were not only the translators of texts, but were also apparently actively involved in the merchant activities and east-west trade along the Silk Routes at that time.

2) The art containing "Buddhistic elements", mostly funerary art, testifys to indigenous Chinese practices that incorporate foreign Buddhist elements as propitious spirits and lucky omens together with other deities, such as Hsi-wang-mu. This art seems fairly widespread in the late Later Han, though the two regions with most

notable remains are Kiangsu/Shantung and Szechwan. This does not mean that more metropolitan areas such as Loyang and Ch'ang-an did not have these kinds of expressions—they simply may not have survived. Nevertheless, it is clear that both Kiangsu/Shantung and Szechwan (also, to a lesser extent, possibly Kansu, Shansi and Inner Mongolia) have remains that indicate the usage of Buddhistic features among the local art. Those in Kiangsu/Shantung may date primarily from the periods of Emperors Huan and Ling, while those in Szechwan may tend to date from the decades at the end of Han and into the Shu-Han period when Szechwan was more independent and before absorption by the state of Wei. It may be that some of the occurrences of Buddhistic works in tombs of Szechwan are also related to foreigners, and the same may be the case with K'ung-wang shan in Kiangsu.

3) The Chinese pagoda of this period seems to be a mixture between a chaitya/shrine and a stupa. Reliefs from Mathurā show possible prototypes for the Chinese lou-ko-t'a type pagoda/stupa. The lou-ko t'a type pagoda appearing in the late Later Han tile from Shih-fang, Szechwan, closely relates to the "lou-ko-tao" temple (ssu) or shrine (tz'u) of Tse Jung of ca. 190 A.D. in Kiangsu described in the *Hou-Han shu* and *San-kuo chih*. These two evidences provide the most important early data concerning the vexing problem of the origins and development of the Chinese style stupa, which, at this juncture seems to be a conflation of the chaitya shrine and stupa.

4) By late Later Han the characteristic forms of the Chinese pagoda and of the Buddha image were known and established, at least in certain areas in China. A Jātaka and Buddha's Parinirvāṇa occur at K'ung-wang shan and events of the Buddha's life appear in the small bronze shrine in the Asian Art Museum, but an independent image of the Bodhisattva does not occur among the presently known evidences from this period (some are probably part of the K'ung-wang shan Parinirvāṇa scene).

Thus, it appears that Buddhism and Buddhist art appear to have a relatively solid, though not extensive, foundation in China by the end of the Later Han period. Both, as would be natural, are heavily dependent on foreign monks, artistic models, communications, and perhaps even practitioners.

CHAPTER TWO

PERIOD OF THE THREE KINGDOMS AND THE WESTERN CHIN (A.D. 220-317)

The period from 220-317, comprising nearly a hundred years with two discrete but short-lived historical divisions—the Three Kingdoms (220-265) and the Western Chin (265-317)—experiences recovery from the decades of turmoil attending the collapse of the Han and a brief period of fluorescence in the second half of the century, only to be plunged into one of China's most catastrophic and protracted periods of disorder, famine and foreign invasion during the first several decades of the 4th century. Despite the calamities and crumbling political situations that wracked China at the end of the Han Dynasty and again with even more ferocity at the end of the Western Chin, Buddhism in China not only survived, but grew to new levels, especially during the height of the Western Chin from ca. 280-300 with the prodigious activities of the monk Dharmarakṣa (Chu Fa-hu 竺法護), a naturalized Yüeh-chih and the greatest Buddhist luminary, teacher, and translator in China at this time. His voluminous translation work, mainly of Mahāyāna texts, established by the end of the century a much firmer foundation for favorable growth and development of Buddhism in China during the 4th century.

Buddhist art, continuing generally along lines established in Later Han, nevertheless manifests some distinct changes and reaches deeper into the popular culture. Remains—still relatively scant—include Buddhist figures used on funerary objects, such as the ceramic hun-p'ing 魂瓶 vessels and bronze mirrors, and a few, rare, independent bronze icons which, though still fashioned in a strongly western mould, become imbued with a more distinctly Chinese interpretation than seen in the Later Han images. Solidity and realism conjoined with delicacy and a sense of innocence pervade the best works—rare treasures that seem to reflect the growing faith and fresh spirit of renewal characteristic of the Buddhist movement during this second major early period of Buddhism in China. The effects on the art of China's relationship with Central Asia, especially during the decades of vigorous contact in the 2nd half of the 3rd century, become even more pronounced in some works while others testify to developments of a more indigenous Chinese interpretation.

I. Political Setting, Relations with Central Asia and Developments in Buddhism

A. *The Three Kingdoms* (220-265)

Wei [often referred to as Ts'ao Wei 曹魏] (220-265), capital at Loyang

Shu [Shu Han] 蜀漢 (221-264), capital at Ch'engtu 成都 in Szechwan

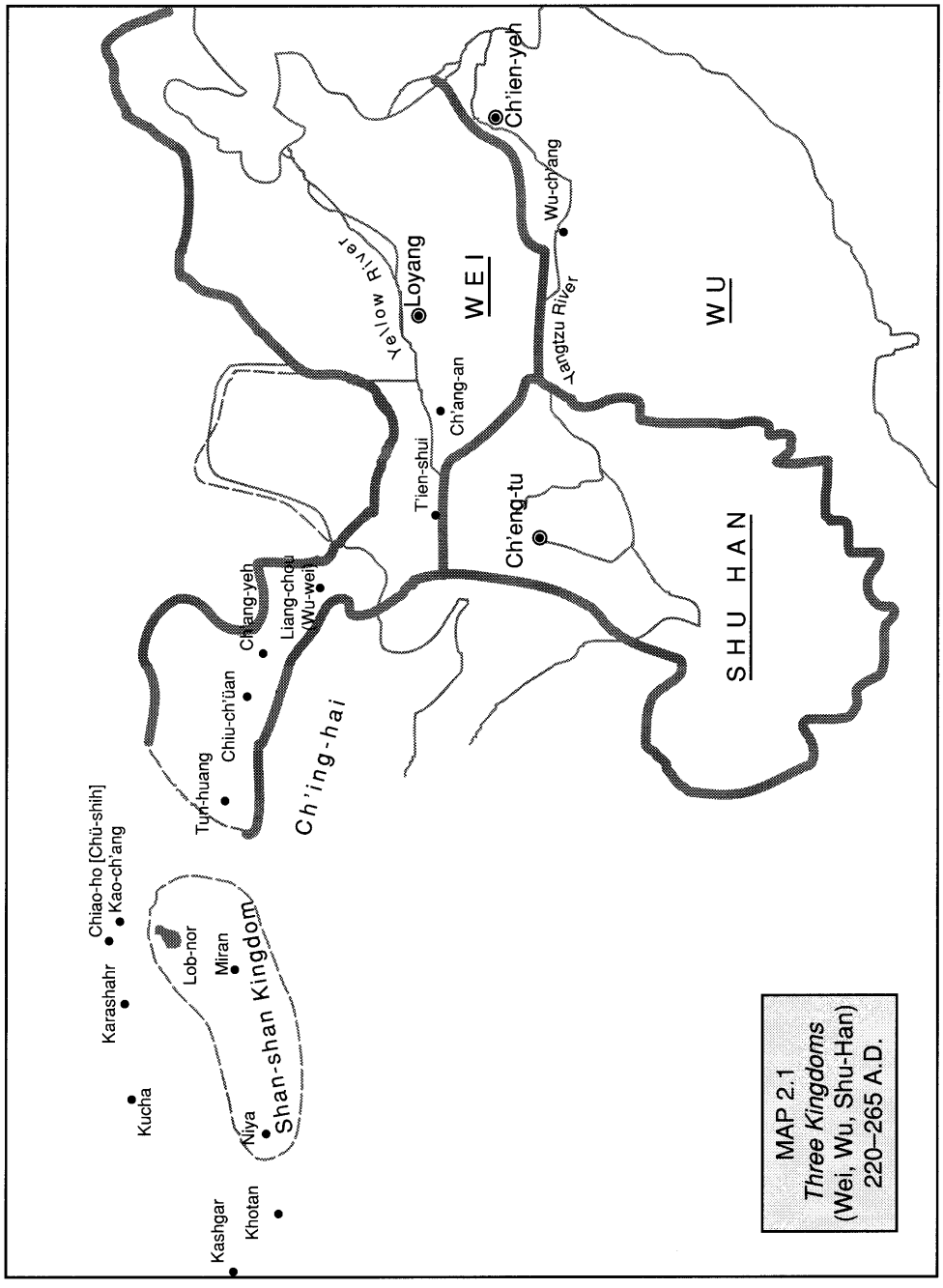
Wu 吳(222-280), capital at Wu-ch'ang 武昌 (present E-cheng 鄂城), Hupei, from 221-229, and at Chien-yeh 建業 (present Nanking) from 229-280 (See Map 2.1)

From ca. mid-2nd century A.D. as court control of the Han Dynasty eroded, the strength of various local warlords rose. After the Yellow Turban Rebellion of the Taoists in 184 A.D., a major sign of the destabilizing situation of the time, the warlord Ts'ao Ts'ao 曹操, a brilliant but cruel statesman and general, gained *de facto* control of the north by the time of his death in 220, when the Han finally ceded to his son Ts'ao P'ei 曹丕 who was proclaimed the first Emperor of Wei in 220. However, the dictatorial and heavily legalistic policies of the Ts'ao leadership did not win over the entrenched land-owning Confucian elite, which had considerable bureaucratic power as well as their own private armies. Without the ability to ultimately centralize control, the Ts'ao lost power in 249 in a coup d'etat that resulted in more independence for the powerful families, victory for the traditional Confucian system ("Old Text School"), and signaled the rise of the powerful Ssu-ma 司馬 family.[1]

In 200 A.D. Liu Pei 劉備 of Han lineage had already established an independent state in Szechwan called Shu-Han and had proclaimed himself Emperor of Han at Ch'eng-tu. Szechwan had not been affected by the Yellow Turban Rebellion and Taoism remained influential there, particularly with the support of the Five Bushels of Rice Movement (wu-tou-mi-tao 五斗米道), a popular semi-religious movement that at the end of the Later Han also assumed a military function in defense of Szechwan against the Han armies.[2] In 263 the Wei general Ssu-ma Yen 司馬炎 conquered Shu-Han, and by 265, after gaining effectual power behind the throne of Wei, united Wei and Shu to form the dynasty of the Chin 晋, known to history as the Western Chin to distinguish it from the Eastern Chin (317-420). In the southeast Sun Ch'üan

[1] Zürcher (1959), I, pp. 43-45.

[2] Tsukamoto (1985), I, pp. 35, 118. The religious doctrine of the movement was apparently similar to the T'ai-p'ing tao 太平道 and also based on the yin-yang and Five Elements theory. The name derives



MAP 2.1
Three Kingdoms
(Wei, Wu, Shu-Han)
220–265 A.D.

孫權, Marquis of Wu 吳, who had broken away from the domination of Ts'ao Ts'ao, in 221 established the independent kingdom of Wu and in 229 moved the capital from Wu-ch'ang (E-ch'eng 鄂城) to Chien-yeh 建業 (Nanking). In 280, however, the Chin from the north conquered Wu thus unifying China for a short time until 317.

Emperor Wen 文帝 (r. 220-226), the first ruler of the Wei kingdom in the north, adopted a policy of actively encouraging relations with the Central Asian states, and established the post of wu-chi chiao-wei 戊己校尉 (management of the Western Regions). At the time of his ascension to the throne in 220, both Karashahr and Khotan sent ambassadors with tribute, and in 222 Shan-shan and Kucha sent emissaries with gifts (see details and texts in Chapter 5, history of the Shan-shan kingdom). Under Emperor Ming 明帝 (r. 227-239) both Tun-huang and Liang-chou in Kansu (Map 2.1) flourished under distinguished and able administrators: Ts'ang Tz'u 倉慈, grandson of the founder of the Five Bushels of Rice Movement in Szechwan, and popular t'ai-shou 太守 (governor) of Tun-huang from 227 to 233, and Hsü Mo 許邈, tz'u-shih 刺史 (censor) of Liang-chou. The former was highly respected by the people of Central Asia, who grieved him at his death and even established a memorial shrine (tz'u 祠) for him (see Chapter 5). The latter, who died in 249 at age 79, suppressed the bandits and developed the agriculture of the Liang-chou (Wu-wei 武威) region to such an extent that every household was said to have prospered. Both leaders devoted their energies to encouraging trade and communications with Central Asia. A record in the *San-kuo chih*, chüan 3, records an embassy in 230 to Wei, possibly from a king called "Vāsudeva" (Po-t'iao 波調) of the Great Yüeh-chih (Kushanas). Though only an isolated comment without further elaboration or certainty with regard to the identity of the king, it does afford at least some indication of an east-west relation and of openness through the Western Regions at this time.[3] Despite scant documentation from the Chinese histories concerning the Western Regions and the degree of control by Ts'ao Wei in the Western Regions (see Chapter 5), these few evidences suggest favorable conditions for trade and communication with the countries of Central Asia and further west.

During the Three Kingdoms the intellectual climate in the Wei kingdom in the

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from the demand of five bushels of rice as payment for people requesting help in curing sickness—one prominent component of this movement. The original leader, Chang Ling 張陵, was ascribed a sylphlike prominence. Chang Lu, his follower, had to submit to Ts'ao Ts'ao, who, however, enfoeffed him and his family, thus enabling economic security to the movement for several generations.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 123-124; also see Chapter 5 below. With regard to the "Vāsudeva" mission to Wei, Brough is quite skeptical of placing too much importance on this entry in light of being unable to confirm it or the identity of the ruler. J. Brough, "Comments on Third-Century Shan-shan and the History of Buddhism", *BSOAS*, XXVIII, part 3, 1965, pp. 597-598.

north took an interesting turn that ultimately helped the spread of Buddhism. The Ts'ao government of Wei forbid the prognostication and superstitious magic which had been rampant in the later part of Later Han, and substituted it with such restrictive Confucian policies that a new opposition and interest in more liberal ideas arose, particularly those associated with Taoism. The famous "Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove," a group of highly individualistic men from the elite sector of society, espoused and practiced a freer form of life and a disregard for the political ethics of Confucianism. Young Confucian scholars, known as the New Confucianists or New Text Confucianists, especially Wang Pi 王弼 and Ho Yen 何晏 during the 240-248 period, took an interest in philosophical aspects of Taoism. Their writings, which exerted major influence in the intellectual world over the next few generations, stimulated ideas favorable to the continued growth of Buddhism, which actually may have become weaker during the dispersion and turmoil of the last decades of the Later Han.[4]

Loyang appears still to be the main center in the north for Buddhist activity, although the dearth of any evidences, remains or texts, could indicate a reduced level of Buddhist activity during the Three Kingdoms period, at least until around the mid-3rd century.[5] There seems to have been a mixture of both foreign monks from the west and a few Chinese monks and lay believers at this time. Although the famous 4th century Chinese monk Tao-an (312-385) does not note in his catalogue any translations from the Wei kingdom, the *Kao-seng ch'üan* (compiled ca. 530) lists some foreign monks who were active in Loyang around the mid-3rd century. It is said that the first Chinese monastic code began with Dharmakāla (T'an-ko-chia-lo 曇柯迦羅), an Indian monk who came to Loyang during the Chia-p'ing 嘉平 period (249-253). Apparently distressed by lack of the Vinaya and by usage of Buddhist shrines primarily for sacrifices and rituals, he translated the Prātimokṣa of the Mahāsāṃghikas (for a guide to daily life of the monks) and initiated the ordination ceremony.[6] The Sogdian K'ang Seng-k'ai (康僧鎧 Saṅghavarman?), possibly from Samarkand, came to Loyang at the end of the Chia-p'ing period (249-253) and translated four scriptures, the most notable being the *Ugradattaparipṛcchā* concerning the conduct of the Bodhisattva. He may also have translated (in two rolls) the *Wu-liang-shou ching* 無量壽經 (*Sukhāvatī vyūha*), one of the major texts on Amitābha Buddha and the Western Pure Land. Other monks include two Parthians, T'an-(wu)-ti (曇(無)諦, Dharma-

[4] Tsukamoto (1985), I, p. 122; Zürcher (1959), I, pp. 45-46.
[5] *Ibid.*,I, p. 55.
[6] *Ibid.*, I, pp. 55-56.

satya?), An Fa-hsien (安法賢, Dharmabhadra?),[7] and Dharmendra (T'an-ti 曇帝), an expert in the monastic code who is thought to have come to Loyang in the Cheng-yüan 正元 period (254-256) and translated the *T'an-wu-te-chieh-mo* 曇無德羯摩 *(Dharmaguptakaprātimokṣa)*. Po Yen, possibly a Kuchean, who came during the Kan-lu 甘露 period (255-259), translated six texts, including the *Wu-liang ch'ing-ching p'ing-teng chüeh ching* 無量淸淨平等覺經 *(Amitaśuddhasamyadsaṃbodhisūtra?)*, the *Śuraṃgamasūtra* (lost), the *Hsü-lai ching* 須賴經 (lost), and the *Scripture of the Removal of Misfortune* (lost). Tsukamoto Zenryū suggests that these may have been translated in Kansu.[8]

The translations attributed to these monks, though not considered major advances, represent the steady accumulation of translated materials, showing interest in the Vinaya, Bodhisattva conduct, and possibly the Amitābha Pure Land. Noting the nationality of the monks who are recorded during this period, we see that they are mainly of Parthian and Central Asian origin. Though no further significant mention of Buddhism or Buddhist temples occurs in the records of the Wei, later records note Buddhist contact with the ruling family, and the *Wei shu* states, unreliably according to some, that Emperor Ming (227-240) built a large temple in Loyang.[9]

In the south, the state of Wu, which became more sinicized and culturally advanced in this period, appears to have more Buddhist activity than Loyang. Unlike the north, whose traditional contacts were with Central Asia, Wu was more oriented towards the south and directly connected with sea route communication. Two Buddhist translators in Wu during the Three Kingdoms were responsible for most of the activity: Chih Ch'ien 支謙, a Yüeh-chih lay disciple of Chih Liang 支亮 (of Lokakṣema's lineage), who had belonged to the Loyang Mahayanist group in the late Later Han and had fled south just before 220, and K'ang Seng-hui 康僧會, an ordained monk who came to Chien-yeh in 247. Already noted in Chapter 1 as a follower of An Shih-kao's tradition, K'ang Seng-hui came from a Sogdian family that had immigrated from India to live in Chiao-chih (Hanoi) where he received his Buddhist education, studied Sanskrit, the Six Classics, astronomy and the diagrams of the *I Ching*. Both Chih Ch'ien and K'ang Seng-hui were well educated in Chinese literature and therefore able to render their translations in an admirable and fluent literary style, an important factor for the propagation of Buddhism.[10]

Chih Ch'ien had exerted special effort to collect surviving scriptures and worked at translating many of them, particularly after 241 when he retired to Ch'iung-lung shan 穹窿山 (southwest of Wu-hsien 吳縣 in Kiangsu). Thirty-six works are attributed

[7] *Ibid.*, I, p. 55.
[8] Tsukamoto (1985), I, pp. 137-138.
[9] Zürcher (1959), I, p. 57.
[10] *Ibid.*, I, pp. 48-51.

to him by Seng-yu 僧祐 (435-518) in his work *Ch'u san-ts'ang chi chi* 出三藏記集 (published 515), twenty-three of which are still preserved.[11] The Indian monks Vighna (Wei-ch'i-nan 維祇難) and Chu Chiang-yen 竺將炎 came to Wu-ch'ang in 224 and worked with Chih Ch'ien on a rough translation of the *Dharmapada.* Chih Ch'ien's major works include the first translation of the *Vimalakīrti Sūtra* (a popular text translated 7 times from the third to the mid-seventh century with at least 9 commentaries) and the confirmed major first translation of the *Sukhāvatīvyūha,* the important text on Amitābha Buddha and his Pure Land. The new works on Amitābha Buddha translated in the Three Kingdoms Period could, according to Tsukamoto, reflect interest in Amitābha's Pure Land in the west, possibly under the Kushans.[12] He also translated another version of Buddha's life, a new version of the *Śuraṃgamasamādhi Sūtra* and of the *Aṣṭasahasrikā-prajñāpāramita,* made an enlarged version of the *Dharmapada,* a new redaction of the *Hsiu-hsing pen-ch'i ching* 修行本記经 (Scripture of the Former Rise of Cultivated Practice—on the life of Gautama, already translated earlier in the Later Han, 197 A.D.), a new version of the *Sūtra in 42 Sections,* and wrote a book of hymns in praise of the Bodhisattva. According to Zürcher, he is the most important translator in the south before the late fourth century.[13]

K'ang Seng-hui translated fewer works, but is well known for his teaching and participation in some "miraculous" events purported during the reign of Emperors Sun Ch'üan 孫權 (r. 222-252) and Sun Hao 係和 (r. 264-280).[14] He translated two collections of avadanas and composed a number of commentaries that are significant for being China's oldest Buddhist commentaries. One of the most interesting is a long discourse concerning the description of the four stages of dhyāna practice. Kang Seng-hui is particularly noted for continuing the lineage of An Shih-kao's teaching with its stress on dhyāna, and another of his commentaries (in collaboration) focuses on An Shih-kao's *An-pan shou-i ching* 安般守意經 *(Scripture of Ānāpāna Mindfulness).*[15] He apparently attracted attention to his grass hut hermitage where he circumambulated a [Buddha] "statue", one of the rare early references to a Buddha image from literary sources.[16] The other famous image of this time in the south is the "golden image" several feet high "miraculously" found in the palace park and later desecrated by the Emperor Sun Hao. Although generally considered a concocted tale, the image remains as one of the famous miraculous Buddhist images

[11] *Ibid.*, I, p. 49-50.
[12] Tsukamoto (1985), I, p. 149.
[13] Zürcher (1959), I, p. 50.
[14] Soper (1959), pp. 5 -6.
[15] *Ibid.*, I, pp. 51-55.
[16] Tsukamoto (1985), I, p. 153.

and appears twice in Tao-hsüan's *San-pao kan-t'ung lu* 三寶感通錄, the 7th century account of famous Chinese Buddhist images.[17]

The Chien-ch'u ssu 建初寺, built by Sun Ch'üan following Kang Seng-hui's miraculous procuring of a Buddha relic, later became a renowned Buddhist center under the Eastern Chin (317-420). Kang Seng-hui, who died in 280 as Chin conquered Wu, was also said to have been effective in preventing Sun Hao from destroying Buddhist temples. The site of a small vihāra built by nuns beside a reliquary stupa of King Aśoka (A-yü-wang t'a 阿育王塔), though destroyed in the Wu conquest, later became the site of an Eastern Chin temple.[18] These bits of evidence trace the fragile yet persistent growth of Buddhist activity in China during the Three Kingdoms period.

B. *The Western Chin (265-317 A.D.)*

Emperor Wu 武帝 (r. 265-290), the first ruler of the Western Chin, conquered the south in 280, and successfully created a centralized government and consolidated empire (Map 2.2). Consequently, the remainder of the third century became a period of relative stability and prosperity. Upon the death of Emperor Wu the ensuing struggle for control led to the rise and fall of several leading families that tried to usurp the government. Around 300 A.D. the powerful Ssu-ma family re-emerged as dominant, but the bitter and catastrophic internecine struggle among the Ssu-ma princes (the so-called Disturbance of the Eight Princes) substantially contributed to the complete collapse of order in the north. Under the inept rule of the idiot Emperor Hui 惠帝 (r. 290-306) the compounded disasters of years of civil war, famine and pestilence converged to cast the nation into ever-deepening chaos.

Meanwhile, on China's northern and northwest borders the loose confederation of Five Barbarian Nations (Wu-hu kuo 五胡國), comprised of the Hsiung-nu 匈奴, Chieh 羯, Hsien-pi 鮮卑, Ti 氐, and Ch'iang 羌 attacked and pillaged, waiting for the chance to strike Loyang and Ch'ang-an. In 306 the Hsien-pi attacked Ch'ang-an, killing 20,000 people; a catastrophe that was compounded by famine and a plague of locusts in 310. Liu Yao 劉曜, styled "Supreme Commander of the Five Hsiung-nu Hordes", took advantage of the weakened situation and began conquest of the central part of northern China from a base established in P'ing-yang 平陽, northern Shansi. Liu Yao sent his fierce and cruel general, Shih Lo 石勒, to destroy Loyang, which he did in 311 A.D.,

[17] Soper (1959), pp. 6-7.
[18] Tsukamoto (1985), I, p. 158; Soper (1959), pp. 6-7.

massacring 30,000 people. In 316 Shih Lo captured Ch'ang-an, where conditions had already become desperate to the point of famine.

With Loyang and Ch'ang-an devastated and in complete ruins, thousands of families, especially of the upper class, fled for refuge, mostly to the south but also to the northwest, from what was the first overwhelming barbarian invasion of the north in the history of China. Ssu-ma Jui 司馬睿, who had been governor of the southern provinces since 307 from the city of Chien-yeh 建業, with the support of powerful refugee families from the north, created the Eastern Chin dynasty in the southeast in 317 and changed the name of the capital to Chien-k'ang 建康. The area of Szechwan and most of Yünnan became the state of Ch'eng 成 from 302 under a self-styled king. The northwest in Kansu (Liang-chou) came under control of the Chang 張 family, which continued to support the Western Chin ruling house, but later established the independent Former Liang kingdom (313 or 324 to 376 in Kansu with extensions into Central Asia (see Chapter 5).[19]

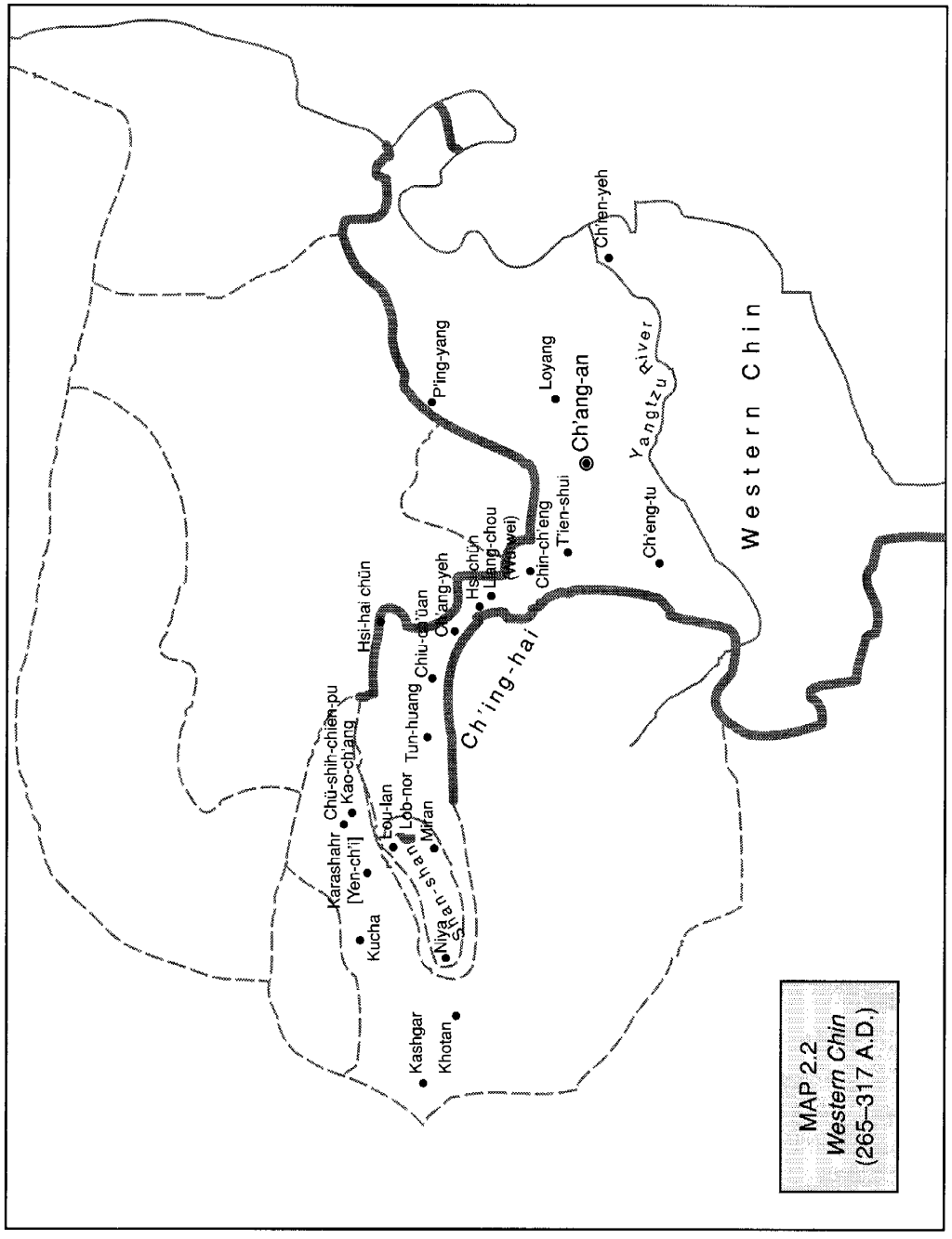
The political and social fragmentation created by the disasters at the end of the Western Chin were to run their course though more than a hundred years before the conquest of the north in 439 and the early 440's by the Northern Wei imposed more stable conditions. In this difficult and complex period racked by natural disasters and political misfortune, Buddhism took firm and lasting foothold as a Chinese faith, and Buddhist art began to increase and flourish. During the Western Chin the critical threshold period is reached, in large measure due to the stupendous achievements of Dharmarakṣa (Chih [or Chu] Fa-hu 竺法護), the monk born in Tun-huang of naturalized Yüeh-chih parents.

During the unified Western Chin the reign of Emperor Wu was the most settled and the decade of the 280's the most prosperous. The power of the great families was under control, reforms were instituted, and the prestige of the court at the capital of Loyang rose. Wealth became concentrated in the Loyang area, sometimes to great excess, as witnessed by the case of the incredibly wealthy Shih Ch'ung 石崇 (249-300), who may have been a Buddhist.[20]

Records of contact with foreign states from 265-290 reveal Western Chin's considerable interaction with the states of Central Asia. Embassies are recorded from Shan-shan (eastern part of eastern Central Asia, including the Lob-nor region—see Chapter 5), Khotan, Kucha, Karashahr and Ferghana in 271, 283, 285 and 287, and Chinese titles were bestowed on the kings of all these states. As will be discussed further in Chapter 5, Aurel Stein and others found many evidences among the ru-

[19] Zürcher (1959), I, pp. 57-59; also see Chapter 5 below.

[20] He had a fabulous estate in "Golden Valley" (chin ku) northwest of Loyang, but he and his family came to an unhappy end. Tsukamoto (1959), I, p. 178 and p. 535 (note w.)


Western Chin
Ch'ing-hai
Yangtze River
Ch'ang-an
Loyang
P'ing-yang
Ch'ien-yeh
Tien-shui
Ch'eng-tu
Chin-ch'eng
Liang-chou (Wu-wei)
Hsi-hai chün
Chiu-ch'üan
Tun-huang
Lou-lan
Lob-nor
Mi-fan
Karashahr
[Yen-ch'i]
Kucha
Kao-ch'ang
Chü-shih-chien-pu
Kashgar
Khotan
MAP 2.2
Western Chin
(265–317 A.D.)

ins of Niya, Miran, Endere, and Lou-lan of Chinese administration during the Western Chin period, particularly for the period 265-270. Records written in Chinese mainly dealt with control of communications, travel and trade, whereas those written in Kharoṣṭhī, the script of the northwest Prākrit language used by the Kushana dynasty, was used by the local population and concerned primarily local business, loans, land transactions, contracts, Buddhist affairs, and the like. From these finds, we notice that the influence of Western Chin, particularly during the reign of Emperor Wu, may have have been considerable in the Shan-shan kingdom and may have extended as far as Khotan on the southern route and to Karashahr (Yen-chi) on the northern route. Embassies from the south, including from Champa (Lin-i 林邑) and Funan, were recorded in 268, 284, 285, 286, 287 and 289.[21] All embassies apparently cease after 289, when the Western Chin began to experience severe internal difficulties. Accessibility to Central Asia, revived during the Three Kingdoms, gained momentum between 265 and ca. 270 and led to invigorated east-west communication. Tun-huang prospered, as did other cities along the trade routes, and the situation encouraged the movement of Buddhist monks, especially between Central Asia and northern China, where Ch'ang-an became the primary locus for Buddhist translation activity.[22]

Buddhism apparently took substantial foothold among the intellectuals of Lo-yang and Ch'ang-an at this time.[23] The general intellectual climate continued to favor Buddhism, especially with the growing interest in the New Confucianism of Wang Pi 王弼 and Ho Yen 何晏 as well as vigorous new developments in Taoist thought. Because the route to official power was tightly held by the Ssu-ma clan and their favorites, the intelligensia—excluded at this time from the outlet of government service—tended to exalt the pure life of the mountain recluse and to appreciate intellectual "pure talk" (ch'ing t'an 清談), characteristics which endured and developed during the 4th century. Kuo Hsiang 郭像 (ca. 310) was the outstanding scholar, spokesman, and activist for the emerging Lao-Chuang (Lao Tzu and Chuang Tzu) studies, and the "Three Mysteries" (Lao Tzu, Chuang Tzu and The Book of Changes) were venerated by recluses, 40 of whom were recorded in the *Chin-shu.* These new intellectual and philosophical developments also opened the way for wider

[21] Zürcher (1959), I, pp. 57-58.

[22] According to Lin Mei-ts'un, there seems to have been a substantial community of foreigners, primarily Yüeh-chih, in Ch'ang-an during the Western Chin and into the 4th century. For some interesting materials that support this, including a Buddha statue with a Kharoṣṭhī inscription, see Chapter 5, note 5.33.

[23] *Ibid.*, I, pp. 59-60; Tsukamoto (1985), I, p. 167.

interest and closer focus on Buddhist thought and practices.

The Buddhist community during the Western Chin was led primarily by naturalized Chinese whose families had been in China for several generations and had acquired high social and economic status. It was not until the next generation in the 4th century that Buddhism came to be propagated primarily by native Chinese. At this time, however, the naturalized Chinese (mostly Yüeh-chih) tended to be equally conversant with the Chinese language—acquired through their Chinese literary education—and with the languages of Central Asia and the Buddhist scriptures. Armed with these formidable resources, they raised the stature of Buddhist translations and teaching to a higher plateau.

Prime interest among this generation of Buddhist translators and leaders, centered on the Mahāyāna texts of the *Prajñāpāramitā* (the Wisdom Scriptures), although others of great import were translated as well, and their work set the course for Mahāyāna Buddhism to flourish in China. The marked increase in the number of translations and in the quality of the scholarship, make this one of the most vital periods in the development of Buddhism in China, despite the deteriorating political and economic conditions of the country after ca. 290. It is said that in the Yung-chia 永嘉 period (307-312) there were 42 monasteries in Loyang and about 300 monks. If that is so, it was a considerable community of Buddhists, especially considering that at the beginning of the 3rd century there were probably only about three monasteries in Loyang.[24]

The first Chinese monk to travel to the west to obtain original scriptures seems to have been Chu Shih-hsing 朱士行, who in ca. 260 travelled to Khotan on the southern silk route in search of the 25, 000 verse *Prajñāpāramitā* text. Khotan was already a prosperous center of Buddhism, apparently mostly Hīnayāna at this time, but later (by 400 A.D.) it became a great Mahāyāna center.[25] Although Chu Shih-hsing never returned to China (he died in Khotan at age 79 or 80), he sent back to China

[24] *Ibid.*, I, pp. 135, 180. According to a work by Tao-hsüan (596-667) of the T'ang dynasty (*Daizōkyō*, LII, p. 410) there were only three Buddhist temples in Loyang, the capital of the Wei dynasty during the Three Kingdoms period and during this time the Kuan-fo-t'o ching-she 觀佛陀精舍 was built and furnished with a stupa at its center. Somewhat later during the Western Chin period (A.D. 265-316), there were 42 such stupas or, in other words, temples. After the fall of the Western Chin and during the beginning of the Later Chao (319-352), the northern lands covered by the travels of Fo-t'u-teng 佛圖澄 contained 893 temples. In such a large number of temples there must have been a correspondingly large number of images .... "Statues of this early period have still to be identified but there can be little doubt that they existed in considerable numbers from this time." Mizuno and Nagahiro (1953), in *YK*, XI, p. 79.

[25] Zürcher emphasizes the Mahāyāna aspects of Buddhism in Khotan, but acknowledges the presence of Hīnayāna. Zürcher (1959), I, pp. 62-63; Tsukamoto reasons from the account, which he seems to accept more literally than does Zürcher, that the Hīnayānists were in control and trying to block the Mahāyānists. Tsukamoto (1985), I, pp. 138-139, 234-235.

the Sanskrit text of the 25,000 verse *Prajñāpāramitā* with 10 of his disciples headed by Fu-ju-t'an 弗如壇, who arrived in Loyang in 282. Fu-ju-t'an took the manuscript several places in Honan (three years at Loyang, two years at Hsü-chang 許昌) before going to Ts'ang-yüan 倉淵 in eastern Honan where it was translated at the Shui-nan ssu 水南寺 in 291 by both the Khotanese monk Wu-ch'a-lo 無叉羅 (Mokṣala ?) and the sinicized Indian upāsaka Chu Shu-lan 竺叔蘭. Titled the *Fang-kuang ching* 放光經 (Scripture of the Emission of Rays) it was one of the most important texts in this period of Buddhist thought in China, and the translation was copied and widely circulated. Eventually, however,it came in need of revision from numerous copying errors, which Chu Shu-lan 竺叔蘭 and others accomplished in 303/304 at the Shui-pei ssu 水北寺, also at Ts'ang-yüan.[26] Dharmarakṣa's independent translation of the same text does not appear to have gotten to Loyang, but it did get to Liang-chou in Kansu, where it was later found by the monks Hui-ch'ang 慧常, Chin-hsing 進行 and Hui-pien 慧辯 who were on their way to India. They copied the text and sent it back to China to Tao-an, who received it in 376 in Hsiang-yang , where he was residing and teaching at his famous monastery. This well-known incident provides a glimpse of the way in which Buddhist works were sought after and circulated in those days.[27]

Some years later Tao-an mentions in his preface to his synoptic edition of this text the special veneration of the Chu Shih-hsing text by the Buddhists at Chung-shan 中山, a center in central Hopei:

> When the Fang-kuang (ching) thereupon appeared, it widely circulated in the Chinese capital (Loyang), and hosts of "retired gentlemen of tranquilized minds" (i.e., cultured lay devotees) made copies of it. The upādhyāya Chih at Chung-shan sent people to Ts'ang-yüan to have it copied on pieces of silk. When (this copy) was brought back to Chung-shan, the king of Chung-shan and all monks welcomed the sūtra (at a place) forty li south of the city, with a display of pennants and streamers. Such was the way in which (this scripture) became current in the world."[28]

This quote is particularly interesting in pointing out the Buddhist community at Chung-shan, an apparently active Buddhist area as indicated by other sources as well. Several Chinese monks were known to have come from Chung-shan, including the monk K'ang Fa-lang 康法朗 (second half of the third century), who is said to have travelled to the Western Regions and returned to settle at Chung-shan with several hundreds of disciples.[29] In addition to other famous monks also related to the site,

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[26] Zürcher (1959), I, pp. 61-63; Tsukamoto (1985), I, pp. 139-141, 234-35.

[27] *Ibid.*, I, pp. 237, 705.

[28] Zürcher (1959), I, p. 64; Tsukamoto (1985), I, pp. 235-236.

[29] K'ang Fa-lang 康法朗 in the second half of the 3rd century went to the Western Regions and returned to Chung-shan with several hundred disciples. Zürcher (1959), II, p. 342, note 204.

there is said to have been a "secret vihara" in 280-290.[30] The existence of this community of some note at Chung-shan is of special interest in the light of Buddhist images reported to come from Hopei—it shows at least one substantial community of Buddhists in the Chung-shan area which could have supported the making of images. The data supplied by the history surrounding Chu Shih-hsing's text reveals some important areas of Buddhist activity at this time, notably in Khotan and in several specific areas of Honan and central Hopei.

The most intense and consequential Buddhist activity in China during the second half of the third century was at Ch'ang-an, where translation work under the monk Dharmarakṣa (Chih [or Chu] Fa-hu 竺法護) reached unprecedented heights. Revered as the greatest translator of Buddhist texts before Kumārajīva in the early fifth century, his phenomenal output as recorded in Tao-an's catalogue amounted to 154 works.[31] Known as the "Bodhisattva of Tun-huang", Dharmarakṣa was born there ca. 232 A.D. to a family of naturalized Yüeh-chih which had probably lived in that oasis center for several generations. He received the monk's vows at the age of 8, and later, apparently distressed by the lack of translated Mahāyāna scriptures in China, undertook extensive travel with his teacher throughout Central Asia, collecting texts, studying, translating, and mastering the languages of the various lands of Central Asia (known as the 36 lands of the Western Regions).[32] The phenomenal linguistic fluency he attained later allowed him to translate directly from Sanskrit? (or foreign language?) into Chinese with only slight revisions made at later readings. Although it is difficult to establish the sequence of his biography with complete precision, it is clear that he spent his time teaching and translating mainly in Tun-huang, Ch'ang-an, and to a lesser degree, in Loyang.

After his travels through Central Asia, his biography states that he retired to the mountains (probably Chung-nan shan 終南山, south of Ch'ang-an, where there must have been a Buddhist center).[33] In 266 he was at the White Horse Monastery in Ch'ang-an; in 284 he had returned to Tun-huang to obtain scriptures brought by a Kashmiri, and after translating them he returned to Ch'ang-an. In 289-290 he was both translating and teaching in Loyang; in 294 he was in Chiu-ch'üan 酒泉 (western Kansu), and in 297 he had returned to Ch'ang-an. At some point he established

[30] Zürcher suspects this account may be apocryphal. Zürcher (1959), II, p. 342, note 204. Tsukamoto (1985), I, pp. 200 and 235-236.

[31] Zürcher (1959), I, pp. 65-66.

[32] *Ibid.*, I, pp. 65-66.

[33] Tsukamoto (1985), I, p. 199.

a vihāra outside Ch'ang-an's "Green Gate"; he is said to have had 1,000 disciples. He was still translating in Ch'ang-an in 308 during the years of hardship, but later, when fighting again broke out in Ch'ang-an, he seems to have travelled east and died of illness in Min-ch'ih 澠池 (Honan).[34]

His monumental tasks included translations of the five most important texts in early Chinese Buddhism:

1) The *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* (Lotus Sūtra), which he translated for the first time into Chinese;
2) The 25,000 verse *Prajñāpāramitā* (new version), based on a manuscript brought from Khotan by Gitamitra and translated together with Gitamitra (this is the manuscript found later in Liang-chou and sent to Tao-an who received it in 376).[35]
3) The *Śuraṃgamasamādhi Sutra* (new version);
4) The *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa Sūtra* (new version);
5) The *Sukhāvatīvyūha* (new version);

In addition, in 284 at Tun-huang he translated the *Yogācārabhūmi*, a treatise on religious practice originally written by Sangharakṣa, with the title *Hsiu-hsing tao ti ching* 修行道地經 (Scripture of the Stages of the Way of Cultivation and Practice) together with the Kashmir upāsaka (layman) who brought him the text. In the same year he received a manuscript from a Kuchean envoy of the *Avaivartika-cakra Sūtra*, in 289 he received an incomplete manuscript from "a śramaṇa from a western country" of the *Paramārthasaṃvṛti-satyanirdeśa*, and in 300 the text of the *Bhadrakalpāvadāna*. In 303 Dharmarakṣa translated the *Maitreyaparipṛcchā* (Mi-lo-p'u-sa so-wen pen-yüan ching 彌勒菩薩所問本願經, Scripture of the Questions and Former Vows of the Bodhisattva Maitreya), one of the first texts on Maitreya in Chinese and one of at least two translated by Dharmarakṣa.[36] This is of particular interest in light of the famous Fujii Yūrinkan Bodhisattva image discussed below, which almost certainly is Maitreya. Also, interest in Avalokiteśvara may have started from this time, with Dharmarakṣa's trans-

[34] For the biography and works of Dharmarakṣa see : *Ibid.*, I, pp. 196-230; Zürcher (1959), I, pp. 65-70.

Tsukamoto lists the 317 works which have "unequivocal" dates in chronological order from the beginning of the Western Chin until 308. Tsukamoto (1985), I, pp. 207-211.

[35] *Ibid.*, I, pp. 227, 236.

[36] *Ibid.* I, pp. 213-217. Tsukamoto lists two texts on Maitreya which appear in Tao-an's catalogue of ca. 374 A.D. among the translations ascribed to Dharmarakṣa: 1) *Mi-lo ch'eng Fo ching* 彌勒成佛經 (Maitreyābhisaṃbodhisūtra (?), Scripture of the Achievement of Buddhahood on the Part of Maitreya) in one roll, and 2) *Mi-lo pen-yüan ching* 彌勒本願經 (Maitreyamūlapraṇidhisūtra(?), Scripture of the Former Vow of Maitreya) in one roll. *Ibid.*, I, p. 210 and II, p. 755.

lation of the *Lotus Sūtra* (the 23rd chapter in his translation which circulated as a separate scripture, focuses on Avalokiteśvara).[37] In 308 Dharmarakṣa translated the *Lalitavistara*, his last translation before his death. Collaborators in Dharmarakṣa's translations included an Indian, one or two Kucheans, a Yüeh-chih, a Khotanese and possibly a Sogdian.[38]

Besides transforming Ch'ang-an into the major center of Buddhist translation activity in the latter half of the 3rd century, by his presence Dharmarakṣa also stimulated the Buddhist communities at Loyang and Tun-huang. His Chinese disciple Chu Fa-sheng [or Ch'eng ?] 竺法生 founded a large monastery at Tun-huang, and was renowned both as a recluse monk and as an activist in converting the Tun-huang region to Buddhism, a task which no doubt was supported and enlivened by Dharmarakṣa.[39] Early in this century a text of Dharmarakṣa's was discovered at the Toyuk caves in Turfan, so far the earliest Buddhist text discovered from that region.[40] Although little study has yet been done on this manuscript, it may have some bearing not only in light of understanding the relationship between Turfan and Kansu in this early period, but possibly also in documenting the development of Buddhism in Turfan.

Other teachers of note working in Ch'ang-an and Loyang at the same time as Dharmarakṣa further assisted in the spread of Buddhism into the cultured classes of China. Foremost in Loyang was Chu Shu-lan 竺叔蘭 (an Indian born in Loyang of naturalized parents, and with two uncles who were Buddhist monks), who did few translations, but helped with the translation of the 24,000 verse *Prajñāpāramitā* sent from Khotan by Chu Shih-hsing noted above. Not known for exemplary conduct, he nevertheless had a masterful command of the Chinese language and became prized for his "pure talk" and for his explanations of some important Buddhist texts like the *Vimalakīrti* and *Śuraṃgamsamādhi*.[41] In Ch'ang-an, the brothers Po Yüan 帛遠 and Po Fa-tso 白法祚 from a cultured Honan family, are known for their success in prop-

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[37] *Ibid.*, I, p. 223.

[38] Zürcher (1959), I, p. 68. 39) Tsukamoto (1985), I, pp. 229-230.

[40] The text of the *Chu Fo yao chi ching* 諸佛要集經 (Buddhasaṃgiti; Sūtra of the Collected Essentials of the Buddhas) was found at the Toyuk caves near Turfan in 1912 by the Ōtani Expedition. This rare fragment contained a colophon stating that this copy was completed in Yüan-k'ang 元康 6th year (296 A.D.) with 32 chapters and 19,596 written characters. It also mentions that in the 2nd year the Yüeh-chih Bodhisattva Fa-hu 法護 (Dharmarakṣa) took in hand (missing) and conferred upon Nieh Ch'eng-yüan. The Upādhyāya's disciple, the śramaṇa Fa-shou with a brush (missing) caused this scripture to be spread about to the 10 directions... See *Ibid.*, I, p. 550 and Liu Heng-liang 柳洪亮, "Kao-ch'ang shih-k'u kai-shu" 高昌石窟概述 (Summary of the Kao-ch'ang stone caves), in *Chung-kuo mei-shu fen-lai ch'üan-chi* 中國美術分類全集, Chung-kuo pi-hua chüan-chi 中國壁畫全集, Sinkiang, 6, (T'u-lu-fan 吐魯番), Liao-ning, 1990, p. 2.

[41] Zürcher (1959), I, pp. 67 and 78-79; Tsukamoto (1985), I, p. 230.

agating Buddhism among the upper classes and influential families of Ch'ang-an. Po Yüan (ac. ca. 290-306), a friend of the powerful Ssu-ma Yung 司馬顒 built a vihāra in Ch'ang-an.[42] The penetration of Buddhism into the elite was a particularly significant factor in southern Buddhism after the fall of the north in 316 and the exodus of many upper class families to the south. By the end of Western Chin, China had a significant corpus of translated works, and Buddhism, mainly of the Mahāyāna variety, was spreading into the various levels of society to such an extent that it did not perish during the shock and instability caused by the disasters of the early decades of the 4th century.

II. Buddhist Art

In the Three Kingdoms and Western Chin period, similar to the Later Han, several differing kinds of Buddhist art can be distinguished on the grounds both of style and function. Some objects containing Buddhist figures are associated with quite localized Chinese funerary customs; these consist primarily of certain ceramics, bronze mirrors, bronze ornaments, and clay tiles, mostly from areas in the south, and clearly of Chinese character in style and usage. Other remains are independent Buddhist bronze icons with stylistic precedents more closely associated with Indian and Central Asian Buddhist art, and which no doubt functioned as images for worship and ritual in Buddhist temples or private shrines. Seldom is the provenance known of these major bronze sculptures, but the reported cases have all been from the north. With the dated materials—mostly from tomb discoveries—and some new discoveries from Central Asia, it is possible to begin to formulate a clearer idea about the Buddhist art of this second major period of Buddhist development in China.

A. *Funerary Art with Buddhist Figures*

1. *Ceramics*

Small Buddha figures made by mould appear on some ceramic Yüeh ware (green glaze earthen ware) vessels and shards from the south from the Three Kingdoms (220-265), Western Chin (265-317) and the early part of the Eastern Chin (317-420). From dated examples, the range of vessels with Buddha figures appears to be from ca. mid 3rd to

[42] Zürcher (1959), I, pp. 76-77.

mid 4th century. Though known for some time,[43] new finds and recent studies have further increased our knowledge of this special group of items.[44] Buddha figures appear on examples of Yüeh ware of various types of vessels (three-footed containers, bowls, stemmed bowls, incense burners, etc.) as well as on the more elaborate Yüeh ware funerary urn known variously as ku-ts'ang 穀倉(granary) or, more commonly, the hun-p'ing 魂瓶 (urn of the soul) vessels.[45] Buddha figures appearing on the non hun-p'ing group of vessels are generally depicted in low relief and are discretely placed at wide intervals, often on a decorative band on the shoulder of the vessel. On the other hand, the Buddha figures on the hun-p'ing vessels are usually loose, separate pieces and often profusely decorate the vessel, particularly the top. Production of these vessels with Buddha images, including the hun-p'ing, occur primarily in the Kiangsu and Chekiang regions, with a few found in Hupei and Anhui.

a. *Various Vessels (other than hun-p'ing)*

The "various vessels", that is, those that are not hun-p'ing, with Buddha figures from the Wu kingdom and Western Chin include wide mouthed basins, bowls, three-footed wine containers, incense burners, stemmed bowls, etc. Sites where these wares of the Three Kingdoms period have been found are Nanking (Kiangsu), Sheng hsien 嵊縣 and Shao-hsing 紹興 (both in Chekiang), and E-ch'eng (Wu-ch'ang, early capital of Wu) in Hupei.[46] This group also includes some shards of Buddha figures dated 273 (Fig. 2.1) which reveal an extremely abbreviated but nevertheless identifiable Buddha image with kapardin type uṣṇīṣa (plain hair over the cranium and a twist of hair for the uṣṇīṣa—the type of uṣṇīṣa used in the early Mathurā school of Buddhist sculpture), saṅghāṭi covering both shoulders and a simple lion-lotus pedestal. This is the standard

[43] Mizuno (1960), p.9 [p. 16 in Japanese]; Mizuno (1968), p. 52.

[44] Chen-kiang shih po-wu-kuan 鎮江市博物館 and Chin-t'an hsien wen-hua-kuan 金坛县文化馆, "Kiangsu Chin-t'an ch'u-t'u ti ching tz'u" 江苏金坛出土的青瓷 (Green glaze ware discovered at Chin-t'an, Kiangsu), *Wen-wu*, 1977, no. 6, pp. 60-63; Wang Chung-shu 王仲殊, "Kuan yü Jih-pen ti san-chüeh-yüan fo-shou ching" 關於日本的三角緣佛獸鏡 (Concerning the triangluar rim fo-shou mirrors in Japan), *K'ao-ku*, 1982, no. 6, pp. 630-639; Wu Hung (1986), pp. 283-291; Ho Yün-ao (1993).

[45] Some Chinese scholars (such as Wang Chung-shu) refer to them as ku-ts'ang 穀倉 (granary), apparently based on an inscription on one vessel (possibly erroneously interpreted as suggested by Wu Hung (1986), p. 286), but Wai Kam Ho and also Wu Hung suggest they are more properly termed hun-p'ing, based on their function, which is thought to be as a hall or shrine for the soul. Wai-Kam Ho, "Hun-p'ing: the Urn of the Soul", *The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art*, Vol. 48, No. 2, February, 1961, pp. 26-34. Wu Hung (1986), p. 286.

[46] For examples see *Ibid.*, Figs. 54-56; Mizuno (1960), text Fig. 38; Mizuno (1968), p. 52, Fig. 19, and Ho Yün-ao (1993), Figs. 34 (dated 263), 36 (Buddha shards dated 273), 37, 39, 46, all of the Three Kingdoms period (Wu).

form, with minor variations, of the moulded clay Buddhas that appear on these "various vessels" of both Wu and Western Chin (Figs. 2.2 and 2.3).

These vessels in general are characterized by simplicity of decor using stamped designs and moulded appliqué reliefs. For example, the decor of the vessel in Fig. 2.2, which possesses a sturdy shape with a low-rimmed wide mouth, and swelling, bulbous shoulder sloping to a flat bottom, consists merely of a band of criss-cross net-like design, two rows of circlets and several bow strings. Alternating with the two small loop handles are two tiny relief Buddha figures placed within the band of net design.

One of the most extraordinary vessels of the Wu kingdom is a covered urn from Nanking with a lid, tall neck and an overall design painted in brown against the neutral color of the clay ground (Fig. 2.4a,b). The painted design shows standing yü-jen 羽人 (spirit figure with wings) holding a knotted staff. All the spaces are filled with undulating cloud and flower designs that closely resemble the arabesque-like forms seen on some bronze mirrors of the Wu kingdom (Fig. 2.16a,b). In addition to the small handles and appliqué of the monster mask ring handle, there are two remarkably well fashioned seated Buddha figures. These are superior to most of the moulded Buddhas appearing on the ceramic vessels, including the hun-p'ing vessels. The Buddha has the correct marks, dress and pose. The uṣṇīṣa is low but distinct, the saṅghāṭī covers both shoulders and has parallel creases over the arms and chest, the hands are in the dhyāna-mudrā, the legs are crossed and the knees plainly portrayed. The face is long and full and the shoulders narrow and sloping. The only halo is a head halo; it has a raised, smooth and slightly concave outer rim—a form seen on some examples from Butkara I in Swat, such as that in Fig. 1.33. The broken part above may have been a canopy. The pedestal has a clear pod representation which supports the Buddha, and individual, downturned lotus petals, each with a wide central groove. A complete standing lion appears at each end, making this a composite lion-lotus pedestal (iconographically actually incorrect; a Buddha has either one or the other but not both combined—at least not until much later in Buddhist art). The completeness of this little clay Buddha relief makes it the most artistic and important example of the small clay mould Buddhas on ceramics yet known for this period.

Vessels of various types from the Western Chin period are found in a wider range of sites but generally show little essential change from the Wu kingdom vessels. With more variety of shapes and frequently with a more refined and sometimes more elaborate style, they show a natural continuity and development. The sites include Nanking, Chiang-ning 江寧 and Chiang-p'u 江浦 in Kiangsu; Shang-hsien 嵊縣, Hu chou 湖州, Shang-yü 上虞 and Shao-hsing in Chekiang.[47] The Western Chin vessel in Fig. 2.3 reveals

[47] See *Ibid.*, Figs. 35, 40-45, 47 (dated 291), 49-51, all of the Western Chin period in the south (285-317).

the elegance, subtle changes and refinements compared with the earlier example in Fig. 2.2.

b. *Hun-p'ing Vessels*

Discoveries in the past 40 years of hun-p'ing vessels indicate their popularity to be quite extensive in the area of southern Kiangsu and northern Chekiang.[48] Extraordinary ceramic works of the Three Kingdoms (and possibly late Later Han), Western and early Eastern Chin, these vessels assume added significance in a Buddhist art context. Usually not exceeding 50 cm in total height, the hun-p'ing normally have a flat bottom, tall body with bulbous shoulder and a highly decorative upper portion of moulded sculptural decor equal to about half the total height of the vessel (Figs. 2.5-2.8). This more often than not consists of a central building (usually a 2 or more storied Chinese pavilion [lou 樓] form with tile style roofs), various people (sometimes Buddhas), birds, animals, trees, gates, and stele, etc. Though the earliest examples of the hun-p'ing vessels may date back into the late Later Han period,[49] the more fully evolved as well as the known dated examples show that the hun-p'ing vessels were in popular usage between ca. 257 (the earliest dated example) and 357-361 (the latest known, but quite poor, dated example) with the period of florescence apparently in the 270's and late 280's-290's.[50] Many hun-p'ing do not include Buddha figures; however, a few—so far mostly unpublished—in the Hangchou Municipal Museum are not only dated but also have small Buddha figures as part of their decor. Among them, one, photographed by Prof. Robert Maeda in 1975, is inscribed Western Chin T'ai-k'ang 太康 9th year (288 A.D.) (Fig. 2.8a, b), and three others, which I saw in the museum in 1982, are dated corresponding to 291 (from P'ing-yang 平陽), 294 (from Yü-yao 余姚), and 322. The latter example as well as another dated 322 from Hsiao-shan 蕭山, Chekiang, continue

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[48] *Ibid.*, Figs. 52-106, from sites in Anhui (Kuang-te 廣德), Chekiang (Yin hsien 鄞縣, Lin-hai 臨海, Wu-i 武義, Shang-yü 上虞, Sheng hsien 嵊縣, Ch'ü chou 衢州, Shao-hsing 紹興, Lan-ch'i 蘭溪, T'ien-t'ai 天台, Tz'u-ch'i 慈溪, Hu chou 湖州, Wen chou 溫州, Hang chou 杭州, Chin-hua 金華, Hsiao-shan 蕭山); and from Kiangsu (Chiang-ning 江寧, Chin-t'an 金壇, Nanking 南京, I-cheng 儀徵, Wu hsien 吳縣, Ch'ang-shu 常熟, and Huai-yin 淮陰).

[49] *Ibid.*, Figs. 52-53, both without Buddha figures. These vessels are a bit squat in form, with the "five cups" top (without the pavilion) and simple animal and human figures. These are considered to be the prototype of the hun-p'ing of the Three Kingdoms and Western Chin.

[50] Chen-kiang-shih po-wu-kuan and Chin-tan hsien wen-hua-kuan (1977), p. 63; Wai-Kam Ho notes the following dated examples: 260 (from Shao-hsing), 273 (from Nanking), 282 (from Shao-hsing), 297 (from I-hsing), 299 (from Hang-chou), 357-361 (from Shao-hsing). Ho (1961), p. 28. Ho Yün-ao (1993) provides the following dated examples of hun-p'ing: 257 (Fig. 38), 273 (Fig. 62), 275 (Fig. 63), 276 (Fig. 64), 277 (Fig. 65), 280 (Figs. 79 and 80), 288 (Fig. 87), 291 (Fig. 89), 292 (Fig. 90), 293 (Fig. 91), 297 (Fig. 92), 298 (Fig. 93), 291-299 (Fig. 96) and 322 (Fig. 106).

to show high quality.[51] Also, shards of Yüeh ware Buddhas have been known for some time.[52] A particularly fine example in the British Museum probably dates around the 280's (Fig. 2.10).

The hun-p'ing in Fig. 2.5 from Nanking Kao-ch'ang Tomb No. 1, is a relatively early hun-p'ing vessel attributed to the late Wu kingdom or early Western Chin by Wang Chung-shu.[53] It possesses a rough and somewhat ungainly aspect with blackish brown glaze, squat body, and a top-heavy sculpturesque upper portion in two levels, each clearly marked by a platelike base with a rim. On the lower level the central square shrine with a single opening flanked by two tall gate posts has a single nimbate Buddha image placed in front. Four cups are attached at the four "corners"—a form common in the early vessels, including the ones from the late Later Han—and 8 seated Buddhas are reported to be distributed around the sides and back. On the top level the upper storey of the square shrine (with an orange roof) has a square opening on each side; each opening contains a Buddha figure inside while around the circumference of the upper level a ring of closely spaced seated Buddhas is arranged. This vessel is unusual in that the only figures on the vessel are the summarily portrayed nimbate seated Buddhas,[54] which are placed like protector figures at the entrances and as a ring around the upper level. It is difficult to determine whether or not they are portrayed with a Buddhistic function—such as the Buddhas of all directions or Buddhas of the Pure Lands—or simply as spirit protector type images. Their hands are said to be in front of their chest in a worshiping type gesture; if so, it is an unorthodox gesture for a Buddha, possibly indicating unfamiliarity or unconcern with customary Buddhist iconography.

In contrast with the vessel in Fig. 2.5, the hun-p'ing in Fig. 2.6 from Wu hsien 吳縣 (southeast of Nanking) (Map 2.2), probably dating ca. 270's-280's, is more sophisticated with a subdued green glaze, taller body with a row of relief masks and animals, sides that slope more gracefully to the flat bottom, and a conical shaped top with three levels in decreasing size. On the lowest level guardian-like figures with hands overlapping in front of their chest, crossed legs, and conical hat (perhaps indicating a foreigner) mix with clearly identifiable dhyānāsana haloed Buddha figures, which are all separate figures moulded in high relief as a three dimensional object. The middle level has an assortment of alternating stelae, gates, guardians and seated Buddhas, and the upper level has a two storied structure in the center with a square opening on each side of each storey

[51] Ho Yün-ao (1993), Fig. 106. Eleven undated examples with Buddha images are listed by Wu Hung (1986), p. 284.

[52] Wu Hung notes six ceramic sherds: three brought from Shaoxing by Brankson in 1937 and three excavated from tomb No. 7 at Zhaoshigan dated ca. 273 A.D. *Ibid.*, p. 285 and Fig. 57; Mizuno (1960), Fig. 37 shows shards from the site of Nine Rocks Kiln (Chiu-yen-yao 九巖窯), Shao-hsing, Chekiang.

[53] Wang Chung-shu (1982), p. 632.

[54] Wu Hung sees this example as the apex of a development where Buddha images change from being secondary elements to the sole figures on the configuration. Wu Hung (1986), p. 286.

and four roofed shrine-like buildings at the intermediate points protected by a guardian figure flanking both sides of each entrance.

Even more elaborate is the hun-p'ing in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Fig. 2.7), probably representing the peak of the developments in the 280's. It has a sturdy, sloping body with slightly convex contours, and an upper portion more tightly organized than the example in Fig. 2.6. A solid row of dhyānāsana Buddhas encircles the lowest level in uniform repetition, contrasting with the dense, picturesque amalgam of animals, seated figures, stelae, leafy vegetation and roofs of the shrine, which rise above with a central multi-storied shrine-tower (lou) and surrounding square outer walls. Notably, the configuration and details are relatively similar to the Hang chou Municipal Museum vessel dated 288 (Fig. 2.8) and, as with the other vessels, the row of Buddhas may indicate a protective function and the central edifice may represent a shrine or mausoleum, or, as some suggest, the Pure Land or a reference to the ming-t'ang.[55] The definitive answer to the purpose has not yet been established.

Most of the Buddhas on the "various vessels" and the hun-p'ing as well as on shards are seated in dhyānāsana with their hands usually covered by their robe. (An exception may be the Buddhas in Fig. 2.5 whose hands are raised in front, in an unorthodox "worshipping" gesture; if meant to be a teaching gesture, this would be an early example in Chinese art, although it is already well known in Indian art). The bodies are summarily modelled with large heads, radically sloping and practically non-existent shoulders, rounded arms and a narrow chest. The robes, which tightly cover the body up to the neck without an apparent "collar" fold, have creases distinguished by raised single, or in some cases, double (Fig. 2.6), closely spaced, parallel, rib-like folds which encircle the arms and form unbroken semi-circular arcs across the chest in a pattern comparable to that used in the Asian Art Museum small bronze shrine (Fig. 1.38). Closely spaced parallel folds are a technique known in some Kushana period images (Figs. 1.54 a,b, and 1.70c from Begram) and also in Later Han tomb reliefs, as in the relief from T'ung-shan 銅山 near Hsü-chou 徐州, Kiangsu, of ca. 2nd century A.D. (Fig. 2.9 a,b). These examples seem to indicate a pervasive usage of the narrow parallel type fold from at least as early as the 2nd century A.D. The British Museum example in Fig. 2.10 a has a variant fold type similar to that appearing in the Harvard flame-shouldered Buddha: a rounded rib-like fold with an incised line along the top, thus attesting to the usage of this particular fold technique in a popular work from south China at least by ca. late 3rd century.[56]

The long, chubby heads of these Buddhas, though large in relation to the body,

[55] Wu Hung suggests this may represent the Pure Land of the Buddha. *Ibid.*, p. 291; Wai-Kam Ho sees possible relation to the Ming-t'ang. Ho (1961), p. 29.

[56] For further discussion of this fold type, including its usage in Parthian art, see Chapter 1.

have a fleshy modelling and rather well formed large eyes, small mouth, a broad forehead, and shell-like ears. They have a remarkable resemblance to the faces of the Miran wall paintings from shrines M III and V (Fig. 2.10a, b) probably dating ca. mid 3rd century (see Chapter 5). In most examples the hair is tight over the skull with fine lines in an unusual concentric circular pattern indicating the strands. The uṣṇīṣa in the British Museum figure and some other examples seem to be of the "kapardin" style related to the early Kushana Mathurā style of late 1st-early 2nd century A.D. The persistence of this older style uṣṇīṣa suggests the continuance of older motifs, possibly including the ribbed fold with central incised line. The kapardin uṣṇīṣa appears in the P'eng-shan ceramic Buddha (Fig. 1.26) and the rib fold with central line is prominently used in the Harvard Buddha (Fig. 1.44), both attributed here to the Later Han ca. 2nd half of the 2nd century A.D.

Most of the ceramic Buddhas have only a circular head halo, but some have both a circular head and circular body halo (Fig. 2.6), thus attesting, like the mirrors discussed below, to the existence of a full head/body halo combination in the art of the 3rd century.[57] The round head halo is standard for Kushana period art, and round head halos with a narrow circular rim on the outer edge (indicated by a single incised or drawn line), occurs in some rare early bronze images from Taxila in Gandhāra (Fig. 2.11), in the sculpture from Butkara I, Swat, and in the Miran wall paintings of Miran of ca. 3rd century (Figs. 5.24a,b). What at first sight may seem to be the knee-caps of the Buddha are the faces of lions, indicating a lion throne, and the zigzag pattern on the lower part of the Buddhas probably represents lotus petals, even though a lotus seat combined with a lion throne is unorthodox in Buddhist art of this period. Perhaps, as noted in other respects as well, Buddhist iconography was not followed strictly in this kind of popular art. In general, the style of these ceramic Buddhas is different from that of the Later Han ceramic Buddha sculpture from P'eng-shan, Szechwan (Fig. 1.26), especially in regard to the shape of the body, the usage of a lotus and lion seat, the narrow parallel folds of the garment, a halo, and the dhyāna-mudrā.

Wai Kam Ho suggests that the hun-p'ing vessels may have been used in the tombs of those who, when migrating to the south during the unsettled period at the end of the Han dynasty, died on the way without being therefore properly buried. Later, their descendants placed these vessels in the tombs in order to entice the soul back to the tomb. This practice, known as "summoning the soul", was known for centuries, but became controversial in the Eastern Chin, possibly because of its widespread usage, and was consequently prohibited. Wu Hung, who compares the hun-p'ing with the

[57] There is some question concerning the point in recent writing. See discussion of the Lou-lan Buddha frieze in Chapter 5. Though not common, other examples in the Chinese ceramics include Mizuno (1960), text Fig. 37.

reliquary of Kaniṣka both artistically and with regard to containing "relics" (Fig. 1.57), suggests also that the hun-p'ing vessel with Buddha images may be related to Buddhists who have a certain faith, perhaps related to the Pure Land, which may be summarily represented by the shrine, trees, birds, and Buddhas.[58] Though the Pure Land texts may have been known at this time, it would be quite extraordinary, though perhaps not impossible, to see them filter this fast into the popular mind and customs. It would seem more likely that the shrine is protected by Buddhas rather than representing a Buddha land, although the concepts may be intermingled. Regardless of the validity of these speculations, from the viewpoint of Buddhist art the small Buddha images help to confirm the usage by the Three Kingdoms and Western Chin period of the dhyāna-mudrā for Buddha images, the rib type drapery fold, including the rib fold with incised central line as known in the Harvard Buddha, and the narrow parallel folds like those appearing in the Asian Art Museum bronze shrine. Thus these small Buddhas are indicators of certain techniques in Buddhist imagery used in popular art of this time, providing further evidence for dating the larger undated bronze sculptures. They also testify to the rather broad dissemination of at least a rudimentary knowledge—and possibly much more—of the Buddha in Chinese society of the south.

2. *Bronze Mirrors*

Bronze mirrors have a long history in China prior to the Three Kingdoms-Western Chin period, but it is at this time that Buddhist figures begin to appear on some mirrors, so far most of which were found from sites in the south under the Wu kingdom (220-280; Map 2.1), or Western Chin (in the south 280-317; Map 2.2) or from tombs in Japan, where it was common practice to bury Chinese mirrors as well as mirrors made in Japan with deceased persons, generally of high rank. Japanese scholars, who have studied these mirrors from early in this century, classified the mirrors with Buddhist figures found in Japan into Types A, B, and C according to their elements of decor.[59] Types A and B are placed within the broad category of *shen-shou ching* 神獸鏡 (mirrors with deities and mythical animals), of which those specifically containing Buddhist images form a subgroup called *fo-shou ching* 佛獸鏡 (mirrors with Buddhas and mythical animals). Although very similar in their technique of high relief decor, the major difference between Type A and B in this categorization is the design of the rim. Type A mirrors have the so-called triangular rim (when cut,

[58] Wu Hung (1986), pp. 285 and 287-291; Ho (1961) pp. 31-33.

[59] Mizuno and Nagahiro (1953) in *YK*, XI (text), pp. 80-83; Mizuno (1968), pp. 20-22; Wu Hung (1986), p. 275.

the section of the rim is in the form of a triangle) (Fig. 2.12a). Type B mirrors are characterized by a flat rim (in section), though the rims may have quite elaborate designs (Fig. 2.13a). Type C, distinct from A and B in regard to major design elements and technique, is distinguished by the paired, face-to-face feng birds (the auspicious phoenix bird of good fortune) in the decor, hence its classification name as k'uei-feng 夔鳳 (phoenix) mirrors. The technique of the k'uei-feng mirrors is not high relief but a barely raised flat relief resembling a silhouette (Figs. 2.15 and 2.16b).

a. *The Shen-shou Mirrors with Triangular Rim*

Among the Type A shen-shou mirrors with triangular rim that are known in Japan, one is dated 240 A.D. (without Buddha figures) and one, undated mirror, has what appears to be one Buddha figure. No shen-shou mirror of Type A with triangular rim that has a Buddha image has yet been discovered in China, a fact that has sparked considerable debate regarding the source of these mirrors. The 240 A.D. triangular rim mirror has an inscription stating "brass from Hsü-chou [Shantung], master from Loyang (銅出徐州師出洛陽)," which would suggest a provenance in the north. A statement in the *Chin-shu* records the gift of 100 mirrors from the kingdom of Wei to Wo [Japan]. Such factors have led Japanese scholars to believe that the major source was from northern China, the kingdom of Wei. However, recent discoveries of mirrors in E-ch'eng 鄂城 Hupei province, the area of Wu-ch'ang, the early capital of the Wu kingdom in the south, has led to speculation that the origin of at least some of the shen-shou mirrors was from the south, and that the group of shen-shou mirrors with triangular rim (including the one with the Buddha image) was probably made by Chinese artisans working in Japan. This is a complex problem, and there are many factors involved in the debate, among them inscriptions that suggest the metal was imported to Japan and the mirrors made there.[60] This problem with regard to the triangular rim mirrors and their provenance remains speculative and unsettled, although there is growing acceptance of Wang Chung-shu's argument that they were made in Japan by immigrant Chinese artisans.[61] It may be interesting to note in addition to the various points put forward by experts concerning these mirrors, that the rows of saw-tooth design in these mirrors is also a common feature in Gandhāran Bud-

[60] A notice in the Three Kingdoms History (*San-kuo chih*) records the gift of 100 mirrors presented in 240 by the King of Wei to the Hsieh-ma-t'ai kingdom in Japan. This has led some Japanese scholars to believe these mirrors came from Wei. Wang Chung-shu, however believes the mirrors were cast by craftsmen who immigrated to Japan from the Wu region. Wu Hung (1986), p. 275 (note 49), 282-283; Wang Chung-shu (1982), pp. 630, 633-638. For the 240 A.D. dated mirror inscription, see Nishida Morio 西田守夫, "Kōsho yonnen hanen hōkeitai shinjūkyō to enkōhai no aru sankakuen shinjūkyō 黃初四年半円方形帶神獸鏡と円光背のある三角縁神獸鏡 *Museum*, No. 189, Dec., 1966, p. 29.

[61] Wu Hung (1986), p. 275 (note 49), pp. 282-283.

dhist stone reliefs (Fig. 1.40), suggesting the possibility of a relatively contemporaneous sharing of a widespread, common motif.

Among the group of 8 known shen-shou Type A mirrors in Japan, each with differing and ambiguous elements difficult to identify, the only one that plausibly appears to contain a Buddha figure is the mirror from a tomb in Shinyama (Nara prefecture) (Fig. 2.12a). This mirror is dated by Mizuno and others to ca. 240 on the basis of its similarities with 240 A.D. triangular rim mirror.[62] The designs of the Shinyama mirror, executed in rather high relief, include three seated images each framed by a pair of small raised bosses alternating with a lion-like creature. The three seated figures are very similar and only slight variations distinguish them. They all are similarly seated in meditation pose with legs folded on abbreviated, gracefully portrayed lotus seats. The heads are proportionately large with prominent cheekbones resembling the head of the Harvard Buddha (Fig. 1.44), the K'ung-wang shan Buddhas (Figs. 1.7 and 1.9) and the Tokyo National Museum bronze Buddha, which will be discussed below (Fig. 2.26a). The torsos are tall, narrow and straight with a criss-cross design covering the lower two thirds of the trunk. Alertly akimbo rounded arms have prominent semi-circular parallel lines indicating the garment folds. Similar lines wind around the legs, decreasing slightly in size from the knees inward. The general shape of the arms and the patterning of parallel fold lines relate to comparable features observable in the Fujiki bronze Buddha (Fig. 2.29), the Ho-chia shan money tree Buddhas (Fig. 1.31b), the ceramic Buddhas (Fig. 2.10a), and some representations on 3rd century Indo-Sasanian coins.[63]

Only one of the three seated figures, however, seems to have an uṣṇīṣa and a halo (Fig. 2.12b); the other two, without a halo, have three knobs above the head—probably representing a crown—and a pair of arching lines that project upwards from the shoulder area, probably, as most scholars suggest, the sign of a supernatural being (Fig. 2.12c,d). Wu Hung concludes that this mirror represents a composite of deities where images of Tung-wang-kung and Hsi-wang-mu are mixed with the Buddha image in a "conceptual confusion" and "random borrowing" of images.[64] In this case the figure with the round head halo and uṣṇīṣa is the most certain to be the Buddha and, in addition, only this figure has two lotus flowers (generally a Buddhist symbol) on either side of the head, while the other two do not have this feature.

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[62] Mizuno and Nagahiro (1953) in *YK*, XI (text), p. 80; Wu Hung (1986), p. 276.

[63] Late Kushana (from at least the period of Vāsudeva) and Kushano-Sasanian coins: Rosenfield (1967), Pl. X, figs. 205-208 and Pls. XI-XIII.

[64] Wu Hung (1986), p. 276.

Stylistically, this mirror is highly linear, but with a freedom, lightness and sparsity of line. It is useful for documenting a decorative style of Buddha image of this time which is represented in dhyānāsana with strong parallel drapery lines, slim torso, and open arms. If the other images represent Hsi-wang-mu and Tung-wang-kung, and it seems likely, then these traditional deities have taken on much the same form as the Buddha, which could indicate the growing popularity and influence of Buddhism in this period.

b. *Shen-shou Mirrors with Flat Rim*

Several Type B Chinese shen-shou mirrors with Buddhist figures (fo-shou) have been known for some time in Japanese collections,[65] but in 1981 a Type B example (probably with Buddha image) was discovered from the Han-hsi Road area in E-ch'eng, the locale of the early capital of the Wu Kingdom in Hupei (Fig. 2.13a,b). Compared with the Type A shen-shou mirrors with triangular rim, this Type B shen-shou mirror from E-ch'eng has a more elaborate series of rim designs (including the square seal and semicircular design) and four groups of deities alternating with mythical animals. Wang Chung-shu, who first presented this E-ch'eng mirror, dated it to the mid-3rd century and identified the deities as Tung-wang-fu [kung], Hsi-wang-mu, a group of two unidentified deities, and the Buddha with a standing attendant. Though largely illegible from erosion, the Buddha was identified on the basis of the figure's posture and lotus pedestal.[66] Even if the Buddha identification is not absolutely certain, this mirror remains an important work in locating this type of mirror in the Wu kingdom around the middle and lower Yangtze River area of the south, and in explicating the dating and chronological development of the more complex Type B mirrors with Buddha images, which date later and will be discussed in the sequel to this book.

c. *K'uei-feng Mirrors*

The k'uei-feng type mirror was popular from the Later Han to Chin period and has been found in many locales throughout China, including Loyang and Sian.[67] Nu-

[65] Mizuno and Nagahiro (1953) in *YK*, XI (text), pp. 81-82; Mizuno (1960), pp. 9-10 (English translation), where they are called fo-shou ching; and Wu Hung (1986), p. 278. However, some of the important examples of the Type B mirrors are probably from a later period (4th-5th century).

[66] Wang Chung-shu (1982), p. 634. Wu Hung has dated this mirror to the end of the Eastern (Later) Han or beginning of the Three Kingdoms based on his assessment of the stylistic evolution of the lion-like mythical animals and on the ribbon-like wings on the Tung-wang-kung and Hsi-wang-mu images. Both forms are very close to similar elements in mirrors dated 216 and 219. Wu Hung (1986), pp. 278-281 and Fig. 35, where he is discusssing it in relation to the other (later) fo-shen-shou mirrors that will be discussed in the sequel to this book on the 16 Kingdoms Period.

[67] Wang Chung-shu (1982), p. 635.

merous examples have been found in E-ch'eng, Hupei, the early capital of Wu, a factor which leads Wang Chung-shu to suggest E-ch'eng (Wu-ch'ang) as a center of k'uei-feng mirror production. Only a few of the k'uei-feng mirrors include Buddhist figures; three are in non-Chinese collections (Tokyo National Museum, Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, and Museum für Volkerkunde in Berlin) without their original find place known. The discovery of k'uei-feng mirrors at E-ch'eng, of which Fig. 2.14 is one example with Buddhist figures, offers a reason to link them with the E-ch'eng area, especially in the case of the Tokyo National Museum mirror (Fig. 2.15) which is nearly identical to the E-ch'eng example, only slightly smaller. The dating of these mirrors is facilitated by the discovery of the E-ch'eng example, which, according to Wang Chung-shu, dates in the Wu kingdom, ca. mid-3rd century, and does not date into the Western Chin period.[68]

This group of k'uei-feng mirrors with Buddhist figures is characterized by a lyrical curvilinear style, designs of semicircular arcs on the outer border of the design section (reminiscent of the arcs on the edges of early Gandhāran Buddha halos, but also known in Chinese mirrors even before the Han dynasty), and leaf-shape (also called persimmon or water chestnut shape) vignettes which link to a central circle and alternate with the paired feng birds. Most of these mirrors have a wide, plain, flat rim, and lack raised decorative bosses other than the main central one.

In the E-ch'eng and Tokyo National Museum mirrors (Figs. 2.14 and 2.15) the border of semi-circular arcs contains dragons, tigers and feng birds, and the vignettes alternate with pairs of feng birds facing each other on the two sides of a stylized treelike motif. The fancy design of the feng birds with individual tendril-like feathers relates closely to the style of the feng bird and other designs in the Ho-chia shan money tree from Szechwan attributed to the late Later Han or Shu Han period (Fig. 1.31f,g). The face-to-face paired birds may be a motif derived from Luristan or Persian design elements, but it is also a known design from Chinese bronzes and jades of the pre-Han period and in Chinese textiles from before 272 A.D.(Fig. 2.17b,c).[69]

In both mirrors, all four of the leaf vignettes contain Buddhist figures; three are dhyānāsana Buddhas seated on a combination lion (with strong dragon-like qualities) and lotus seat. As noted with the ceramics, this is not an orthodox combination in Buddhist representations, but perhaps, like the ceramics, popular usage mixes

[68] *Ibid.*, p. 635; Wu Hung (1986), pp. 282 and Fig. 41. The E-ch'eng mirrors included k'uei-feng types. Wang dates this particular example to the Wu kingdom and disclaims a date in the Western Chin period. He notes there is another k'uei-feng mirror similar to the one in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston in the Fogg Art Museum at Harvard, but an investigation at the museum has not yet yielded this item.

[69] The face-to-face paired animal motif is traditional from ancient times in the Mesopotamian area,

the elements without regard to strict Buddhist iconographic concerns. The long, pointed, petal style of the lotus seems to prefigure the more developed lotus pedestals in the Museum of Fine Arts mirror in Fig. 2.16 and, most importantly, in the belt buckle Bodhisattva dated 262 from E-ch'eng (Wu-ch'ang), Hupei, discussed below (Fig. 2.18). All three of the seated Buddhas in both the E-ch'eng and Tokyo National Museum mirrors have two halos: a round head halo with double lined rim and a mandorla (encompassing halo), which is either pointed or has a mast and canopy at the apex. The E-ch'eng mirror is important for confirming the existence in Chinese art of Buddhist images with lotus pedestal and a full complement of halos, possibly including a canopy, by ca. mid 3rd century.

The fourth figure in the E-ch'eng and Tokyo National Museum mirrors is a seated contemplative figure with one leg pendant and one arm raised—probably a contemplative Bodhisattva, a figure well known in Indian Buddhist art by this time.[70] The figure turns to the left towards a kneeling person, who is interpreted by Junghee Lee as King Śuddhodana, the father of Siddhārtha, kneeling before his son in his first meditation. On the other side is a standing figure, which Junghee Lee identifies as Chandaka, Siddhārtha's groom, holding a parasol.[71] The "Siddhārtha" figure has a head halo (and possibly a body halo), but neither of the other figures have these elements. The seat of the contemplative Bodhisattva appears to be a lotus type, unless the shapes are meant to be part of the garment.

Though the seated figure near the Parinirvāṇa scene at K'ung-wang shan is depicted in a type of contemplative pose (Fig. 1.11), this mirror figure has the more standard pose and may be the earliest clear representation in Chinese art of the contemplative Bodhisattva, possibly Siddhārtha. Its placement together with three Buddhas determines that all the major deities of this mirror are Buddhist, which raises the question of meaning and interpretation, not only in the usual auspicious terms associated with mirrors, but in Buddhist terms. One possible explanation is the representation of the four Buddhas of this bhadra-kalpa: Krakuchhanda, Kanakamuni, Kāśyapa and the fourth, Śākyamuni, shown as Siddārtha in his first meditation and hence definitely identifiable. The four-directional alignment could also relate these images with the Four-Direction Buddhas, which are usually identified as the

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in Mycenaen art and in the Luristan bronzes as well as in Persian art. Ultimately, it becomes a popular motif in textiles from Persia, western Central Asia, eastern Central Asia and China as seen not only in the actual remains of textiles, but also in paintings. However, at present, it it still not clear at what date these motifs entered Chinese textiles (certainly by ca. 272, as witnessed in the Palmyra example in Fig. 2.17 b,c). The k'uei-feng mirror motifs are clearly also an important example in the study of this motif, as are the animal figure patterns on Chinese jade *pi* discs and bronze mirrors and vessels.

[70] For examples of contemplative images see Lee (1993), pp. 311-315 and Figs. 1-8.

[71] *Ibid.*, p. 319 (footnote 47).

four Buddhas of this bhadra-kalpa. Many such Four-Direction Buddhas were seen by Fa-hsien ca. early 5th century in India. Since Chinese mirrors frequently have a cosmological significance, it may be interpreted here in relation to Buddhist cosmology, and could then also be related to the domed ceiling representation of celestial space in cave temples, such as those in Central Asia in the Kucha area. These are important questions that still need to be addressed.

In the k'uei-feng mirror in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Fig. 2.16a), the feng bird appears in three of the four leaf-shaped vignettes, but the fourth has a triad with a dhyānāsana Buddha with two accompanying standing figures that are probably Bodhisattvas with scarves and halos (Fig. 2.16b). The silhouette shape of the Buddha clearly shows the uṣṇīṣa, a head halo with wide outer band, and well-formed and more orthodox lotus pedestal without the lion/dragon motif noted in the E-ch'eng and Tokyo National Museum mirrors. The lotus petals are long and pointed, stylistically closer to the lotus pedestal in the belt buckle dated 262 A.D. from Wu-ch'ang, Hupei (Fig. 2.18) than the E-ch'eng and Tokyo National Museum mirrors. The Bodhisattvas are gracefully naive with animated, perhaps even floating postures resembling the flying celestials (apsaras) seen on the rims of these same mirrors.

At least two apsaras figures appear in the 16 semicircular arcs at the edge of the design section of the Museum of Fine Arts mirror, one near the Buddha triad (Fig. 2.16b). These may be the oldest known Chinese representations of the apsaras, so popular in later Chinese Buddhist art. With large head, narrow shoulders and body, and legs separated and parallel, these figures possess a naive aspect not unlike the postures seen later in the apsaras of the early Tun-huang caves. Each wears a lower garment that billows around the legs with rounded form lacking any points. The arms are stretched out to either side at shoulder level with the forearms bent upwards at right angles like the Bodhisattvas in the triad, and a long narrow scarf that loops loosely behind each figure drifts with a light movement beside the figure and widens at the ends. The circular head halo with flat wide outer band resembles those of the triad figures in this mirror and the halo of the 262 belt buckle Bodhisattva (Fig. 2.18). A gentle and mild movement suffuses these figures, and the decorative quality of the curving rhythms of the shapes instills a childlike innocence to the representations, which actually possess very sophisticated design elements.

A k'uei-feng type mirror discovered in 1985 in Ching-an hsien 靖安縣, Kiangsi province from the Western Chin tomb of an official (chiao-wei 校尉), contained an inscription not only with the chiao-wei title but also with the date T'ai-k'ang 9th year (288 A.D.).[72] Though no Buddhist figures appear on this mirror (with the excep-

[72] Ho Yün-ao (1993), Fig. 25 and accompanying text.

tion of a possible apsaras in one of the semi-circles), it shows a stylistic change towards less elaboration in the decor and clearly serves to date the mirror from E-ch'eng, Hupei in Fig. 2.17 to approximately the same time. The Fig. 2.17 mirror has one seated Buddha-like figure sitting on three lotus petals, which are not as elongated as in the earlier, Wu kingdom period examples. The animals appear more solid and less vivacious and the filling pattern of curved parallel lines is more repetitious compared with the lyrical linear patterns of the Wu-kingdom period mirrors.

The importance of these mirrors for early Chinese Buddhist art lies in providing a glimpse of some early forms and motifs, such as the triad configuration, the contemplative Bodhisattva, apsaras, the dhyāna-mudrā, wide rim circular head halo type, mandorla body halo (and possibly canopy), and the long-petaled lotus pedestal. They also reveal the permeation of Buddhist motifs into the mid to upper levels of Chinese society during the Three Kingdoms period, particularly in the Wu kingdom in the south, which had absorbed many of the fleeing refugees from the north at the end of Han. This would suggest the rather widespread acquaintance with some aspects of Buddhism by the time of the Three Kingdoms, perhaps diffused by the migration of people from the north, but this is not yet known. According to Wu Hung's study these mirrors with Buddha figures reflect the same wishes for immortality, power, promotion and well-being, etc., for which mirrors with other divinities are made.[73] In addition to this, the E-ch'eng and Tokyo National Museum k'uei-feng mirrors reveal a complete Buddhist iconography indicating an advance towards the authentic Buddhist mode. The E-ch'eng mirrors provide one important locus for these mirrors in the Three Kingdoms period, without precluding other possible areas of production. It is an interesting question whether or not Buddhism in the south was more widely disseminated into the general society than in the north. Certainly the fame of K'ang Seng-hui and his relation to the Emperors of Wu may have contributed to a widening of attention to Buddhism in the south.

3. *Small Bronze Figures*

Just as the bronze mirrors and ceramic vessels provide rare glimpses of popular Buddhist art during the Three Kingdoms and Western Chin period, there are a few other small bronze figures found from tombs that further show the diffusion at least of Buddhist motifs and some common Buddhist figures across a wide area of China at this time.

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[73] Wu Hung (1986), p. 283. James (1995), p. 38 also notes that the mirror, an object of the upper class, denotes a wish for longevity. M. Loewe, *Ways to Paradise*, London, 1979, p. 88 calls the mirror a talisman of cosmic bliss.

a. *Money tree bronze Buddhas from Szechwan*

The money trees were noted in Chapter 1 as a peculiar tomb item in the Szechwan and Kansu region at the end of Later Han. This tomb item has also been found in tombs of the Three Kingdoms period, particularly in the Shu Han kingdom (220-265) in Szechwan. The cliff tomb No. 14 at Chung hsien 忠縣 (t'un-ching 涂井) (Map 1.5 and 2.1) discovered in 1981 contained the remains of two bronze money trees (two more were found among other tombs of this area). In each, the bronze rod of the tree stem, which fitted into a ceramic base, was made in segments that stack into one another at knot-like junctures. In the middle of each segment appears a seated Buddha in relief, each with his right hand in the abhayā-mudrā and the left hand holding his robe (Fig. 2.18 a). In one of the two money trees the Buddhas are flanked by a cicada form (possibly an auspicious symbol—it is not a Buddhistic element) as well as coin patterns with thin, wavy, hairlike tendrils. The other, made of six segments with a total height of 126 cm lacks the cicada motif and has only a cluster of coin patterns with the wavy tendrils on each side of the Buddha (Fig. 2.18a).

Though clearly similar to the Buddha figures and general design of the money tree from Ho-chia shan, Mien-yang found seven years later in 1988 (Figs. 1.31a-f) and with the Royal Ontario Museum example (Fig. 1.32 and 2.27), both of which appear to date in the late Later Han period (see Chapter 1), there are distinct changes in the examples from Tomb 14, said to be a Three Kingdoms period tomb. Besides the distinct differences of cicada motif and the segmented rod technique, the Buddha figures are slightly more abbreviated with less rounded form than the earlier, late Later Han money tree Buddhas. The same characteristics appear in a number of other known examples, probably also from the Szechwan region of the Three Kingdoms period, such as the one in Fig. 2.18b. In the aggregate, these, along with a number of others of the same style and technique, clearly suggest a continued popularity of this item in Shu-Han of the Three Kingdoms period and provide a useful comparison with the late Later Han examples that will have some bearing on the larger bronze icons discussed below.[74]

b. *Gilt bronze belt buckle with Bodhisattva dated 262 A.D.*

A small, pear-shaped buckle (H. 4.9 x W. 3.1 cm) found in 1956 in the tomb of the chiao-wei 校尉 official P'eng Lu 彭盧 at the Lien-ch'i ssu 蓮溪寺 in Wu-ch'ang 武昌, Hupei province contains a standing figure on a lotus identifiable as a Bodhisattva by its dress, halo and pedestal (Fig. 2.19). The tomb can be dated Wu kingdom's

[74] For other Three Kingdoms examples see Ho Yün-ao (1993), Figs. 9, 11-14 and accompanying text.

Yung-an 永安 fifth year (262 A.D.) according to a land record document written in red-lead pigment found in the tomb.[75] Though small, this work is of consequence as a dated object having an early and more fully delineated representation of a Bodhisattva than those on the bronze mirrors of this period. The buckle is fashioned in a technique similar to some of the configurations at K'ung-wang shan and to the k'uei-feng mirrors with the main features raised in low, flat relief against a depressed plain background. Both the round head halo and the lotus petals of the pedestal use the outer band style similar to those in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts k'uei-feng mirror (Fig. 2.16a,b). The style is light and highly linear, and the various elements, mostly delineated by incised lines, impart a free and sketchy impression.

Stylistic relation with some of the late Later Han works is apparent, yet it is more closely attuned to certain art works of the 3rd century. The figure bends at the waist, imparting a sense of movement that is less awkward than the posture of the standing Buddha X2 at K'ung-wang shan (Fig. 1.7), and the feet, which hang partly over the edge of the lotus pedestal, seem bare and have a summary and sketchy shape much like the feet of the X61 Buddha at K'ung-wang shan (Fig. 1.12), though the belt buckle figure's feet spread to the side a bit rather than being completely frontal, suggesting slightly more flexibility and freedom in the posture. The noticeably thin arms of the Bodhisattva, held a little above waist level, gesture outwards towards the image's right side in a position somewhat similar to the donor figures on the Harvard flame-shouldered Buddha statue (Fig. 1.77a,b), but are much more akin to the representation in some painted bricks from the Chiu-ch'üan 酒泉 Ning-chia-cha 寧家閘 Tomb No. 5 (near Chia-yü kuan 嘉峪關) where not only the thin shape and gestures of the arms are similar but also the loose and sketchy linear style is definitely related (Fig. 2.20). This tomb, a major discovery along with others in the Chia-yü-kuan region of western Kansu, though not dated is reasonably attributed to the Ts'ao Wei-Western Chin period (ca. 220-317).[76] It may be part of the cultural developments occurring in the Kansu region as a result of the migration of people, especially upper class families fleeing the disturbances in the central plains during the turmoil at the end of the Han (and/or at the end of the Western Chin). The style appears to be pan-Chinese, related to paintings known in Later Han tombs

[75] Wang Chung-shu (1982), p. 633; *Wei Chin Nan-pei ch'ao t'iao-su* 魏晋南北朝雕塑 (Sculpture of Wei, Chin and Southern and Northern Dynasties), in *CKMSCC*, Sculpture, Vol. 3, Beijing, 1988, text for Fig. 3.

[76] This tomb is not specifically dated. It is ascribed to the 16 Kingdoms period (317-439) in Kansu sheng wen-wu k'ao-ku yen-chiu so 甘肅省文物考古研究所, *Chiu-ch'üan shih-liu-kuo mu pi-hua* 酒泉十六國墓壁畫, Beijing, 1989, p. 19, and to the Wei-Chin (220-420) period in *Yüan-shih she-hui chih Nan-pei ch'ao hui-hua*

from the Loyang region. The relation of the Tomb No. 5 paintings with the dated 262 belt buckle Bodhisattva could suggest a dating for the Tomb No. 5 works earlier rather than later in the Wei-Chin period.

The long, narrow scarf of the Bodhisattva is an especially interesting example which drapes symmetrically over the arms and falls lightly to each side with a fluttering movement then turns up at the ends in a "fishhook" shape. The Bodhisattvas and apsaras in the the Boston Museum of Fine Arts k'uei-feng mirror have a similar symmetric configuration of the scarves (Fig. 2.16 b), as do the standing Bodhisattvas in the wooden jamb from Lou-lan in eastern Central Asia of ca. 3rd century (Fig. 5.72). The symmetric scarf eventually dominates the Chinese Bodhisattva portrayals in subsequent periods; the elaborate Gandhāran style that has both ends on one side after winding around the left armpit as seen in the Fujii Yūrinkan Bodhisattva (Fig. 2.32) is another mode, which does not appear to continue in China after the 4th century. However, in this period it seems that at least two modes of portraying the Bodhisattva exist simultaneously in China, just as there appear to be at least two different Buddha image types and styles, as will be discussed below. In this case the Fujii Yūrinkan image represents the dominant Gandhāran mode and the 262 belt buckle Bodhisattva represents a more sinicized mode related to the styles seen in tomb paintings and mirrors, and perhaps related in some way to a Central Asian or Mathurā school mode (Fig. 2.24), although some Gandhāran images have this style as well, possibly developed from western examples of Parthian and Roman art.

The upper body of the Bodhisattva is either bare with a double incised line necklace or wears a garment with border band similar to the figures in Fig. 2.20. The lower garment, portrayed like a skirt, but probably representing a dhoti, has looped folds at the waist (the dhoti overlap) and a vertical central incised line with three curved incised lines on either side. This particular linear scheme resembles the pattern on the garment of the right donor on the Harvard Buddha (Fig. 1.76), except in the 262 Bodhisattva it is less precise, complex, or stiff and the lines are more sketchy and detached in nature, as seen in the Ning-chia-cha Tomb No. 5 paintings.

The head is square with a high forehead, squarish hairline, and a simple crown (oval plaque) and/or piled up hair (jaṭāmukuṭa). The head shape also relates to the Chiu-ch'üan Tomb No. 5 head style (Fig. 2.20). The representation of a lotus flower with curving stalk and three-pointed petals (resembling a tulip) appears on each side of the lotus pedestal. Around the raised border of the buckle are five cir-

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原始社會至南北朝繪畫 (Painting from the Beginnings to the Northern and Southern Dynasties), in *CKMSCC*, Painting, Vol. I, Beijing, 1986, text for Fig. 89.

cles with a raised boss at the top. The buckle, still with much of its original brilliant gilt remaining, is a rare dated work that establishes the existence in China by 262 of an authentic, complete Bodhisattva type with symmetric scarves, thereby pointing, along with the Fujii Yūrinkan Bodhisattva, to the distinct probability of at least two types of Bodhisattva portrayals in Chinese Buddhist art by the Three Kingdoms/ Western Chin period—perhaps one more sinicized and the other more western in stylistic inspiration. Certainly, they attest to a more complex situation regarding Buddhist art of this time in China than previously suspected.

4. *Clay Tomb Bricks, Tiles, and Figurines*

Figures with Buddhist appearance also occur on some bricks and tiles and in some figurines of the Three Kingdoms and Western Chin period. Though generally small and summary in form, these figures nevertheless provide insight into the popular usage of Buddhist figures and offer a degree of certainty by virtue of their dates and specific find area.

a. *Tomb bricks with Buddhist figures*

Some moulded tomb bricks with interesting Buddhist figures have been found in Chekiang and Kiangsu.[77] The one in Fig. 2.21, part of the old collection of the Chekiang province Lin-hai city museum, was originally discovered in the area of Shao-hsing 紹興. It bears a date of Chien-heng 建衡 3rd year (271 A.D.) in the Wu kingdom. A standing figure, probably of a Buddha with head halo, uṣṇīṣa, and long robe, appears on both one long and short side of the brick. It is difficult to ascertain if there is a lotus pedestal or not. The form of the Buddha on the short end is rather similar, though much more abbreviated, to the standing Buddha X61 at K'ung-wang shan (Fig. 1.12).

The tomb brick in Figs. 2.22 a and b from Hsü-i hsien 盱眙縣, Kiangsu province, was found together with similar tomb bricks bearing a date of Western Chin T'ai-k'ang 太康 9th year (288 A.D.). It has a series of three seated figures, probably Buddhas, each with a halo, on the front upper surface and three flying apsaras (fei-t'ien 飛天) on the side edge. The halos of the Buddhas have a double rim, the heads are large and oval in shape, and lotus buds appear from behind their shoulders. It is not clear if each is sitting on a lotus pedestal. It may be possible, but perhaps too exact for the circumstances, to read a Buddhist identification of the Buddhas of the three

[77] Ho Yün-ao (1993), Figs. 4-6 and accompanying text.

times into this group of three. The apsaras are gracefully portrayed and appear more attenuated and angular than the apsaras in the k'uei-feng mirrors of the Wu kingdom (Fig. 2.16b). Their scarves are long; the arms and torso forms are slim. They carry offerings and lotus flowers decorate the areas between them. Compared with the apsaras on the Wu kingdom k'uei-feng mirror (Fig. 2.16b), these figures definitely possess an added sophistication, seemingly indicative of growing familiarity and expertise of the artists with Buddhist subjects expressed in Chinese artistic terms. It is actually not too difficult to see these apsaras as the early phase of developments that produce the paintings of apsaras in the cave temples of Kansu some 100-125 years later.

b. *Tile from P'ing-an, Ch'ing-hai*

As indicated in Chapter 1, some of the tomb items from Szechwan, such as the bronze money tree from Ho-chia shan (Figs. 1.31a-g) and the Buddha in the lintel of Ma Hao Cave IX (Fig. 1.23), may have been made in the late Later Han or early Shu Han period (ca. 221-264) of the Three Kingdoms. Mention was also made of possible routes from western Szechwan through Ch'ing-hai to Central Asia as well as to the Chiu-ch'üan region of western Kansu, both apparently used during the Shu Han period when Szechwan was an independent kingdom in need of alternative routes to avoid the territory under Wei control (such as the main silk Route through the Kansu corridor). Though little archaeological work has yet been undertaken in the Ch'ing-hai region, one recent tomb excavation (report not yet published) yielded some clay brick tiles which suggest the presence of vaguely Buddhistic elements in some art of this region.

The clay brick tile from an excavated cave tomb attributed to the late Later Han-Three Kingdoms period at P'ing-an 平安 portrays in low relief a standing figure with long face, big ears and tall hat-crown holding a bottle in the right hand and the crescent moon in the left hand (Fig. 2.23).[78] Above the figure's right shoulder is the representation of the sun with a bird, a symbol which, together with the moon, occurs frequently in Han art and is a paired motif as well in some of the paintings at the Bāmiyān caves in Afghanistan, although no examples are exactly like this one. The bottle is characteristic of Maitreya Bodhisattva, which this figure may in some way represent or at least partially incorporate. Standing with feet to the side like the K'ung-wang shan Buddha X2 (Fig. 1.7), the image wears an upper garment folded left over right side in Chinese style (see discussion of Harvard Buddha donors in Chapter 1), a belt, and pleated skirt-like lower garment. A long scarf flares with vig-

[78] Wu Cho (1992), p. 49.

orous loops behind the shoulders and around the arms, spreading emphatically out to the sides and ending in a split V-shape hem. This manner of scarf portrayal is very similar to representations known especially in pre-Kushana and early Kushana period sculptures from Mathurā (Fig. 2.24). This tile figure, still of uncertain date and identity, is nevertheless interesting for certain stylistic elements that seem to indicate the infusion of Buddhistic elements in the art of the Ch'ing-hai region at a relatively early time.

c. *Pottery figurine from Chung hsien, Szechwan*

This red clay, hand moulded, pottery standing figurine in Fig. 2.25 from the Shu Han period Tomb No. 5 at T'u-ching 涂井, Chung hsien 忠縣, Szechwan has some Buddha-like elements, though it is not certain to be a Buddha.[79] It wears a long robe with cowl-like neckfold and sleeves to the elbow; narrow sleeves of an undergarment cover the arms to the wrist. The right hand is held up to the chest and may have held an object. The left hand is lowered and holds an object, perhaps the hem of the robe, rather naively and poorly represented. The large head is heart-shaped with prominent bony structure; its form and and stylized method of treating the features resemble the head of the late Later Han bronze charioteer from Heng-yang hsien, Hunan (Fig. 1.8). What may be interpreted as an ūrṇā appears in the forehead, but the hair is hard to interpret—perhaps it is three clusters of hair or a kind of hat. The side burns come low in front of the small ears rather like those of the Harvard flame-shouldered Buddha (Fig. 1.45) and as seen in both the male and female figures in the wall paintings of Miran of ca. 3rd century (Figs. 2.40, 4.7 c, 5.20, 5.24 b). The strangely curved eyebrows relate to the Heng-yang charioteer style, and the soft, drooping mustache, though a bit thin, is very similar to the one on the bronze Buddha head from Khotan (Fig. 4.7a,b) and the Fujii Yūrinkan Bodhisattva (Fig. 2.32). This figure would certainly seem to represent a foreigner and may be a naive portrayal of a standing Buddha. It is especially interesting in its relation to other figures of the late Later Han and 3rd century and in this matter helps to confirm elements of figure style of that time.

[79] A group of pottery figures from Chung hsien could have some relation to Buddhist faith. According to Wu Cho, the wearing of lotus flowers by some of the figures seems to indicate a Buddhist connection. *Ibid.*, pp 41-43. For these figures see Ho Yün-ao (1993), Figs. 108-113.

B. *The Orthodox Icons: Buddhist Bronze Sculptures*

This section reassesses some independent bronze Buddhist sculptures in light of the developments presented thus far in Chapters 1 and 2, and in relation to Central Asian and Indian art. The results suggest an adjustment in the previously held dating for two seated bronze Buddha images to an earlier period, and support for Mizuno Seiichi's dating of the important Fujii Yūrinkan standing Bodhisattva ca. late 3rd-early 4th century. These works represent a small but major group of icons that amplify our view of this period, attest to the high quality and remarkably advanced nature of Buddhist art in China at this time, and reflect the status of Buddhism associated with the teaching and translating activities at this time, which were mainly in the hands of Chinese born and educated monks from naturalized foreign families already economically and socially well established in China for some generations.

1. *The Seated Buddha in the Tokyo National Museum*

The small gilt bronze dhyānāsana Buddha in the Tokyo National Museum (Figs. 2.26 a,b,c), a powerful image despite its relatively small size, possesses a bold simplicity of form and line that bespeaks of tendencies towards stylistic abstraction while at the same time adhering to well-known norms of Kushana period sculptural forms. The image is cast together with its pedestal, but the halo, attached separately by a lug on the back of the head, remains missing. The inside is hollow from the base up to the head and there is a separate cavity from the top of the uṣṇīṣa into the upper part of head—the same technique used in in the Harvard flame-shouldered Buddha (Figs. 1.44, 1.64) with which this small bronze has other features in common. The probable reason for the uṣṇīṣa-head cavity is for the inclusion of special relics.[80] According to report the bronze of this statue is thick and evenly cast, except for the right elbow, which has a small hole in the back.[81] Remains of gilding are extensive and, like the Harvard Buddha (Fig. 1.44), 338 Buddha (Figs. 1.48, 2.28a,b), the entire image was completely covered with gilt except for the hair and uṣṇīṣa.[82]

This Buddha has usually been dated to the 4th century,[83] but both in style and

[80] See Chapter 1, notes 127 and 128 regarding examples of relics in the head and/or uṣṇīṣa of Buddha images. Though Tao-an's Buddha and the Duldul Akur image discovered by Pelliot had relics in the head, at present I know of no other extant Chinese bronze statues besides the Harvard and Tokyo National Museum seated Buddhas which have a cavity in the uṣṇīṣa-head.

[81] Tokyo National Museum, *Kondō Butsu* 金銅仏, Tokyo, 1987, No. 4, p. 75.

[82] Gilding of the hair is first seen in the 437 seated Buddha from Liu Sung. Matsubara (1966), Pl. 9; Mizuno (1960), pp. 92-93; Tokyo National Museum (1987), Fig. 7.

[83] Matsubara dates it to the 4th century: Matsubara (1966), p. 231, text for Pl. 5. It is dated to the 4th

technique it appears to fall between the Harvard flame-shouldered Buddha discussed in Chapter 1 as probably dating ca. 2nd half of the 2nd century A.D. (Fig. 1.44) and the Asian Art Museum Buddha dated 338 (Fig. 1.48). In many ways it continues the stylistic lineage of the Harvard Buddha, but also shows significant changes that relate more closely to some works of the third century. At the same time the Tokyo National Museum Buddha does not appear to partake of the more radical changes represented by the 338 Buddha and other 4th century images. Despite stylistic links with Kushana period imagery, especially that of Swat as seen in some remains from Butkara I (for example, Fig. 1.33) and with some images from Lou-lan in eastern Central Asia (Fig. 5.58), the freedom of expression in this image suggests that the work is perhaps more the product of a "second generation" internal development rather than a strong direct reflection of foreign prototypes.

In addition to the technical features noted above, other elements are so closely related to the Harvard Buddha as to indicate a clear stylistic lineage, but with differences that nevertheless suggest a time differential. Similar features include the delineation of the hair strands only on the front of the head, leaving the side and back of the head as well as the uṣṇīṣa plain; an angled and truncated shape of the uṣṇīṣa; a face with high cheekbones and prominent jaw; a bushy but long and pointed mustache; asymmetric fold scheme on the chest reflecting the Gandhāran mode; use of groove-like incised lines for the folds across the back; the continuation of the arm folds into the back; broad-shouldered body shape; the dhyāna-mudrā with hands lying flat in the lap; and a flat raised rim at the bottom and top edges all around the pedestal.

However, distinct modifications in comparison with the Harvard Buddha (Fig. 1.44) style suggest major changes—not the more pronounced changes manifested in the 338 Buddha (Fig. 1.48), but those observable in some 3rd century works. The body has less assertive definition of the various major parts than the Harvard Buddha. Instead, it tends to adhere to a single unit, which imparts only a summary indication of the rounded form of the upper arms and the chest. The triangular shaping of the torso connotes a more abstract rendering of form than the more natural and complex shapes of the Harvard Buddha. The lower arms and knees are practically lost as assertive shapes in comparison with the Harvard Buddha, and the drapery folds are abbreviated and bold compared with the careful and subtle delineations seen in the Harvard Buddha. Coarse wedge-like pleats dramatize the folds on the arms and legs, four simply stated step pleats over the chest merely suggest the off-center axis of the Gandhāran style fold patterns, and a few sweeping curved creases create

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century in the period of the Five Barbarian States and 16 Kingdoms in Tokyo National Museum (1987), Fig. 4, p. 75.

a somewhat incongruous loop pattern of cloth below the folded hands. The clearly divided pattern above and below the hands is a mode more abstractly, boldly, and coherently presented in the 338 Buddha (Fig. 1.48). The broad, smoothly shaped shoulders, probably indicating the natural swell of the shoulder beneath, has, however, the curious effect of appearing like padded shoulders, much the same way—only bolder—as the Harvard Buddha, and as seen in some bronze Gandhāran Buddhas (Fig. 2.11). The fold around the neck—a smooth, simple lumpy band unlike the finely detailed and more naturalistic fold in the Harvard Buddha, or formal parallel and more abstract folds of the 338 Buddha—is similar to the ridgelike fold in the hems of the Ho-chia shan and Royal Ontario Museum money tree Buddhas of ca. 1st half of the 3rd century (Figs. 1.31b and 2.27). The hands of the Tokyo National Museum image present a different mode of representing the dhyāna-mudrā with the thumbs, which touch each other, raised up above the palms. The fingers, though thick and powerful, are summarily treated compared with the Harvard Buddha (Fig. 1.44), and yet not the same kind of stiff fingers with delicate abstract markings used in the 338 Buddha (Fig. 1.48).

Noticeable changes in the face include the tendency to smooth out the bony structure—a step closer towards an oval shape as seen in the 338 Buddha—resulting in a face very similar to those on the deities in the Shinyama mirror of ca. 240 (Fig. 2.12b,c,d). The eyes are not as sharply shaped and rimmed as the Harvard Buddha nor as clearly portrayed in the "seed" shape mode with large lids on the 338 Buddha. The nose remains a naturalistic type similar to the Harvard Buddha without the more pronounced abstraction of the 338 Buddha, and the narrow forehead, wavy hairline and evenly combed strands of hair (portrayed only on the front and without a clear part) all have remarkable resemblance to the depiction in the Ho-chia shan and Royal Ontario Museum money tree Buddhas (Fig. 1.31b,c,d and 2.27), whose hair depiction is practically identical to that of the Tokyo National Museum Buddha, both of which, as discussed earlier, are clearly different from the Shu-Han Three Kingdoms period money tree Buddhas—a rather clear indication that the Ho-chia shan and Royal Ontario Museum money tree Buddhas date from the late Later Han period. This one feature, though small, is a striking point that, along with all the other factors, strongly uphold a dating for the Tokyo National Museum bronze Buddha to ca. late Later Han or early Three Kingdoms period. In marked contrast, the 338 Buddha not only has a different hair pattern, but the hair strands are depicted over the entire head and uṣṇīṣa (Figs. 1.48 and 2.25a,b). The uṣṇīṣa of the Tokyo National Museum Buddha, which has an angular shape and springs directly from the head without a band, is not as large as that of the Harvard Buddha, but not as small as one of similar shape on the small wooden Buddha (probably dating ca. late 4th-early

5th century) from Khora, near Karashahr, from the northern Silk Road.[84] From the side (Fig. 2.26b) the uṣnīṣa resembles the large, angled uṣnīṣa of the Ho-chia shan Buddhas (Fig. 1.31d). The sideburns are shorter than on the Harvard Buddha with ample space left around the ears like both the Harvard and 338 Buddhas, and the ears, short-lobed and not quite as strongly rimmed as those of the Harvard Buddha, are not as flat and abstract as those of the 338 Buddha. The profile view shows the forward bend of the body related to the Harvard Buddha style (Figs. 1.65, 2.23b), but the gentler contours and more sloping chin relate the face silhouette more closely to that of the Khotan Buddha head, which is discussed below as a work probably dating ca. 3rd century, if not earlier (Fig. 4.7b).

In the back, the flap of cloth over the left shoulder is only a single thick fold (Fig. 2.26c), not as thick and wide as the fold in the Harvard Buddha (Fig. 1.66), yet not as flat and narrow as in the 338 Buddha (Fig. Fig. 2.28b). Three groove-like incisions (similar to the Harvard Buddha in fold type but bolder in execution and fewer in number) arc across the back, and heavy, downward slanting pleats on the arms strongly contrast with the smooth plain surfaces, imparting the sense of a more abbreviated and bolder execution than the careful delineation of the back of the Harvard Buddha (Fig. 1.66). On the other hand, the configuration of the back shows marked change by the time of the 338 Buddha, which does not use incised groove lines, but thin step folds, a mode continued in later 4th century bronze images as well. The lug on back of the head seems positioned only to hold a head halo like the Harvard and 338 Buddhas, but the size of the lug is proportionately smaller than the Harvard Buddha, and it has only one pin hole (only the Harvard Buddha has two pin holes among these earliest bronzes as far as I know).

The pedestal, a trapezoidal shape with slightly inclined sides and rounded corners, especially in back, imparts the effect of a semi-circular shaped pedestal, different from the squared angles of the Harvard Buddha's trapezoid shaped pedestal and the regular rectangular (nearly square) pedestal of the 338 Buddha (Figs. 1.66 and 2.28a,b). The plain surfaces without any additional designs or figures and only a slightly projecting band at the top and base, compares with the pedestals of the Buddhas from the Lou-lan lintel (Fig. 5.58) datable to ca. mid 3rd century (see Chapter 5).

Despite the weathering of the Lou-lan frieze, careful observation reveals further details which are compatible with the Tokyo National Museum Buddha (see Drawing Fig. 5.60). The thick shape of the arms, a similar movement of the drapery folds over the arms onto the legs, though timidly shown in the bronze Buddha, and the

[84] For the Khora Buddha, see Whitfield, *The Art of Central Asia*, 3 vols., Tokyo, 1985, Vol. III, Pl. 119.

softly rounded collar fold presented as a smooth shape and rather narrow flat band over the left shoulder are also similar in each. The type of dhyāna-mudrā with the two thumbs held up making a triangular shape is a mode used in the Lou-lan Buddhas as well, though the hands are more delicately proportioned. The triangular shaping of the bronze Buddha's torso relates to the general shape of the upper torso of Buddhas of the Lou-lan frieze as well. These features, though not precisely the same, are similar enough to indicate a generally similar time period.

The sketchy quality of the incised lines on the back of the bronze and the abbreviated folds on the chest show an approach to style similar to the 262 dated bronze buckle figure (Fig. 2.19). The creases on the arms relate also to the examples from the ceramics of the 3rd century, and perhaps most conclusively, the hair style, shape of the thin but long mustache, band-like hem folds, and simple linear parallel lines on the arms closely agree with the five Buddhas of the Ho-chia shan money tree and the Royal Ontario Museum small bronze Buddha from a money tree (Figs. 1.31 and 2.27), all of which quite certainly date ca. late Later Han to Shu-Han period (i.e., first half of the 3rd century), but more likely to the late Later Han, considering the changes in the Shu-Han Three Kingdoms money tree Buddhas discussed above (Figs. 2.18a,b). Overall the simplicity and abbreviated nature of the style seem to correspond with what we know from the style of the Three Kingdoms bronze mirrors, and the 262 bronze belt buckle Bodhisattva with their sketchy and freer renderings.

In conclusion, this work is related to the Harvard Buddha, but it is probably not of the same period. It does not partake of the Later Han elements as seen in the Harvard Buddha, but seems closer to the few works known mainly from ca. first half of the 3rd century in the late Later Han and Three Kingdoms period, such as the 262 belt buckle Bodhisattva, the Lou-lan wooden Buddhas, and the ceramic Buddhas. However, the elements associating it with the Ho-chia shan and Royal Ontario Museum money tree Buddhas strongly suggest a date at the end of Later Han. The 338 Buddha clearly represents changes suggestive of a different stylistic stage. In sum, the Tokyo National Museum Buddha relates to the developments in the 2nd half of the 2nd century in the Later Han period, but has changed sufficiently to parallel the new developments in the last decades of the Han and in the Three Kingdoms period, and is more likely to be from the end of Later Han based on the Ho-chia shan and Royal Ontario Museum money tree Buddhas. In its bold and sketchy qualities, the image seems more sinicized than directly related to Central Asian or Indian forms. This small image becomes, in a period which is still difficult to assess, a major work which aptly expresses the assimilation of and yet change from the earlier, more clearly foreign related style and strong naturalism as represented by the Harvard Buddha from the early phase of Buddhist art in China during the 2nd half of the 2nd century.

The Tokyo National Museum Buddha is said to have come from Sian[85], but there is no confirmation of this statement. Stylistically, there could be some justification for a Ch'ang-an provenance, though it is by no means certain. The relation with the Ho-chia shan money tree Buddhas from Mien-yang, Szechwan, which often has a relation with the Ch'ang-an area, could give some tenuous substantiation to such a provenance.

Identification of the image is also not certain as there are few distinguishing features. It could be a Buddha from one of the sets of Buddhas, or possibly Śākyamuni. Because the pedestal is plain like those in the series of Buddhas in the Lou-lan frieze, it is likely to be such a "generic" Buddha rather than Śākyamuni, who would most likely have a lion pedestal.

The image is generally compatible with the historical circumstances of Buddhism in China during the last decades of the Later Han or the Three Kingdoms period. The dhyānāsana Buddha, like the Harvard Buddha, could reflect the early dhyāna trend initiated by An Shih-kao in the mid 2nd century and carried on in the late 2nd-first half of the 3rd century by several generations of disciples. In the last decades of the Later Han and into the Three Kingdoms period the work of An Shih-kao remained important and, although it is not clear with regard to the Loyang school, was certainly continued by K'ang Seng-hui in Wu from 247 to 280. This small bronze Buddha may reflect that lineage, which gradually came to be overshadowed by the Mahāyāna, especially after the translation work of Dharmarakṣa in the late 3rd century. The particular style of this bronze Buddha seems to disappear before the new stylistic developments and shifting emphasis of the 4th century. Though we may not be able to definitely link these bronze icons with specific movements or tranlation work in China, certainly the latter did provide a climate which could occasion certain kinds of images to have been commissioned, either by monks or laypersons within the community. On the other hand, these images may have been commissioned by persons not at all involved in the communities related to the translation work. This may be a factor we will not be able to know exactly; however, if there does appear a compatibility between the work being done by the translators and these icons—either an iconographic and/or stylistic compatibility—then it is worthy of note with the hope that clarifying evidences may yet appear.

[85] O. Siren, *Chinese Sculpture*, 2 vols., London, 1925, text for pl. 238a (Vol. I, p. 76), says it is gilt bronze, H. 6 inches, from Sian-fu [Ch'ang-an]. At that time it was at the College of Engineering, Imperial University, Tokyo.

2. *The Seated Bronze Buddha with Circular Halo Formerly in the Fujiki Collection*

The seated gilt bronze Buddha in abhayā-mudrā in Fig. 2.29 (H. 20 cm), cast as one with its halo and pedestal, is nearly perfectly preserved except for minor breakage on the side of the halo. Formerly in the collection of the Fujiki Shōichi 藤木正一 of Toyonaka, its present whereabouts or even existence is unknown.[86] The image has generally been dated to ca. 4th century.[87] Stylistically, the sculpture is complicated, but from this present study it appears to relate most strongly with images of the late Later (Eastern) Han to Three Kingdoms period. Distinct from the Tokyo National Museum Buddha in Fig. 2.26, which has links to Gandhāran stylistic tradition, this image is more related to the Mathurā tradition, though there are resemblances to works from the Swat school. Like the Tokyo National Museum Buddha, it too shows a pronounced mixing of various Indian and, to a lesser extent, Central Asian elements.

Seated cross-legged wearing a thick outer robe, the Buddha displays the abhayā-mudrā with his right hand and firmly grasps and lifts the hem of the robe with the left hand, similar to the hand positions in the Buddhas from K'ung-wang shan, Ma Hao Cave IX, P'eng-shan, and the various money tree Buddhas (Figs. 1.7, 1.9, 1.22, 1.31, 1.32, 2.18a,b). This particular combination (abhayā-mudrā and holding the edge of the robe) is most characteristic of major images in the second phase of Kushana period Buddhist sculpture at Mathurā, such as seen in the Buddha from Anyor dated year 5l—probably 129 A.D.—in Fig. 2.30 a and those from Kauśambī dated year 83, probably 161 A.D. (Figs. 1.54a,b). However, it can also be seen in some images from Butkara I, Swat (Fig. 2.30c). The inward inclination of the arms raised in front of the chest rather than away from the body is characteristic of the same group of images in China and India. Like the Buddha representations at K'ung-wang shan, the hands of the Fujiki Buddha are large and have straight fingers, except for a slight bend in the fifth finger, a common feature of a number of images, including the Anyor and other Mathurā Buddhas of the 2nd century.

The body form of the Fujiki Buddha, like that of the images from K'ung-wang shan, P'eng-shan, Mao Hao, and the Lou-lan Buddha lintel, is relatively short and compact, but is not muscular like the Harvard Buddha, or triangular like the Tokyo National Museum Buddha. However, the continuous, rounded curve of the shoulder-arm unit, which merges with the contours of the legs to create the impres-

[86] Mizuno (1968), p. 31.

[87] Mizuno in *Ibid.*, p. 31 says it is "about the same as the Harvard Buddha—a little earlier or later probably." (He dates the Harvard Buddha near the 338 Buddha (see above Fig. 1.48); Matsubara (1966), Fig. 3a, and p. 231 text for Fig. 3a dates the sculpture to the 4th century.

sion of a compact, unified whole, is a general quality shared by the Tokyo National Museum bronze Buddha. The general body shape is close to the Mathurā school Anyor Buddha (Fig. 2.30a) and to the Swat seated Buddha in Fig. 2.30c, but with regard to Chinese images, it particularly resembles the upper body form of the small ceramic Buddha in Fig. 2.4b from a late Wu to early Western Chin tomb in the Nanking area.

The drapery depiction follows in some ways a deployment like that used in the Year 51 Anyor Buddha: a long central swag, curved lines on the legs, and inverted V-shape of the hems held in the left hand. However, the folds of the Fujiki Buddha's drapery as they fall across the chest are wider and have a step-like edge rather than incised lines. This is an early, if not the earliest, image in China with major usage of the step-fold type, especially in the folds across the chest. The sequence of repetitive, parallel, open U-shaped folds creates a striking pattern characteristic of this type and distinct from the representation in the Harvard flame-shouldered Buddha or Tokyo National Museum Buddha (Figs. 1.44 and 2.26). On the other hand, the fold scheme is not as developed as that used in the 338 Asian Art Museum Buddha (Fig. 1.48), which has a wider and more squared U-shaped patterning clearly indicative of greater confidence and inventiveness. The narrow and slightly raised neck fold is similar to styles used in the Swat (Fig. 1.33b and 2.30c) and Lou-lan Buddhas (Fig. 5.55b and 5.60); the circular shape appears in the P'eng-shan and the money tree Buddhas from Ho-chia shan (Fig. 1.31), in the Royal Ontario Museum (Fig. 2.27) and from Chung hsien (Figs. 2.18a,b) and is distinct from the V-shape of the Ma Hao, Tokyo National Museum Buddha, and some of the Mathurā Buddhas.

The representation of the saṅghāṭī in the Fujiki Buddha as a rather stiff, flat, broad surface across the upper body without indication of the muscular body beneath is completely different from the Harvard flame-shouldered Buddha and Tokyo National Museum Buddha type, but relates to the types portrayed in the Lou-lan frieze and seen in more developed manner in the 338 Asian Art Museum Buddha (Fig. 1.48). The same is true of the sloping shape of the shoulders and rather rounded and tight mass and contours of the arms. The figure shape and contours are somewhat akin to those of the seated Buddha X76 at K'ung-wang shan (Fig. 1.9), the Buddha on the Shinyama tomb mirror of ca. 240 (Fig. 2.12b), and the Yüeh ware ceramic Buddhas of the Wu Kingdom and Western Chin (Figs. 2.4, 2.6, 2.7, 2.8, 2.10a). Perhaps the parallel lines of the Shinyama Buddha are a simplified version of a scheme such as that represented by the tight binding of parallel folds around the arms of the Fujiki Buddha. Similar tight folds appear in some sculptures from Khalchayan (Fig. 3.3) as depictions of Parthian type armor, a feature clearly seen in Indo-Sasanian coins; this mode may have became a general style, losing its specific reference to armor. It is

also a style characteristic of some Mathurā images like the year 51 Anyor Buddha (Fig. 2.30a), but even more evident in the later Mathurā image in Fig. 2.30b, which even has the slightly rippling effect of the folds on the arm as does the Fujiki Buddha. This mode is not so evident in other Chinese images, but does occur in rather simplified form in the money tree Buddhas (Figs. 1.31, 2.18, 2.27). In the 338 Buddha the step folds are portrayed differently and they do not wrap so insistently around the arms (Fig. 1.48, 2.28a,b). The folds over the lower arm where it meets the leg are kept discrete and separated in the Fujiki Buddha, rather similar to the manner in the Tokyo National Museum Buddha, but different both from the depiction in the Harvard flame-shouldered Buddha, which separates the arm area from the legs by a complicated bunch of cloth, and from the 338 Buddha, which uses a continuous movement of the folds over the arms and legs in the mode used in later Mathurā school images, such as that in Fig. 2.30b and is the manner that continues in Chinese bronze images into the later 4th and 1st half of the 5th century. In sum, both the Fujiki and Tokyo National Museum Buddhas seem to be transitions between the more complex and naturalistic Harvard Buddha solution and the 338 Buddha, which is more simplified and harmoniously abstract and closer to elements developed in later Mathurā school sculptures.

The chunky, squarish shape of the Fujiki Buddha's head is most akin to the head of the Bodhisattva on the 262 belt buckle (Fig. 2.19) and related to the round heads of the Ma Hao, P'eng shan and Lou-lan Buddhas rather than to the longer, high-cheekboned type of the Harvard Buddha, Tokyo National Museum Buddha, some of the K'ung-wang shan Buddhas and the Buddha from the Shinyama mirror. Individual features include a narrow forehead, which is especially akin to the style of the Shu-Han period money tree Buddhas from Chung hsien (Fig. 2.18a), wide open and strongly rimmed eyes, a short triangular shaped nose, a thin but long mustache—most resembling those on the money tree Buddhas—an unsmiling mouth, and a dimpled (or perhaps damaged) chin. The shape of the face and specific features, including a less stylishly curved mustache, resemble the head of a man discovered at Dalverzin-tepe dating ca. late 2nd-early 3rd century A.D. (Fig. 3.34). The clearly outlined wide open eyes, relatively similar to the type used in the Miran wall paintings of ca. mid-3rd century and the Airtam stone reliefs near Termez dating ca. mid-2nd century A.D.(Figs. 2.37 and 3.10). Though a little less stylized, the eyes of the Fujiki Buddha seem almost the same as those of the bronze charioteer from a late Later Han tomb at Heng-yang hsien, Hunan (Fig. 1.8) and the pottery figures from a Shu-Han tomb in Chung hsien, Szechwan (Fig. 2.25). The sharply cut short nose, distinct from the more modelled type of the Harvard and Tokyo National Museum Buddhas, which seem to follow the more natualistic mode of the Gandhāran

and Central Asian types, resembles the depiction in the money tree Buddhas and the 262 Bodhisattva and is a type used confidently and more sharply in the 338 Asian Art Museum Buddha. The wavy hairline, which could be related to the Miran Buddha style (Fig. 5.24a,b) and is well-known in the Amarāvatī School of this period, is most like the representations in the Tokyo National Museum Buddha and the various money tree Buddhas, especially since they all also have the same kind of narrow hair strands only along the front edge. The uṣṇīṣa, which has no hole in the top like the Harvard and Tokyo National Museum Buddhas, seems to have clusters of fine, looped lines on the surface; the top appears strangely flattened, perhaps through some damage or else with a shape like the Ho-chia shan and other money tree Buddhas (Figs. 1.31b, 2.18a,b, and 2.27).

The head halo, the only example in a major image of this time to be cast with the figure, is nearly circular (a bit straightened near the shoulders), has a narrow plain band indicated by an incised line or lines (there may be more than one line, but it is hard to determine) near the rim, and three open lotus flowers incised in the otherwise apparently plain ground of the center. The round head halo is common in Kushana period Buddhist art of all schools, and in Central Asian Buddhist art of the early periods, such as seen in the Miran wall paintings (Fig. 5.24a), which also has a single band outer edge, as do many from Swat. From the money tree, bronze mirror, and ceramic Buddhas, it appears common to have an outer band in late Later Han, Three Kingdoms and Western Chin period Buddha images in China. The appearance of flowers within the ground of the halo is somewhat unusual, but can be seen in some Kushana images, mostly from Swat and usually indicating the Buddha Dīpaṃkara, the Buddha who predicted Śākyamuni's future Buddhahood.[88] Dīpaṃkara was popular in Kushana Buddhist art, particularly in Gandhāra, Afghanistan and Swat, as the Buddha representing the promise of Buddhahood, although in these sculptures Dīpaṃkara is usually shown standing. It is also possible that this is one of the 7 Buddhas of the Past or possibly Amitābha Buddha with the lotus flowers suggestive of Sukhāvatī, Amitābha's Pure Land. If either Dīpaṃkara or Amitābha, this image would be a rare early Chinese depiction, the one showing concern for future Buddhahood, and the other with rebirth in the Pure Land. In stylistic portrayal, the flowers in the Fujiki Buddha most resemble the lotus flower on the dome of the miniature stupa, probably from Swat, in Fig. 2.31.

The 7-layered rectangular pedestal, probably representing the "sumeru" pedestal type—a rare example in Chinese Buddhist art of this early period—occurs with fre-

[88] Examples from Butkara I, Swat can be seen in D. Faccenna, *Sculpture from the Sacred Area of Butkara I*, Reports and Memoires, 3 vols., Rome, 1962 and 1964, Vol. II^2, Pls. XXXI, XXXIII and XXXIV a. In these cases, the Buddha is probably Dīpaṃkara.

quency in Swat sculptures of the Kushana period (Fig. 1.33b),[89] and could favor identification of a Buddha other than Śākyamuni, who would normally be represented with a lion pedestal.

Because of the preponderance of stylistic features relating the Fujiki Buddha with images of the late Later Han to Three Kingdoms period images in China, it can be seriously considered to date to ca. first half of the 3rd century. More than likely the image comes from north China, probably from the active centers of the 3rd century in either Loyang or Ch'ang-an, but more evidences are needed to determine this issue. Stylistic elements of the Mathurā and Swat schools seem to predominate, but there are also elements, though weaker, related to imagery from eastern Central Asia, notably Miran, which is also closely related to the artistic traditions of Swat (see Chapter 5). If it dates to the same period as the Tokyo National Museum Buddha, and it seems this may be the case, then it is clear that there are at least two rather distinct styles occurring in the same general time period—one more related to the Gandhāran mode and the other more related to the Mathurā mode, with neither being purely representative of either school, but rather a complex mixture of many elements which ultimately translate into a Chinese interpretation.

3. *The Fujii Yūrinkan Bodhisattva*

The standing gilt bronze Bodhisattva in the Fujii Yūrinkan Museum in Kyoto (image only height 33.3 cm) is, along with the Harvard flame-shouldered Buddha, unquestionably one of the pre-eminent sculptures from the earliest periods of Buddhism in China (Figs. 2.32a-g and color Pl. III). These two sculptures are arguably the finest and largest earliest surviving Buddhist bronzes in all Buddhist art. A few rare Gandhāran bronze Buddhas exist (Fig. 2.11), but none are so large as the Harvard Buddha and the Fujii Yūrinkan Bodhisattva, consequently the ramifications and importance of these two works supersede the confines of China.

The Fujii Yūrinkan Bodhisattva, said to have come from San-yüan hsien 三原縣 in Shensi (near Sian),[90] has generally been dated by Japanese scholars to the late third-early 4th century.[91] Mizuno Seiichi has suggested that the figure is probably

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[89] There are many examples of this kind of pedestal in the sculpture from Butkara I, Swat, among them see Faccenna (1962 and 1964), Vol. II², Pls. LIV a, LVI b, LVIII a, LXXIX, LXXXIa,b, CCX, CCXI, CCXXVI.

[90] Mizuno (1968), note 18 p. 40 says this information is from Ashitachi Hiroku 足立喜六, *Jōan shiseki no kenkyū* 長安史蹟の研究(Study on the Historical Traces in Ch'ang-an), Tokyo, 1933, Pl. 167; Mizuno (1960), pp. 11 and 20; Matsubara (1966), Pls. 1 and 2 a,b,c and text pp. 2-3, both repeat this information. There does not appear to be other evidence to confirm or deny this.

[91] Mizuno (1960), p. 11, says "No positive evidence exists for its date, but it would seem to belong to

Maitreya Bodhisattva on the grounds of its similarity to Gandhāran images of Maitreya, and the issue of its "Gandhāran style" is instrumental in Mizuno's dating of both the Harvard Buddha and this Bodhisattva prior to the 338 Buddha (Fig. 1.48), although he dates the Fujii Yūrinkan Bodhisattva earlier than the Harvard Buddha.[92] Because of its apparently strong western appearance, some scholars thought it to be imported from Central Asia, though Mizuno was not of this opinion.[93] Because of the importance of this outstanding image for the history of early Chinese Buddhist art, these and other issues will be addressed here in some detail, and analysis will center on clarifying the issues of stylistic sources, provenance, dating, iconography, and the relationship of the image relative to the Harvard flame-shouldered Buddha sculpture and other works.

a. *Technique, description and stylistic sources*

The image is in relatively good condition, and retains, despite some corrosion, much of its gilding, particularly on the robes and upper body, but has lost both its halo and base part of the pedestal. Like other early bronze images, the hair was left ungilded, although a few touches of gold appear at the edges in front. The single projecting lug at the back of the head—not as large as the lug on the Harvard Buddha—probably supported a round head halo, the typical form for images in the early period (Figs. 2.32c,d,e,f). The figure was cast together with the pod portion of its pedestal (Fig. 2.32g), indicating that the missing base was a lotus form, probably similar to the lotus base of the Kyoto National Museum standing bronze Buddha (Fig. 2.32h of ca. first half of the 4th century, which was also cast as an image/pod unit separate from its base and halo like the Fujii Yūrinkan Bodhisattva.[94] This method is unusual and apparently not used for later small or even larger bronze figures (such as the

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the first half of the fourth century or the end of the third century." Matsubara (1966), p. 231, text for Pls. 1 and 2 cites it as 4th century and on p.2 says "made very early in the 4th century". Tokyo National Museum (1987), p. 73, text for No. 2 lists the image as 4th century in the Eastern Chin/Five Barbarian States and 16 Kingdoms Period.

[92] Mizuno and Nagahiro (1953) in *YK*, XI, text, p. 86: "There can be little doubt that this [the Harvard Buddha] is derived from the Standing Bodhisattva from San-yüan stylized and developed in the 4th century." Mizuno (1968), p. 36 states "the date is simple—it must be before the Winthrop (i.e., the Harvard flame-shouldered Buddha) image."

[93] Mizuno (1960), p. 11 (English translation). Apparently Yashiro Yukio was a proponent of the imported image theory. Matsubara (1966), p. 2 states: "Together with the Fogg Museum Buddha (i.e., the Harvard Sackler flames-shouldered Buddha), it is said it could have been made in the west because of their Gandhāran western style."

[94] Mizuno (1960), Fig. p. 87 B; Matsubara (1966), Pl. 3 b, 4 a,b; Tokyo National Museum (1987), No. 3.

443 standing Buddha in Fig. 4.46), but appears to be a feature ca. 3rd-4th century standing bronze images, perhaps following the technique of stone images or reflecting techniques used at this time in Central Asia and/or India. The pod, which is hollow, is particularly long and probably stood out prominently above the lotus base like the Kyoto National Museum Buddha. A tiny bronze Bodhisattva in Gandhāran style found by Aurel Stein in Khotan is cast in a similar image/pod unit (Fig. 4.8) and provides an interesting link, small though it may be, for the Fujii Yūrinkan image to Central Asian (or possibly Gandhāran) bronze sculptures.

The Fujii Yūrinkan Bodhisattva is a heavy, sturdy, stockily proportioned figure with chunky, segmented mid section, thick arms, rounded sloping shoulders, and proportionately large head and hands. The head—full, rectangular, and smoothly contoured—has shallow, thinly carved large eyes, long, prominent nose, soft, drooping mustache, and a gentle, rather small mouth—all features distinctly different from the other early Chinese Buddhist bronze images discussed earlier. The hair, indicated by fine, parallel, slightly wavy incised lines, is pulled back from the forehead in loose clusters, and lies in a few tiered ringlets on the shoulders and a smoothly arranged roll on the back (Figs. 2.32a,b,c,f). A narrow band marked with an incised lozenge pattern binds the small looped topknot (jaṭāmukuṭa), which is narrow from the side but broader in the front with a series of clearly defined clustered strands. The right hand with large, slightly bent and sensitively naturalistic fingers, is held in the abhayā-mudrā, and the left loosely holds a tiny flask that hangs from between the index and middle fingers. Jewelry and garments, although considerably modified, nevertheless are clearly patterned on the Gandhāran style heavy necklaces and armbands, elaborate asymmetrical shawl wound around the left shoulder, and lower garment (dhoti or paridhāna) with complex series of pleats and hems (Fig. 2.35). The feet, wearing simple rope sandals without the heel strap customary in Gandhāran representations, are planted somewhat widely apart and seem to equally bare the weight of the body, although the left leg, as implied by the drapery, may be slightly relaxed. The figure has gentleness and power, innocence and inner strength, and a realism that has been adjusted to concerns of abstraction of shape and line while retaining a quality of human warmth.

A few features of this Bodhisattva relate in minor ways to some styles in Chinese art of the Han period. The bronze lamp figures in Fig. 2.33 have large hands and nose and fine-lined definition of the hair, and the figures in the woollen embroidery from tomb No. 6 at Noin Ula in Mongolia have a somewhat comparable facial structure and features (Fig. 2.34). However, in overall style these works, which probably date ca. late 1st century B.C.-early 1st century A.D., are more restrained and lack the greater sense of natural softness and full bodied character of the Fujii Yūrinkan

Bodhisattva. While they may demonstrate that elements of the Fujii Yūrinkan Bodhisattva style exist in the artistic traditions of Han dynasty China, they do not appear to be indicators of a concomitantly early date for the Fujii Yūrinkan image. Although a few factors of the Fujii Yūrinkan image relate to some of the Buddhist art from the late Later Han to Western Chin, notably the rectangular head and small mouth, which compare to figures in the Parinirvāṇa scene at K'ung-wang shan (Figs. 1.10, 1.11), the fleshy modelling of the head that relates to the ceramic Buddha of ca. 280's in Fig. 2.10a, and the rimmed eyes that seem to be a more refined version of the eye type on the Fujiki Buddha (Fig. 2.29), they too are not strong indicators for the dating of the Fujii Yūrinkan image, which is such a different type of figure to compare with these works.

The most convincing antecedents for this image appear in the art of northwest India and Central Asia, as far as can be discerned with present materials. A comparison with the Bodhisattva images of the Gandhāran school, such as the example in Fig. 2.35 certainly reveals indebtedness to the Gandhāran type of Bodhisattva; however, further analysis shows that there is little specific stylistic reference to the imagery of the Gandhāra school proper, but rather a closer affinity with art from other regional schools strongly derivative but quite distinct from Gandhāra. The abstraction of the body, especially in the chest and abdomen, the specific style of the head, and the stronger patterning of the garments find clear references in some major Kushana period remains from Swat, western Central Asia and the site of Miran in the Shan-shan kingdom of eastern Central Asia in particular.

One of the most distinct aspects of the Fujii Yūrinkan Bodhisattva is the definition of the upper torso with hard, smooth, sharply defined abstract shapes that formulate a convex trapezoidal abdomen and squared upper chest muscles, a style that seems to have no clear prototype in Gandhāran school art *per se*, which portrays the torso with more naturally smoothed muscles (Fig. 2.35), but does appear in the wall paintings of Miran, as seen in the figures of the Brahmins in the Viśvāntara Jātaka (Fig. 2.36) and in the seated man in Fig. 2.37. The Miran paintings, which date no later than the early 4th century and were probably executed ca. mid 3rd century (see Chapter 5), attest that this particular style existed in Central Asian Buddhist art, at least ca. mid 3rd century, if not earlier.

The head style, similar in some respects to the K'ung-wang shan Parinirvāṇa figures and the Western Chin ceramic Buddha in Fig. 2.10 a as noted above, but distinctly different from the high cheekboned or square faces of the Harvard Buddha, Tokyo National Museum Buddha, Fujiki Buddha and 262 Bodhisattva, finds its most telling counterparts also in the art of Central Asia, notably in the Miran wall paintings, and, most significantly, in the clay head of a male figure from the site of Toprak

Kala in Transoxiana (northern Uzbekistan), a site excavated by the Russians in the 1950's and generally dated to ca. 3rd century A.D. (see Chapter 3). The full-volumed, smoothly rectangular head with heavy jowls and firm chin distinctive of the Fujii Yūrinkan Bodhisattva (Fig. 2.38) not only closely resembles the Miran painting examples (Fig. 2.37), but perhaps most dramatically relates to the Toprak Kala clay head in Fig. 2.39, which also has strikingly comparable facial features: large nose with wide, bulbous tip, full mouth with slightly pouting under lip and bow-shaped upper lip, and pea-pod shaped eyes with sharp ends and partially closed upper lid. The eyes of the Fujii Yūrinkan image, distinctly different from the sharply rimmed, slightly upward slanting eyes of the Harvard Buddha, though somewhat related to the eyes of the 338 Buddha (Fig. 1.48), do not have the larger eyelid or the more forcefully and simply rendered style of the 338 Buddha. The soft, drooping mustache—different from the wide, bushy, pointed style of the Harvard Buddha and the slightly thinner styles of the Tokyo National Museum, Fujiki, and money tree Buddhas—appears in the Miran paintings and in many sculptures from Butkara I in Swat (Figs. 5.23a, 5.24b, 4.7). Even one of the tetrarch figures on the famous Roman statue (now in Venice) dating late 3rd century to 305 A.D. has a similar soft, drooping mustache (Fig. 4.44c). These examples may indicate a particular fashion for this type of mustache in the 3rd and early 4th century. The incised lines on the neck (two in the Fujii Yūrinkan image) are a relatively rare feature in Buddhist art of this time, but they do appear in the Miran figures (three lines) (Figs. 2.37, 5.24b) and in at least one of the figures from the famous Airtam frieze (Fig. 3.10) of ca. mid-2nd century A.D., as well as in some sculpture of Palmyra (Syria) of ca. 2nd-early 3rd century A.D. (Palmyra destroyed 272 A.D.) (Fig. 3.11). Hair depicted with fine strands finds analogues in the art of Mathurā of ca. 2nd century A.D., especially in the Yakṣi images.[95] The hair arrangement is most similar to some seen in the wall paintings of Kumtura on the northern Silk Route, but these works are difficult to date with precision. The small, shell-like ears with slightly distended lobes are most similar to those of the female figure from Miran M V wall paintings, a figure which also has the rare round jewel cluster type earring also used in the Fujii Yūrinkan Bodhisattva (Fig. 2.40).

The jewelry and dress of the Fujii Yūrinkan Bodhisattva are certainly patterned after the Gandhāran mode, but with marked stylistic modifications, generally in the direction of simplicity, abstraction and increased movement—all features that could be associated with a Chinese artistic interpretation. The image wears only two of the characteristically three or four necklaces and chains of Gandhāran figures (Fig. 2.35). The flat band necklace has a raised rectangular central plaque with five jewel

[95] Czuma (1985), No. 35 (p. 100).

shapes (four corner teardrops and a central round gem) in a design which appears in a group of Gandhāran Bodhisattva sculptures (Fig. 5.47b)[96] and is nearly precisely the same as the one worn by a Bodhisattva discovered at Dalverzin-tepe near Termez in western Central Asia (Fig. 3.35), and dated quite securely by the excavators to late 2nd-early 3rd century A.D. (see Chapter 3). To either side the band is decorated with an incised lozenge pattern (diagonal criss-cross hatching lines), also seen in the filet binding the jaṭāmukuṭa—a design that appears in some of the wooden panels found by Sven Hedin at Lou-lan (Fig. 5.63, 5.62a), datable to before the 4th century but most likely 3rd century (see Chapter 5). The squarish U-shape necklace that hangs over the chest, its strands terminating in two face-to-face dragon heads that seem to bite a jewel, is patterned on Gandhāran types which, however, usually have nāgas or putti figures. Both armbands (a dense cluster of jewels under a semicircular rim above the wide plain base band) are uncovered, unlike Gandhāran Bodhisattvas which generally have the left band covered by the shawl (Fig. 2.35). The small, simply shaped flask held in the left hand most resembles flasks held by the Brahmins in the Viśvāntara Jātaka scene at Miran (Fig. 2.36) and vessels in some 3rd century Niya wood carvings (Fig. 5.2a,b). Gandhāran flasks are usually larger and taller, as seen in the image from Afghanistan in Fig. 2.41, which does, however, hold the bottle in a similar fashion as the Fujii Yūrinkan image.

The large shawl or scarf, a major element in this image and a prime factor in creating the complex linear impression of the work, is a different type and style from the symmetrical scarves of the belt buckle Bodhisattva image from the Chiao-wei P'eng Lu tomb dated ca. 262 A.D. (Fig. 2.19), the Bodhisattvas of the bronze mirrors (Fig. 2.16b), and the Bodhisattvas in the wooden jamb from Lou-lan (Fig. 5.72), and, though clearly patterned on the "Gandhāran" mode, it is stylistically quite different. In the Fujii Yūrinkan figure a wiry movement is maintained throughout the depiction and an interesting change in fold form occurs as the shawl passes through different "phases" as it envelops the figure. The long shawl spreads broadly over the back, almost like a cape, with strong, curving step pleats that widen as the shawl is stretched upwards to cover the right shoulder and part of the upper arm (Fig. 2.32d,e,f). Different from the grooved lines on the backs of the Harvard and Tokyo National Museum Buddhas (Figs. 1.66 and 2.26c), they resemble instead the technique employed in the Kyoto National Museum and 338 Buddhas (Figs. 2.28b and 2.32h). The wide gap produced under the the raised right arm and between the long, curved parallel hems of the shawl is a manner that appears in a number of other Chinese

[96] See M. Rhie, "The Earliest Chinese Bronze Bodhisattva Sculptures," *Arts of Asia*, Vol. 25, No. 2 (March-April), 1995, pp. 88-91. For other Bodhisattva sculptures from Gandhāra with this particular necklace, see Kurita Isao (1988 and 1990), Vol. II, 1990, Figs. 7, 17, 18, 23, 35, 73, 74.

bronze images from the 4th century up to the famous 443 standing N. Wei Buddha (Fig. 4.46). It appears as well in some Gandhāran examples of Bodhisattvas and in some standing Buddhas, especially those from Afghanistan, such the Dīpaṃkara and Miracle of Śrāvastī steles (Fig. 3.73) and also in the Eastern Great Buddha at Bāmiyān (Figs. 3.71, 3.72).

From the right arm the shawl is caught up in the twisted waist band and spreads over the right thigh in a series of compact, U-shaped, parallel step pleats that give the impression of being part of the dhoti, especially since the pleats follow the contour of the body and do not continue into the part of the shawl raised by the right arm. This unusual representation (with respect to Gandhāran Bodhisattvas) could be the result of misunderstanding or reinterpreting the Gandhāran mode of wearing the shawl, possibly a factor that indicates a Chinese make for this image, since this mode of wearing would be quite foreign to the Chinese artist. The twist in the shawl across the left front appears in some Swat imagery, but the sharp wedgelike, closely parallel creases over the left shoulder are not usual to either Gandhāran or Swat modes, which tend to use either rib folds or pleat folds. This may be a Central Asian interpretation; it seem to be present in the Bodhisattva from Dalverzin-tepe near Termez in western Central Asia (Fig. 3.35). It also may relate to the long narrow pleated scarf on the standing figure from the two-figure plaque at Lou-lan (Fig. 5.78). The long stiffly spreading drape at the left side with its gently undulating curve, series of long pleats, and zigzag diamond hem patterns is also not typical of Gandhāran examples, which generally depict more fluid and naturalistic forms, but is somewhat akin to patterning in sculpture from Swat; an example from Butkara I shows an arrangement of zigzag hems between the legs and the shawl end with clusters of pleats (Fig. 2.42a). In undulating shape the Fujii Yūrinkan image's shawl resembles the long drape on the prince figure in the Viśvāntara-Jātaka at Miran (Fig. 2.42b), and in its diamond hem patterns relates to the Kauśambī Year 83 Buddhas (Fig. 1.54 a,b).

The dhoti or paridhāna, adapted from the asymmetrically patterned, complex, realistic Gandhāran version (Fig. 2.35), is presented in this image as a series of closely set U-shaped step pleats in the lower part of both legs. Over the left leg three divided, curved, and pointed hems with tight zigzag borders impart a jaunty movement unlike the more vertically quiet depictions in the sculptures from Gandhāra (Fig. 2.35), but probably characteristically Chinese. Comparable examples are not apparent in Central Asian works, except possibly in the seals from Niya found by Stein where an example of a "Pallas Athena" type figure shows an upper blouse that flares out with similar pointed hems, a design commonly known in Greek and Hellenistic sculpture and in Roman copies (Fig. 5.5b). Such forms may have been in

the Central Asian repetoire in one way or another and could have served as inspiration for Chinese and Central Asian images. At least the Niya seals attest to the contemporary usage of Hellenistic and Roman art motifs in the 3rd century along the southern Silk Route. The hem of tight, cone-shaped drapery between the legs, another a-typical style in relation to Gandhāran prototypes, and the slanting lines at the rolled waist of the dhoti, which relates to the Serapis figure from Khotan (Fig. 4.6) and is seen in Afghan and many Swat Kushana images, are also both features not customary in the Gandhāran examples.

Coherence is obtained amidst all the complex linear designs of the dhoti and shawl by keeping the linear groups clearly distinguished. Rather than adhering to a completely natural effect of the cloth folds, the artist has imbued the complexity with new form and meaning through clear grouping of strong, antithetical linear patterns, sometimes even to the point of ignoring, in subtle ways, the more naturalistic functioning of the object, such as the shawl. At the same time, the head, hands and feet maintain a human, fleshy and naturalistic softness, that balances the abstract qualities of the squared chest and linear manipulation of the garment folds. As a result the image is an ingenious mixture of the natural and the abstract, typical of Chinese artistry, and successfully accomplished the portrayal of a religious icon that is both human and above the human, as implied by its abstract qualities.

In summation, though the image is generally patterned on the Gandhāran mode, the specific elements of the style are overwhelmingly related to images from Central Asia and Swat, with the strongest relationship being with images from the sites of Toprak Kala, Dalverzin-tepe and Miran, that is, sites on or close to the main east-west Silk Route from western Central Asia along the southern route through the Shan-shan kingdom in eastern Central Asia to China. Discussion in Chapter 5 of the history of the Shan-shan kingdom and the new research done by the western and Chinese scholars in this area, as well as a comprehensive reassessment of the Buddhist art of the various sites along the southern Silk Road will indicate just how major a factor that area was at this time in relation to the China. Though the Fujii Yūrinkan image shows a compatible, if weak, lineage in a number of ways with some Chinese works of the Han-Western Chin period, it is clearly the relationship with the art of Central Asia and Swat which establishes the probable dating of this important image to around the Western Chin period. Nevertheless, with the Chinese stylistic elements, such as the ambiguities in the garment depictions, the proportioning, and the affinity for lilting movement in the garments, are elements affirming that the Fujii Yūrinkan sculpture was probably made in China rather than in Central Asia. If the work was made in or around Ch'ang-an (near where it was found), certainly access to models coming into China from Central Asia would have been optimum,

since Ch'ang-an was the main great city in the central part of China on the Silk Road. Ch'ang-an also supported a large Yüeh-chih community, largely connected with international trade, and these people could have been instrumental in bringing Central Asian materials to China along the silk Road or even commissioning a Buddhist work such as the Fujii Yūrinkan image.

b. *Concluding remarks*

Considering the above detailed and comparative analysis of the Fujii Yūrinkan Bodhisattva that indicates strong links with 3rd century Central Asian materials and the history of the times as detailed in Chapter 5, this sculpture probably can be dated rather specifically to the flourishing period of the Western Chin in the latter part of the 3rd century. Since it does not closely match with the figure styles of the 338 Buddha, it probably does not date into the period of the Eastern Chin when the whole aspect of Chinese Buddhist art changes quite considerably, and the solid, heavy masses give way to a greater clarity, simplicity and abstraction. Although the possibility that it could date earlier cannot yet be ruled out entirely, at the present there is no strong evidence for this. The relation with the Miran wall paintings is an important one. Miran does not date later than the early fourth century, and most likely dates to the mid-3rd century (see Chapter 5). However, realistically speaking, even if a mid-3rd century date is accepted for Miran, the Fujii Yūrinkan image could be as much as about 50 years one way or the other in relation to the Miran paintings; it could also be much less, considering the close relation between Western Chin and the Shan-shan kingdom, particularly in the period ca. 265-270. Also, the stylistic relation with both the Toprak Kala and Dalverzin-tepe Bodhisattvas tend to support a mid to late 3rd century date for the Fujii Yūrinkan image. The relation with the 3rd century Toprak Kala head also adds evidence to suggest that the Fujii Yūrinkan Bodhisattva is later than the Harvard Buddha, since it relates to the Khalchayan images of ca. 1st century B.C. to 1st century A.D.

It is quite probable that the vigorous Buddhist activity in Ch'ang-an attending the work of the famous monk Dharmarakṣa in the 280's-ca. 310 period may have produced images such as this Fujii Yūrinkan Bodhisattva. Dharmarakṣa is said to have had many followers and his own monastery outside of Ch'ang-an's Green Gate all in addition to the prodigious translation activities. He seems also to have been if not the first than at least one of the first to translate works relating to Maitreya,[97] prob-

[97] See above note 36 for the two Maitreya texts listed by Tao-an in his catalogue (ca. 374) as translations ascribed to Dharmaraksa. In addition, Tao-an's catalogue lists two anonymous Maitreya texts (clearly translated before 374): 1) *Mi-lo ching* 彌勒經 (Maitreyasūtra (?); Scripture of Maitreya) in one roll, and 2) *Mi-lo tang sheng ching* 彌勒當生經 (Scripture of Maitreya's Future Birth). Tsukamoto (1985), II, p.755.

ably the identity of the Fujii Yūrinkan Bodhisattva. The image is comparable to many examples of Maitreya Bodhisattva accompanying the Seven Buddhas in Gandhāran art, such as seen in the row of seven Buddhas with Maitreya in the pedestal of the example in Fig. 2.42, where the figure of the Future Buddha (the eighth figure) is represented by Maitreya in Bodhisattva form holding a flask.

Not only is this a rare major Bodhisattva sculpture to survive from the second main period of Chinese Buddhist art prior to the drastic upheavals of the early 4th century that totally devastated the central plains area of China, creating large population shifts and migrations to the south and northwest for the second time in a hundred years, it is also a marvelous image artistically. Subtly executed with many allusions to the artistic prototypes from Central Asian schools, it nevertheless has been transformed into a Chinese style image with a sturdy inner vigor mixed with an air of naive innocence. Boldness and delicacy interact with a yin and yang aesthetic sensitivity, and a new style of Chinese religious imagery is created that combines the natural, human nature with the power of the abstract worlds of principle and transcendence, different from the heroic naturalism of the Kushana and especially Gandhāran Buddhist image. In spite of the naivete and clear abstraction of the style, there is a strong sense of solidity and inner presence which projects an engagingly human essence to one of the most important early images of Chinese Buddhist art.

4. *Small Standing Bodhisattva*

The small standing gilt bronze Bodhisattva in Fig. 2.44, presently of unknown whereabouts, appears to be a work of the 3rd century A.D. It is probably Maitreya Bodhisattva, holding the vase of amṛita with the fingers of the left hand in a manner similar to that of the Fujii Yūrinkan Bodhisattva. However, unlike the latter, the right hand is grasping the edge of the shawl in much the same way as seen in some of the money tree Buddhas (Fig. 1.31b,c,d). Although quite different from and less sophisticated than the Fujii Yūrinkan image, it has features which clearly relate to works from the late Later Han, Three Kingdoms and Western Chin periods.

In proportioning, the figure is chunky and broad with a large head. Though the clothing and jewelry are recognizable as appropriate for a Bodhisattva, they are rendered in a fairly abbreviated manner, somewhat akin to the stylistic qualities of the seated Buddha in the Tokyo National Museum (Fig. 2.26). The configuration of folds down the face of each leg is distinctly different from the Fujii Yūrinkan Bodhisattva, but is similar to the folds seen on the standing figure in the Miran wall paintings in Fig. 2.42 b. The shawl forms a rather narrow band in front that resembles the edge of the Buddha's robe as treated in the money tree Buddhas of late Later

Han and Three Kingdoms (Figs. 1.31b,c, 1.32, 2.18a,b). In the back the shawl is given an unusual, coarse, V-shaped step fold design (Fig. 2.44c).

The head is oval with a broad forehead, smooth checkline and small, round chin—a shape related to but more clearly portrayed in the 338 Buddha (Fig. 1.48). The face appears to resemble most closely that of the small ceramic Buddha in Fig. 2.4b, the head of the Hsi-wang-mu in the Szechwan tile in Fig. 1.25, and possibly some of the relief heads in the Parinirvāṇa scene from K'ung-wang shan (Fig. 1.10). The features of the face begin to show signs of the type seen in the 338 Buddha, but the shallow eyes are more akin to the form seen in the Fujii Yūrinkan image. The hair has strands only in front, like the Harvard, Tokyo National Museum and money tree Buddhas. The jaṭāmukuta has an abstract shape resembling a Han dynasty hat more than the crown of hair (see Fig. 2.9b)—perhaps a sign that this image is reflecting early tendencies to interpret the foreign elements of Buddhist images in terms more readily understood by Chinese. In the strongly abstract nature of the rendering, the jaṭāmukuta relates to the uṣṇīṣas of the Harvard and Tokyo National Museum Buddhas (Figs. 1.58 and 2.26a). The single lug on the back of the slightly forward bending head is entirely consistent with other images of this early period and probably held a circular halo similar to the one on the ceramic Buddha in Fig. 2.4b.

The pedestal is one of the most interesting features of this sculpture. The image stands on a prominent pod like the Fujii Yūrinkan Bodhisattva and small bronze Bodhisattva from Khotan (Figs. 2.32g and 4.8). The downturned lotus petals, which have a distinctive raised ridge in the center of each petal, are similar in shape and design with the petals in the small Buddha image decorating the side of the ceramic vessel in Fig. 2.4b of the late Three Kingdoms-early W. Chin period and with the lotus in the ceiling of the Later Han tomb in Mi-hsien, Hopei (Fig. 1.37i).

This rare work probably was made around the mid-3rd century in the late Three Kingdoms or early Western Chin period. It could date stylistically as early as the latter part of the Late Han dynasty, but it is not likely to be a late as the 338 Buddha. It is more "sinicized" than the Fujii Yūrinkan image and appears more akin to the works of the money tree, ceramic, tile, and small bronze Buddhas of the 3rd century. If so, then it is a rare and interesting example of an early Bodhisattva, larger than the 262 belt buckle example, but not as major a statue as the Fujii Yūrinkan sculpture. Nevertheless, in a period of few Buddhist remains, it is an important evidence.

III. Conclusions

The four bronze icons presented here disclose the more sophisticated side of 3rd century Buddhist art in China, which seems to have continued to evolve at least partly in response to the Buddhist translations and teaching of the Buddhist masters of the time, who were mostly of foreign stock born of families long settled in China, probably in relation to international trade. This art seems to have found its measure and sources primarily in the Buddhist art of Central Asia during this period, though certainly elements of the Mathurā and Gandhāran schools are also evident. While faithful to a degree to models that are based on the art from the schools of Mathurā, Gandhāra, Swat and Afghanistan of the Kushana period, there is yet considerable modification that clearly bespeaks a Chinese hand and interpretation.

This "orthodox" art is set apart, as far as we can tell at this juncture, from the Buddhistlike popular art seen in the funerary items, which seem to have quickly adapted and assimilated Buddhist figures to local customs, particularly funerary customs, and indigenous artistic styles, thus creating a kind of Buddhist art perhaps of a more truly sinicized style, but in most cases often of ambiguous or perhaps even non-Buddhist content. These figures, so far only minor works, do show, however, the widespread permeation of at least a superficial knowledge of some facets of Buddhism, probably, as most scholars suggest, associating the Buddha with the other spiritual elements and deities which were rampant in the dark days of the crumbling Han empire and into the Three Kingdoms period. If the dating of the major orthodox icons is correct as presented here, then it is clear that there are virtually two somewhat discrete, parallel movements in Chinese Buddhist art of the Later Han, Three Kingdoms and Western Chin: the popular and the orthodox. No doubt the popular beliefs depended on the dissemination of the orthodox Buddhist ideas from the Buddhist teachers and their followers, Buddhist believers (many of whom may have been foreigners), travellers and the like, but the content is probably not as strictly Buddhistic, although this is still hard to judge. This popular Buddhist art, which shows ambiguities in many cases with respect to accurate Buddhist iconographic usage, is difficult to assess as a barometer of the degree of accurate knowledge and practice of Buddhism among the populace, whether Chinese or foreigners, whereas the orthodox icons clearly attest to the intention to transplant and strictly follow the original Buddhism and its art from the west. In this sense, the orthodox art does not need to be viewed solely, and in fact should not be, within only a context of artistic evolution within China, since the art introduced from the west already had its developed form and it is simply a matter of adapting it to Chinese taste rather than evolving it internally at this stage. So we do not see, as far as I can tell from the

evidences, a development from the simpler, popular art to the more complex icons, as has sometimes been assumed and asserted. Rather, there is a simultaneous growth of both types, reflecting the different conditions in China under which each is produced and in relation to the Buddhism and the Buddhist believers and practitioners of the Later Han, Three Kingdoms and Western Chin periods.

In Part II we will turn our attention to the early Buddhist related art of Central Asia, which, as already indicated, is a vital ingredient in understanding the early Buddhist art of China. As the link between China and India, it is important to understand Central Asian Buddhist art not only for Later Han, Three Kingdoms and Western Chin periods, but also for that of the 4th and 5th century Chinese Buddhist art as well. Though this factor has been acknowledged by scholars for sometime, it has not yet been worked out in specific detail to ascertain the more precise sources and chronological implications with relation to Chinese Buddhist art.

PART II

ART OF THE SILK ROAD IN CENTRAL ASIA: 1ST-4TH CENTURY A.D.

The early Buddhist art of China cannot be properly understood without knowing the Central Asian role. For this reason Part II moves into the major region of Central Asia, which has such a critical bearing on our subject. The purpose is twofold: to study the relationships between the art of China and Central Asia in the period ca. 1st-4th century A.D. and in the process to attempt to stabilize the chronologies and define the regional factors within this complex system of relationships while being aware of avoiding arguments of circular dependency.

The East-West trade and communication routes linking China and the Mediterranian world through Central Asia and the Middle East from the early centuries B.C. have come to be known collectively as the Silk Road.[1] Although named after the most lucrative of the trade commodities issuing from China, the Silk Road—actually many roads—facilitated the passage not only of various goods, but was a factor in major historical events, not the least of which was the passage of Buddhism from India to Central Asia and China.

The Silk Road is generally understood to stretch between Rome in the west and Ch'ang-an in central China in the east during the periods covered here. Moving from the west to the east, the western end of the Silk Road during the days of the Roman Empire passed through the ports of Antioch and Tyre, the great Roman cities of Palmyra (destroyed in 272 A.D.) and Dura Europos (destroyed by the Parthians in 256 A.D.) in Syria, and continued on to Hamadan (Ecbatana, Aman), Damaghan (Hecatompylos) and Merv (Antiochia Margiana) in present-day Iran. At Merv the road divided into northern and southern branches as it traversed Transoxiana in western Central Asia between the Oxus (Amu Darya) and Jaxartes (Syr Darya) Rivers, and met again at Kashgar on the eastern side of the Pamir Mountains (Map 3.1). An alternate northern route into eastern Central Asia branched off from the main northern route just east of Samarkand and went north of the T'ien-shan mountains, rejoining the main northern route at Turfan and Hami.

In eastern Central Asia (also known as Serindia, Chinese or Eastern Turkestan, and mainly consisting of the area of present-day Sinkiang [also Romanized as Hsin-chiang or Xinjiang] province of China) the Silk Road again divided into southern and northern routes, this time to skirt the formidable Taklamakan Desert in the Tarim Basin area. From Kashgar (Shu-lo 疏勒) the southern route proceeded to Yarkand (So-chü 莎車) and the main oasis of the kingdom of Khotan (Yü-t'ien 于闐),

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[1] The term Silk Road was apparently first coined by the German scholar Ferdinand von Richthofen in the 19th century. H. Härtel and M. Yaldiz, *Along the Ancient Silk Routes*, New York, 1982, p. 15.

then continued along the northern edges of the Altun Tagh and K'un-lun mountains to Niya (abandoned by ca. mid 4th century), Cherchen (Chü-mo 且末), Charklik and Miran—all in the kingdom of Shan-shan 鄯善—and from there crossed the desert to reach the borders of China proper at the Yang-kuan 陽關 gate and thence to Tun-huang and An-hsi (Maps 3.1 and 4.1).

The northern branch from Kashgar skirted the south side of the T'ien-shan mountains, passed through Aksu (Wen-su 溫宿) and the major oasis centers of Kucha (Ch'iu-tzu 龜茲), Karashahr (Yen-ch'i 焉耆), Turfan (Yarkhoto [Chiao Ho 交河]) and Kharakhojo [Kao-ch'ang 高昌]) and I-wu 伊吾 (Hami 哈密), reached the Yü-men kuan 玉門關 gate at the border of China (Fig. 1.1a), and a bit further east joined the southern route at An-hsi near Tun-huang (Maps 4.1 and 3.1). From the 1st century B.C. to ca. mid 4th century A.D., a so-called Central Route was prevalently used between Karashahr (Yen-ch'i 焉耆) and Lou-lan on the northwest shore of Lob nor, especially in the 3rd century before the demise of Lou-lan and the virtual abandonment of the Central Route probably sometime around the mid 4th century (see Chapter 5) in favor of the northern route through Hami.

From An-hsi, the Silk Road in China was the main trunk road eastward along the length of the Ho-hsi (河西 "west of the Yellow River") corridor in the western and central parts of present-day Kansu province, between the Gobi desert on the north and the snow-capped Ch'i-lien 祁連 mountain range on the south. In this critical corridor were a number of important fortified cities and Buddhist art sites that flourished mainly from the late 4th and 5th century and later. Once through the long passage in Kansu (over 1,000 miles), the main terminus of the Silk Road in the heartland of China was reached at the great cosmopolitan city of Ch'ang-an in the plains of Shensi from whence many routes led within China to Loyang, the northeast and the south, diffusing the ideas, commodities, travellers, and art throughout China (Map 1.3).

To understand the history of the art of the Silk Road centers is a dauntingly complex yet fascinating task in itself, but here focus is limited to the areas of Transoxiana and Serindia during the period from the 1st-4th century A.D. when Buddhism first made its way to the areas of western and eastern Central Asia and from there into China. The circumstances were ripe for the rapid expansion of Buddhism during this period in part by the opening of China to the west and the conquests in eastern Central Asia carried out by the Former Han emperor Wu-ti in the 2nd century B.C. In his quest for controlling the powerful Hsiung-nu tribes on the northern borders of China and in eastern Central Asia, Wu-ti's military successes resulted in considerable, if fluctuating, control of the territories and propelled China into a demanding and often confrontational relation with the kingdoms of both eastern

and western Central Asia. With a degree of Chinese political and military control established in the Former Han period and more or less carried over into the Later Han, Three Kingdoms and Western Chin periods, trade flourished despite the hardships of the travel and periods of instability, and East met West along the Silk Roads in one of the most exciting and fruitful encounters in world history. Excavations and various finds at sites along the Silk Road have turned up Han dynasty lacquer ware (at Begram and Lou-lan), Chinese patterned and brocade silk (at Khotan, Niya, Miran, Lou-lan), western made or inspired tapestries (at Khotan, Niya and Lou-lan), glass (Begram) and the like.[2] Because of the vital role played by Buddhism and Buddhist art from the major oasis centers along this ancient Silk Road, Part II focuses on those sites most pertinent to the study of early Chinese Buddhist art. It is evident that these relationships between the Buddhist art of China and that of Central Asia have not only a crucially important bearing on understanding the art of China, but such a study also substantially contributes to understanding the art of Central Asia and, in some cases, suggesting relationships which help stabilize or even establish the relative dating or chronology of some Central Asian works. When considered with caution and wide consideration, this comprehensive, comparative investigation can result in some new breakthroughs regarding the difficult and vexing problems of Central Asian art—one of the fortuitous factors of a study which crosses boundaries and investigates the art within a wide, inter-regional perspective.

[2] There are many works on the East-West trade for this period, for example: Xinru Liu, *Ancient India and Ancient China*, Delhi, 1988; and with regard to the art, see Cécile Beurdeley, *Sur les Routes de la Soie*, Fribourg (Switzerland), 1985.

CHAPTER THREE

WESTERN CENTRAL ASIA

TRANSOXIANA AND BĀMIYĀN

I. Introduction: Brief Historical Background

The area of Transoxiana in western Central Asia,[3] comprises parts of present-day Uzbekistan, Tadjikistan, and southern Kazakhstan between the Oxus River (Amu Darya) and the Jaxartes River (Syr Darya), both of which flow north into the Aral sea (Map 3.2). In ancient times this area encompassed the three regions of northern Bactria (Ta Hsia 大夏) in the south, Sogdiana (K'ang-chü 康居) in the center, and Khorezm[4] in the delta region of the north. Two branches of the Silk Road passed through the Transoxiana region between Merv in the west and Kashgar in the east: the southern branch through Bactria and the city of Balkh (Pu-ho 縛喝) in northern Afghanistan, and the northern branch through Samarkand (Maracanda; Pei-t'ien 卑闐) in the Sogdian region. These two east-west routes were connected by north-south roads, a main one of which connected Samarkand with the Termez (ancient Demetrios and Tirmidh) area near the confluence of the Oxus and the Surkhan Darya rivers at the Afghan border, and continued south to Bāmiyān, Begram, Taxila and into central India (Map 3.1). The strategic location of Transoxiana insured its contact with the peoples of eastern Central Asia, Afghanistan, Gandhāra, Iran and other areas to the west, and the nomadic tribes of the north. Though the history and art of western Central Asia was strongly affected by the major political and cultural movements taking place to the south and west in particular, the area nevertheless developed significant and distinct cultural and artistic characteristics.

In the later centuries B.C. the strongest cultural impact came from civilizations to the west: the Achaemenid Empire of Persia with its capital at Persepolis (ca. 700-330

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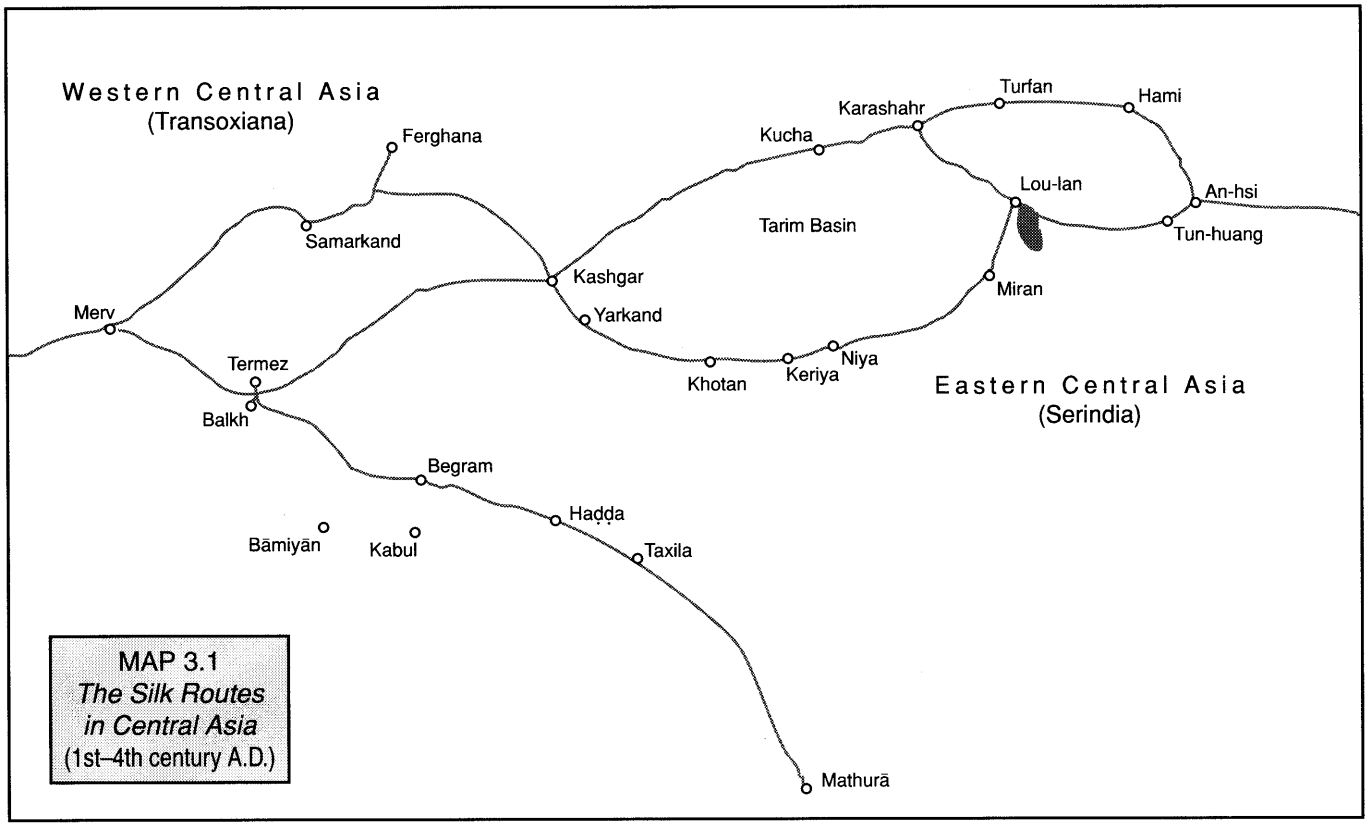
[3] Western Central Asia (also known previously as Soviet Central Asia) comprises the area of Uzbekistan, Tadzhikistan, Kirgizia, Turkmenistan and the large area of Kazakhstan. The term Western Turkestan does not include Kazakhstan. See G. Frumkin, *Archaeology in Soviet Central Asia*, Leiden, 1970, p. 1.

[4] There is no standard name or spelling for this region. It is variously called Khorezmia, Chorezm, Chorasmia, Khwarezm, Khwarizm and Khwaresm. I have followed Frumkin's choice here: Khorezm. *Ibid.*, p. 82.



MAP 3.1
The Silk Routes in Central Asia
(1st–4th century A.D.)

B.C.), and the Hellenistic culture which followed mainly in the wake of Alexander the Great's conquest of the Achaemenid Empire and his subsequent invasion into Transoxiana and northwest India up to the Indus River by 325 B.C. After Alexander's death in 323 B.C., his Greek generals colonized the area of his eastern conquests and successfully combined Greek government and culture with local customs. The Greek city states, mostly in the region of Bactria, kept Hellenistic art viable, insuring its influence in this region for centuries to come.

The Transoxiana and Bactrian regions became unstable in the 2nd-1st centuries B.C. with the collapsing power of the Seleucid Empire, which had inherited Alexander's conquests in the Near and Middle East, and under pressures from the growing Parthian dynasty in Iran, the encroaching Śakas (Scythians from the north), and nomads from eastern Central Asia (notably the Hsiung-nu and the Yüeh-chih). The Parthians and later the Sasanians created formidable empires affecting Transoxiana as well as the eastern part of the Roman empire in the Near East. The Parthians, known for their skillful warfare on horseback and warriors clad in chain-mail armor, at the extent of their power controlled west as far as Carrhae and Dura Europos, south to the Persian Gulf, north to Nysa, the Caspian Sea and Armenia, and in the east they were the overlords of the minor Śaka kingdoms in northwestern India. However, by the 2nd century A.D. Parthian power began to dwindle from internal factions and pressures from the mounting strength of the Sasanians in the east. By ca. 224 A.D. the Sasanian king Ardashir I succeeded in conquering and uniting the lands of the Parthians, their previous overlords. He consolidated the new empire by invading the eastern provinces of the Roman empire in 230 and 238, and conquering the fortified cities of Nisibis, Carrhae, and Hatra (Syria). These victories were supplemented and amplified by his son and successor, the great leader Shapur I (241-272 A.D.), who conquered other cities in Syria and Asia Minor, and in one of the most dramatic events of the ancient world, took the Roman Emperor Valerian as a prisoner in the battle near Edessa in 259, a humiliating defeat for the Romans. Under Shapur I, the Sasanian empire reached its height, extending from Syria to the Caucasus, to the shores of the Persian Gulf and into the area of western Central Asia, although lack of documentation makes specific assessment of the eastern frontier of the Sasanian empire difficult.[5]

Meanwhile, events in the east also had profound effects for western Central Asia around the turn of the millennium. When the Hsiung-nu attacked the Yüeh-chih in the Kansu area in ca. 176 or 174 B.C. (see Chapter 1), the Yüeh-chih fled westward.

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[5] Ehsan Yarshater (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Iran*, 7 vols., Cambridge, 1983, Vol. 3[1], p. xviii (hereafter: *CHI*).

In ca. 160 B.C. one part of this Yüeh-chih tribe known later as the Ta-Yüeh-chih by the Chinese, migrated across eastern Central Asia forcing the Śaka (Scythians) tribes to move out in several directions, including into the Bactrian region, the Kashgar-Khotan regions, and the regions of Herat (Afghanistan) and northwest India. The latter Śaka kingdoms for a time became subject to the Parthians.

Around the 1st century B.C., the Ta-Yüeh-chih conquered into the Kabul Valley of Afghanistan and established a dynasty later known as the Kushana Dynasty, founded by Kujula Kaḍphises (ca. 30-80 A.D.) by unifying the five provinces of the Bactrian-Gandhāran region. Territorial control was expanded to the Indus River by the time of the third ruler, Vima II Kaḍphises (ca. 90/110-100/120) following Vima I Tak[to] (ca. 80-90 or 80-110) now known from a recently found inscription (see note 6). The empire reached its greatest extent and most flourishing period under Kaniṣka (ca. 100-126 or 120-146), who expanded the Kushan domains at least up to Mathurā in central India and into the Sind by conquering the Śaka (Indo-Scythian or Indo-Parthian) kingdoms. Subsequently, the dynasty was ruled by Huviṣka (r. ca. 126/146-164/184) and Vāsudeva I (ca. 164/184-200/220), both of whom appear to have continued to use the regnal era established by Kaniṣka.[6]

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[6] The vexing, unsettled problem of the dates of the Kushana kings was given some clarity by the papers of the 1960 Conference on the Date of Kaniṣka (A. L. Basham, ed., *Papers on the Date of Kaniṣka*, Leiden, 1968) where issues regarding the three primary theories on the first year of Kaniṣka (78, 120-128/129, and 144) were discussed and others, such as ca. 100 or 110 were brought forth. Some supporters of 78 A.D. include Rapson, Van Lehuizen de Leeuw, D.C. Sircar, J. N. Banerjea, and Bachoffer. Supporters of 120-128/129 A.D. include V.A. Smith, S. Konow and J. Marshall. Supporters of 144 A.D. include R. Ghirshman, R. Deydier, and B. Rowland. See A. K. Narain, "The Date of Kaniṣka", in Basham (1968), pp. 206-207, note 2.

A. K. Narain, reasoning from a wide perspective, offered a date for Kaniṣka I of ca. 100 A.D. (or, more specifically ca. 103-125 for the entire reign of Kaniṣka), followed by Vāsiska (126-130), Huviṣka (130-162), Kaniṣka II (143), Vāsudeva I (166/169-200). *Ibid.*, pp. 223.

Presenting evidences from the Chinese sources, E. Zürcher summarizes the Yüeh-chih activity vis-a-vis Central Asia with the following assessment regarding the date of Kaniṣka: "The only thing which can be said with reasonable probability is that the Chinese historical evidence points towards a period of intensified political activity, influence or power of the Yüeh-chih between roughly A.D. 80 and 120....If this period of greatest political power of the Yüeh-chih really coincides with the reign of Kaniṣka ... then we may say that the Chinese evidence tends to corroborate the dating of Kaniṣka in the decades preceding and following the year A.D. 100." E. Zürcher, "The Yüeh-chih and Kaniṣka in the Chinese Sources", in Basham (1968), p.353. Further, he presents evidences from Buddhist literature that argues for a *terminus ad quem* before 140 A.D. for Kaniṣka. *Ibid.*, pp. 356-357.

John Rosenfield, in "The Mathura School of Sculpture; Two Contributions to the Study of Kushan Chronology", in Basham (1968), pp. 259-277, suggests a date of ca. A.D. 110-115 for the beginning of Kaniṣka's reign, a dating which he also upholds in *Dynastic Arts of the Kushans*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1967, Appendix I, pp. 253-258 (which also discusses the pros and cons of the other dating theories). Rosenfield suggests the following sequence of events regarding the Kushan empire: conquest of Taxila and W. Punjāb by ca. A.D. 50; extension as far south as Sārnāth by ca. 100; accession of Kaniṣka

The dynasty was centered in Gandhāra with its winter capital at Puruṣapura (near Peshawar) and the summer capital at Begram (Kapiśa) in Afghanistan. During the peak of the Kushana empire its influence was felt beyond the Oxus to Khorezm and possibly into Kashgar and Khotan, where Kushan coins have been found, though this is still a disputed issue.

Much of the nation may have remained unified during the so-called second Kaniṣka era (Kaniṣka II r. ca. 200/220-222/242), but it appears to have declined after the incursion of Ardashir I in 225 and the more decisive control obtained by Shapur I following his attacks in 234 (or 242). The history is even more vague at this juncture; there may have been a brief revival of the dynasty under the Kidarites or a semi-independent branch of the Sasanians in the late 3rd-4th century. A new wave

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ca. 110-115; a period of dynastic difficulties and external pressure ca. 130-150; a splitting of the dynasty into two parts after the end of Vāsudeva's reign, ca. 210-215, ruled possibly from Balkh and a more southern center, Kapiśā or even Peshāwar; period of Sasanian incursions, ca 220-260; loss of E. Punjāb and the region around Delhi to the Yaudheyas (and their tribal allies) ca. 250; loss of the upper Gangetic region, including Mathurā, to the Nāgas of Padmāvatī ca. 275; loss of Bactria, Badaskhān, Kapiśā and the upper Kabul Valley to the Sasanians by ca. 300; loss of the lower Kabul Valley, Gandhāra and Taxila to Shapur II ca. 358; extinction of all traces of Indo-Scythian autonomy in N. Central India by 350 and in W. India by 400. Rosenfield (1968), pp. 268-269.

Recently, a major new evidence has come to light which more clearly establishes the sequence of the early Kushan kings. This is the so-called Rabatak stone inscription, discovered in 1993 on a hill known as Kafir's Castle in the Rabatak region of Afghanistan (about 40 km east of Haibak). The Governor of the Baghlem region collected the fragments (a stone inscription, fragments of the fore-paws of a lion, and part of a pilaster and lotus decorated capital), had them photographed and had the photo sent to the British Museum. On one face of the whitish limestone block (H. 50 x W. 90 x D. 25 cm) inscribed in Greek letters in 23 lines, each with more than 50 letters, is in an inscription which identifies Kaniṣka as the grandson of Vima Tak[to] and son of Vima Kaḍphises. For the first time there is clear evidence of the existence of a Vima Tak[to] (full part of the name still not known) in the lineage of early Kushan kings. Furthermore, this establishes that the large statue of a seated Kushan king from Māṭ, Mathurā, is Vima I Tak[to], whose father is Kūjula Kaḍphises. The initial study of this landmark inscription is presented by Nicholas Sims-Williams and Joe Cribb, "A New Bactrian Inscription of Kanishka the Great", *Silk Road Art and Archaeology*, IV, (1996), pp. 75-142, where the inscription is translated and analyzed and the historical consequences assessed. Here (*Ibid.*, p. 106), Cribb identifies three groups of coins that can be associated with Vima Tak[to] and re-adjusts the dating of the reigns of Kushana kings as follows:

Kūjula Kadphises	30-80 A.D.
Vima I Tak[to]	80-90 or 80-110
Vima II Kadphises	90-100 or 110-120
Kaniṣka I	100-126 or 120-146
Huviṣka	126-164 or 146-184
Vāsudeva I	164-200 or 184-220

Considering the various choices for the date of the first year of Kaniṣka, in this book we will generally follow this latest assessment of J. Cribb, but for ease of calculation, will use the compromise date of ca. 110 as the first year of Kaniṣka (a date close to that also used by John Rosenfield). Although there is still debate concerning the exact first year of Kaniṣka, scholarship seems to be coalescing around a date between ca. 100 and 120 A.D.

of nomadic invasions by the Huns occurred about this time as well. Shapur II (r. 309-379) took action to stabilize the Sasanian eastern frontiers against the Chionites, nomadic people from northeastern Iran, who were eventually absorbed as mercenaries into the Sasanian armies and used in their western campaigns against the Romans. The eastern frontiers of the Sasanian empire again came under threat during the reign of Bahram V (420-438), this time by the Hepthalites from eastern Central Asia, whose identity is not clear. The Sasanian ruler Peroz (459-84) lost his life in battle with them.[7]

Despite the vagueness of the history of the western Central Asian (Transoxiana) region, some light is shed on the situation around Termez (northern Bactria) by recent archaeological excavations. Clearly the area was prone to fluid situations with periods of stability under strong dynasties, but subject to attacking forces from various directions: the nomads from the north and east, the Parthian and Sasanian encroachments from the west, and the Kushan domination from the south. With any manifestation of weakness in the powerful dynasties, the nomads would invade. Culturally, Buddhism was an important factor during the period of Kushan influence, ca. 1st-4th century. However, the Zorastrian religion, which seems to have been in conflict with Buddhism at certain times, was another significant cultural component, along with the cults of the local gods and goddesses that had become amalgamated with the deities of the old Hellenistic civilization in an interesting and complex, sometimes volatile, cultural basis in this region.

Excavations by the Russians and local institutes in Uzbekistan and Tadjikistan carried out under controlled archaeological methods over the past 70 years have uncovered spectacularly significant sites and materials, which substantially increase our knowledge of the culture of the region and are of immense value for the study of the art of the neighboring regions and for early Buddhist art in general. A working knowledge of the results of these excavations is especially imperative for the study of early Chinese and eastern Central Asian Buddhist art as will become clear in the following chapters. Most remains come from the Termez region in northern Bactria (presently southern Uzbekistan), whose fortunes were closely tied with the history of the southern Bactrian (northern Afghanistan) and Gandhāra areas. The Sogdian region, though prosperous and a major player on the Silk Road trade, does not appear to have been active with respect to Buddhism and Buddhist art in this period as far as we know at present,[8] nor does Buddhism seem to have been a factor

[7] See A. K. Narain, "Indo-Europeans in Inner Asia" in D. Sinor (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Early Inner Asia*, Cambridge, 1990, pp. 169-173; Rosenfield (1967), pp. 110-120.

[8] In the sites explored around Bukhara and Samarkand, few finds have been made from the Kushana period. Some terracotta female figures of the early Kushana period at Ayak-tepe, also some female

in the Khorezm region to the north, though the important fortified city site of Toprak Kala and others reveal that it was an established active area during the Kushana period until the 4th century and the destruction of the irrigation system that had insured the prosperity of the region.

South of Termez in central Afghanistan lies the impressive site of Bāmiyān, one of the most spectacular and important Buddhist sites in all Asia. New discoveries in the Transoxiana area reveal a profound relation with the art of Bāmiyān, a relation which has hitherto not been sufficiently explored. These issues and other aspects of the early caves at Bāmiyān which have a bearing on the art of eastern Central Asia and some early Chinese Buddhist art, are also addressed in this chapter.

II. Sites and Art of the Termez Region

The area around Termez, located on the "right bank" (northern side) of the Amu Darya River (the ancient Oxus River) on the border of Uzbekistan with Afghanistan and on the main route between Balkh and Samarkand (Map 3.2), has yielded substantial and important art remains of the Greco-Bactrian and Kushan periods in particular, especially in architecture and sculpture, and to a lesser extent with regard to painting, which is less likely to survive. The ancient town of Termez was established around the 3rd century B.C. and reached its most prosperous period in the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D. at which time it was a walled city about 350 hectacres in size with considerable farming lands and population outside the walls as well.[9] The Chinese Buddhist monk Hsüan-tsang, who travelled to India between 625-642, passed near Termez as he travelled from Samarkand and the Iron Gate Pass. According to him, one follows the course of the Oxus and comes to the kingdom of "Tami, east to west more than 600 some li and north-south 400 some li. There were more than ten monasteries with more than 1,000 monks; its topes [stupas] and images of Buddha were very remarkable and exhibited miracles."[10] In 1220 Termez was destroyed by Ghenghis Khan's army; afterwards the site gradually became buried.

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figurines, possibly Anahita, and others of men, children and animals. The Samarkand area apparently suffered major destruction after the fall of the Kushan empire, but recovered in the 5th-7th century. Frumkin (1970), pp. 119-125. Dr. Zürcher has pointed out to me that despite the lack of archaeological evidences of early Buddhism in Sogdiana, certainly a number of early Buddhist missionary monks to China bear the character K'ang 康, an appellation referring to Sogdian ethnic identity.

[9] Termez was possibly one of the ancient cities called Demetria after the Bactrian ruler Demetrios (187-167 B.B.). *Ibid.*, p. 110.

[10] For Hsüan-tsang's *Ta-T'ang Hsi-yü-chi*, see T. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Delhi, 1961 (reprint), p. 105.

In the late 19th century imperial Russia occupied the area and a small army garrison called Termez was built about 5-8 km northwest of the ancient city site. Exploration of the ancient city site began in 1927 by B.P. Denike and continued under M. Masson (senior).[11] Each of the major sites of the Termez area relevant to this work will be discussed individually below.

A. *KHALCHAYAN*

The site of Khalchayan, excavated by G.A. Pugachenkova between 1959-1963 and named after the small nearby village, consists of the remains of a large ancient walled city located east of Termez on the right bank of the Surkhan Darya River, an eastern tributary of the Amu Darya (Oxus) (Map 3.2).[12] According to Pugachenkova the walled city arose ca. mid-3rd century B.C. and gradually grew to be a large and flourishing city through the Greco-Bactrian period, the period of the Śaka (Scythian) and Yüeh-chih migrations, and during the Kushana period. Sometime in the 3rd-4th century it was "swallowed by the swamps which formed after the destruction of the ancient irrigation system." Such irrigation canals (aryaks) formed the crux of the ancient agricultural system, which was closely integrated with the city. Their destruction presumably resulted from the unsettled situation during the early Sasanian period (3rd-4th century).[13] Traces of estates with residences and orchards were found both within and outside the city walls, a characteristic feature of the walled cities of this region.

The most spectacular find among the various mounds excavated at Khalchayan, was a relatively modest palace building (35 x 26 m) containing numerous painted clay sculptural fragments. These have been dated to ca. 1st century B.C. by Pugachenkova and to the 1st century B.C.-2nd century A.D. by Belenitsky and more recently by Pugachenkova, Rtveladze and Katō to ca. 1st century B.C. to 1st century A.D.[14]

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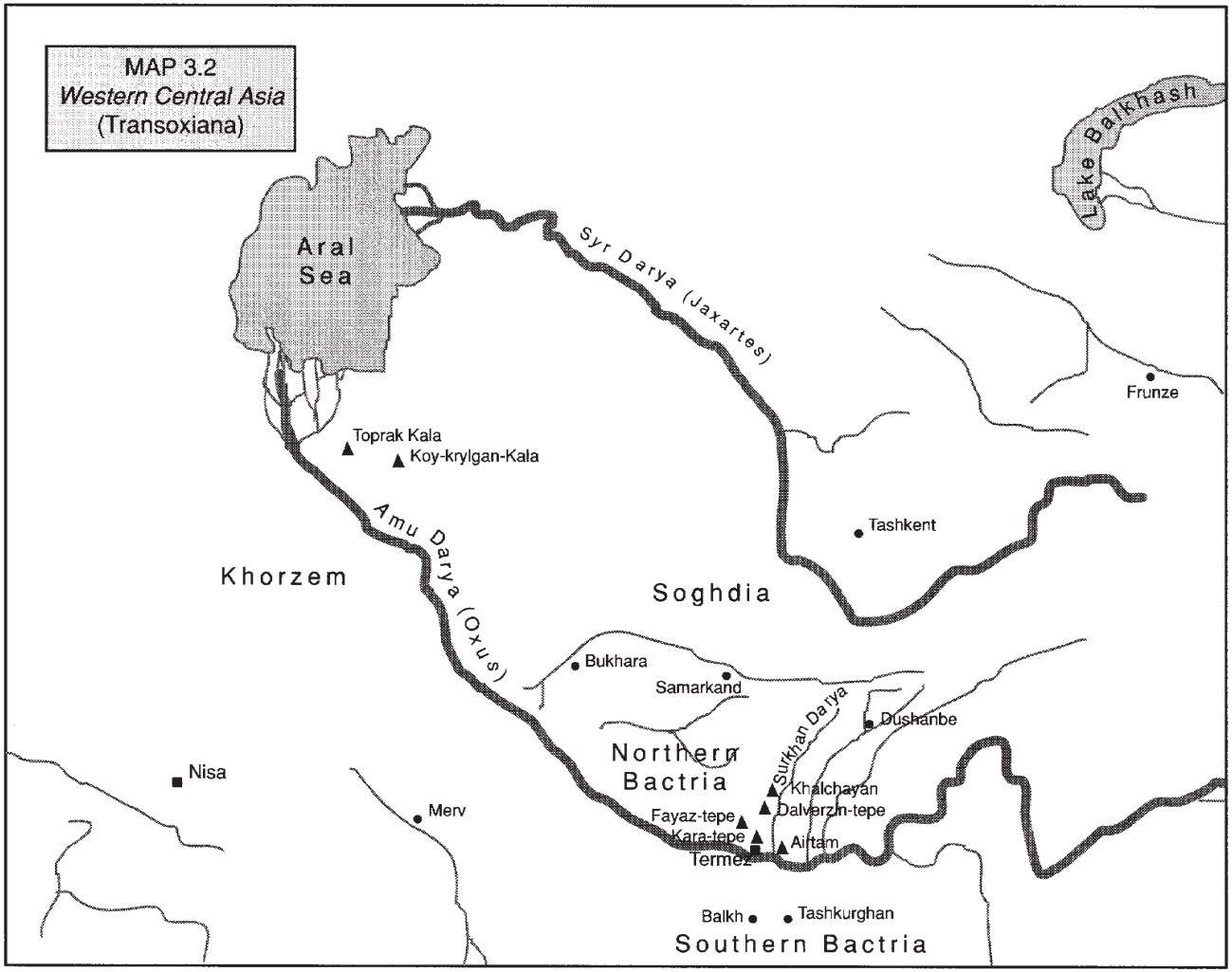
[11] Katō Kyūzo 加藤九祥, "Chūō Ajia no Bukkyō to iseki" 中央アジアの仏教と遺跡, *Bukkyō Geijutsu*, No. 205 (Dec., 1992), p. 28; Frumkin (1970), p. 110.

[12] Galina A. Pugachenkova, *Skul'ptura Khalchayana*, Moscow, 1971, p. 127. The description of the site used here comes primarily from the essay by Pugachenkova on pp. 127-134 (in English).

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 127. The reasons for the demise are apparently not known. The Sasanians are thought to have come in after the demise.

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 127; A. M. Belenitsky, *Central Asia*, Geneva, 1968, p. 100; Ministry of culture of Uzbek SSR and the Khamza Fine Arts Research Centre,*Antiquities of Southern Uzbekistan*, G. Pugachenkova, ed.-in-chief, Tokyo and Tashkent, 1991, Figs. 213-216, 218a, 221, 223, 224 (hereafter: *ASU*).

In a recent study of the so-called "Heraus" (or "Heraos") coins, J. Cribb dates these controversial coins to ca. mid-1st century A.D. during the period of Kūjula Kaḍphises (ca. 30-80 A.D.). If his analysis


MAP 3.2
Western Central Asia
(Transoxiana)
Aral Sea
Lake Balkhash
Syr Darya (Jaxartes)
Frunze
Toprak Kala
Koy-krylgan-Kala
Amu Darya (Oxus)
Tashkent
Khorzem
Soghdia
Bukhara
Samarkand
Surkhan Darya
Dushanbe
Northern Bactria
Khalchayan
Dalverzin-tepe
Fayaz-tepe
Kara-tepe
Airtam
Termez
Nisa
Merv
Balkh
Tashkurghan
Southern Bactria

The palace, which may have functioned as a reception hall, was rectangular in plan and built of massive square mud bricks. A six-columned portico led to a laterally positioned reception hall from which an off-center entrance at the rear opened into a smaller room with two columns that may have served as a throne room (Figs. 3.1a,b). The central complex was flanked by corridors and other rooms, including a guard room on the north side and a treasury on the south side. The portico columns were wood with stone "torous shaped" bases and square plinths. The flat roof, composed of beams with reed and clay covering, had overhangs of flat tiles, four-step merlon cornices with arrow-shaped openings and details painted in red. The stepped merlon, common among the architecture of the Parthians and Sasanians and in Khorezm, also appears as a motif in some fragments of paintings in Bāmiyān Cave 140 and in some early Chinese Buddhist art, most notably in the Northern Liang small stone stupas of the early 5th century and in the wall paintings of Tun-huang Cave 259 of ca. 480's.

Remains of painting and sculpture reveal the portico and reception hall to have been elaborately decorated using painting and sculpture in harmonious relation with the architecture. Pugachenkova equates some of the painted motifs with the First Style painting at Pompeii. A frieze of sculptures, mostly all destroyed and the pieces too fragmentary to reconstruct, adorned a high frieze in the portico.[15] The reception hall fared better and Pugachenkova was able to make a fairly complete reconstruction of the decor from the surviving sculptural fragments. The whole room was covered with wall paintings, but three of the four walls (all except the entrance

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proves to be correct, then this date can strongly suggest a plausible general dating for the Khalchayan sculptures to around the same time, as stylistically the profile bust on these coins closely resembles the Khalchayan sculptures, as already noted by a number of scholars, including Pugachenkova and Cribb. (See Chapter I, Figs. 1.63 a and 1.62 for comparative examples). From his analysis of the coins, including re-reading of the inscriptions with new results, Cribb concludes that Kūjula is the "Kushan" mentioned in the Heraus coins and notes that several features of the Heraus coins are found in other issues of Kūjula. He summarizes that "Kūjula Kaḍphises Kushan probably conquered the Kabul region by c. AD 50, gained control of northern Pakistan during the period of c. AD 60-75, conquered the lower Indus region c. AD 70, and completed his career c. AD 80. It is likely he began his career as conqueror from a base north of the Hindu-Kush before c. AD 50, perhaps as early as c. AD 30. The 'Heraus' coins of Kūjula Kaḍphises Kushan can therefore be dated between c. AD 30 and c. AD 80. The copper coins are issues from late in the coinage of Kūjula Kaḍphises, probably c. AD 70-80, and it therefore seems likely that the silver coins should also be in the latter half of the period, c. AD 30-80." J. Cribb, "The 'Heraus' coins: their attribution to the Kushan king Kujula Kadphises, c. AD 30-80", in *Essays in honour of Robert Carson and Kenneth Jenkins*, ed. by M. Price, A. Burnett and R. Bland, London, 1993, p. 133.

[15] The fragments include hands, arms, coiffures, draped garments, head of a "Heraos tribesman", part of a statue of Athene with helmet and cloak over a dress with patterned narrow sleeves, and several female heads and torsos. Pugachenkova (1971), p. 131.

wall) were further adorned with painted clay relief sculpture. The lower portion of the walls lacked any sculpture for about 3 1/2 meters, but the upper part was dramatically decorated with two zones of painted clay relief sculpture. The uppermost and smaller zone on the side walls and part of the rear wall (except for the recessed portion above the entrance into the back hall), contained a running frieze of garland bearing children and busts, both male and female, in the semicircular spaces. Some busts depict harp and lute players and satyr-like figures. As observed by Pugachenkova, these figures, stylistically Hellenistic rather than Roman, represent Bacchic-Dionysian themes.[16] Busts of figures among garlands, a common theme in Gandhāran art, also occur in the wall paintings of Miran Shrine M V of ca. mid-3rd century (Figs. 5.29, 5.31), though the figures themselves are iconographically and stylistically different, and the frieze is positioned below the main zone rather than above it, as at Khalchayan. The part of the Khalchayan frieze on the recessed portion of the rear wall (above the entrance to the rear room) had small images of deities, including an Athene type, a Mithraic figure, a Hercules type and a Nike. These deities, though they may have possessed a local identity, nevertheless are related to the gods and goddesses of the Hellenistic world which appears to be one major inspiration for the art of this palace.

The middle and most elaborate zone contained a sequence of sculpted approximately life-size figures arranged in three scenes reconstructed by Pugachenkova as follows: on the recessed portion of the back wall over the entrance to the rear room, slightly left of center and below the busts of deities, was displayed a frieze with a seated male and female (probably rulers) attended by standing and seated figures to left and right (Fig. 3.2a); to the right (facing) and still on the back wall but also including the right side wall, was fashioned a scene featuring a single, cross-ankled seated male (Figs. 3.2b and 3.3) attended by standing male figures, one holding a cuirass of armour (Fig. 3.5), while further to the left (facing) a goddess stood in a chariot drawn by a single leaping horse (Fig. 3.2b). On the left portion of the rear wall and continuing around onto the left side wall appeared a frieze of mounted horsemen in flying gallop (Fig. 3.2c).

Pugachenkova interprets the central scene as the ancestors of the ruling family (the Heraos clan) with their prime deities portrayed above them. She suggests the right scene depicts the ruling king with his sons (or warriors) and their tutelary goddess in the chariot, and the left scene portrays the warriors of the clan, possibly in combat (one figure is in the pose of shooting an arrow). From the portrait character of the sculptures and their resemblance to the portraits of the Heraos on coins,

[16] *Ibid.*, pp. 128-129.

Pugachenkova considers the personages to be representations of the main members of the Heraos clan, the ancestors of the Kushans. If this is the case, then these sculptures are probably meant to be portraits of the ruling family, possibly the main ancestors (shown in the central scene), the current ruler and his sons (right scene) and the warriors of the clan (left scene).[17] Consequently, these become remarkable early remains revealing the strong emphasis placed on dynastic portraiture, a feature of Kushan period art well known from the sculptures of the temple of Māṭ at Mathurā (ca. last quarter of the 1st century A.D.) and possibly also a major element at other sites in the Termez area, as already revealed from the new excavations at Dalverzin-tepe (see below).

Made of unbaked yellowish clay, the sculptures were colored with mineral pigments (white and red predominate, with black, yellow and brown used in lesser amounts and green only scarcely). Reed armatures functioned as a core around which several layers of clay were applied with the final layer being modelled. The method of forming the sculptures on the wall notes particular attention, since the same technique appears in some of the earliest Chinese Buddhist cave temple sculptures, such as those at Chin-t'a ssu near Ch'ang-yeh in central Kansu of ca. early 5th century. The heads of the sculptures were moulded in the round, the upper torsos fashioned in high relief to the waist, and the lower torsos were tapered to low relief for the legs. This unusual technique would have provided a sense of dramatic realism in the optical perspective of the friezes, and its usage in some important early Chinese Buddhist clay sculpture again demonstrates the interaction of art forms and techniques between Central Asia and China. Many of the Khalchayan figures exhibit a slight shift of weight (one knee slightly prominent) and the body slightly turned with one shoulder thrust out and the other receding into the plane of the wall. The women wear flowing robes; the men wear tightly fitting kaftans and are fashioned with similar hair style, trimmed beards and mustaches. Despite the representation of an ethnic type, the faces all display highly individualized features portrayed with a naturalism and sense of restrained emotion, though, according to Pugachenkova, not as vividly expressed as Hellenistic styles.

One of the best preserved figures, the cross-ankled ruler image (Fig. 3.3) with powerful body, broad shoulders, muscularly rounded arms, thick legs, and large rounded knees, wears rather close fitting clothing with a cape clasped at the front. The drapery folds, which cover most of the figure, are rendered in a complicated variety of soft pleats and thin creases over the upper body, and wedge-like or step folds over the legs. The folds, neither completely natural nor strongly abstract, tend

[17] *Ibid*, pp. 129-134.

to form amorphous, disparate groups that blend together. In general they are coarser than the narrow creases of the famous Parthian standing bronze statue from Shami variously dated ca. 2nd century B.C.-1st century A.D. (Fig. 3.4), but enough resemblance to the style of this statue suggests a probable relation of the Khalchayan sculptures to Parthian forms of sculpture of ca. 1st century B.C. to 1st century A.D. The head style represents the typical Khalchayan "Heraus" male with prominent cheekbones, firm, rounded jaw, bushy but pointed mustache, clearly rimmed eyes and narrow head band (Fig. 1.63a).

Other heads, such as that of the male figure holding the cuirass (Figs. 3.5 and 4.12d) have similar features as well as the ribbed style of the hair, long side burns, and ear form with wide folded rim at the top. The head of a man in one of the Later Han period textiles from a tomb in Lo-p'u near Khotan (Fig. 4.11) strikingly resembles this particular Khalchayan sculpture, a factor that suggests a likely date to the same general period for the fabric. Both may relate to mutually similar stylistic antecedents, perhaps in western Central Asia or in the Parthian or Hellenistic-Roman west. This Khalchayan head and the one in Fig. 1.59 of one of the warriors are of special significance in relation with the Harvard flame-shouldered Buddha (Fig. 1.44), which, as discussed in Chapter 1, possesses remarkably similar face and features with the distinctively sharp and slanted eyes, large, modelled nose, cusped ear rim and bushy, sharply pointed mustache (Figs. 1.58, 1.59, 1.61 and 1.62). Such strongly characteristic features as the eyes and mustache do not appear randomly and are particularly pertinent as comparable features suggesting a reasonably common source and date. The Khalchayan sculptures are so far the most apt prototype for this important image of early Chinese Buddhist art.

Related to the Khalchayan group and to the Harvard Buddha is the small silver medallion with a relief bust, probably of the winged goddess Tyche from old Termez (Fig. 3.6). Dated by Russian scholars to ca. 1st century A.D., it becomes an interesting work not only as a bust type figure to which the Miran wall paintings relate (Figs. 5.20 and 2.40), but also because elements of its style, such as the sharp, wedge-like creases of the gown, relate to the drapery folds on the legs of the cross-ankled ruler from Khalchayan (Fig. 3.3) and to the creases on the arms of the Tokyo National Museum Buddha (Fig. 2.26a). The head of the goddess in its firm, solid volume and natural softness of features equates with the Khalchayan style, and in its strong linear hair strands provides a close comparison to the hair depiction in the Harvard Buddha (Fig. 1.45).

The Khalchayan clay sculptures and the silver medallion form an extraordinary group, not only as early works of a highly naturalistic style that prefigure the portrait sculptures of the Kushan period and reveal links with Parthian and Hellenistic

art, but also for underpinning the assessment of certain art works from eastern Central Asia and the earliest Buddhist art in China, which, without the Khalchayan sculptures could not be so clearly understood and dated. The Khalchayan sculptures afford the closest comparable materials for the style of the Harvard Buddha in particular, probably the most important and earliest surviving bronze Buddha sculpture from China and the largest one from this period in the Buddhist world. If the dating for the Khalchayan sculptures around the mid-1st century A.D. is reasonable, and it seems plausible judging from their relation to the "Heraus" coins and to Parthian, Hellenistic, and Kushan art as well as their evidently earlier style in relation to the works from other sites in the Termez area discussed below, then these sculptures provide some of the most significant materials for establishing an early dating for the Harvard Buddha and of pre-dynastic Kushan sculpture. The close proximity of Khalchayan to the Silk Road is a factor of some consequence, as this region of western Central Asia appears to exert, along with Swat and the eastern Central Asian sites, the most impact on the forms of the earliest Chinese Buddhist art. It is becoming clear that the art of this "Bactrian" region forms a distinct and influential school that must be considered of major importance in our evaluation of the sources of early Central Asian and Chinese Buddhist art.

B. *AIRTAM*

The site of Airtam, discovered in 1932 when a soldier accidentally found the now famous frieze of marl limestone (Fig. 3.8) jutting out of the water at the edge of the Amu Darya River, is located at the ancient crossing point over the Amu Darya (Oxus) eight miles south of old Termez city (Map 3.3). The site includes a major Buddhist temple complex and a stupa complex, both of the Kushana period (Figs. 3.7a and b). Despite erosion and damage to the site, it has yielded extremely important remains, excavated during 1932-1933 and 1936 by M. E. Masson and in 1979 by B. Turgunov.[18]

[18] Belenitsky (1968), p. 99; Katō (1992), pp. 39-42, and G.A. Pugachenkova, "The Buddhist Monuments of Airtam", *Silk Road Art and Archaeology*, II, (1991/1992), pp. 23-41.

An earlier or "First Period" phase at the site was also discovered. A large (east-west 50 m), and apparently unfinished structure of the Greco-Bactrian period, possibly a temple to the river god Okhsho according to Pugachenkova, was found under part of the Buddhist temple site. Also, later Yüeh-chih graves were found. Part of the south side of the Kushan period Buddhist temple site has been lost due to changes in the bank of the Amu Darya, and other parts were inadvertently ruined by modern construction. For further references to the excavations, see Pugachenkova (1991/92), pp. 36-37; the summary presented here relies primarily on information contained in her article.

1. *The Buddhist Temple Site*

The Buddhist temple, located in the eastern portion of the enclosed site and facing south toward the river, has a square inner room (naos) and square vestibule (pronaos), the latter measuring 3.4 x 3.4 m. The front wall of the vestibule was apparently open, forming a kind of terrace. The center of the naos has a sqauare plinth set on an alabaster base with a relic chamber. Fragments of stupa umbrellas were found on the floor. Remains of another plinth in the SW corner may have held a Buddha statue; painted fragments of fingers, hair curls, ears, etc., found nearby indicate an over life-size Buddha statue and a smaller head with black painted hair may have been an attendant.

The eight limestone blocks carved in high relief with busts of celestial figures in acanthus leaves (Fig. 3.8), whose discovery caused a stir as the first evidence to indicate the existence of Kushana period remains from this area of northern Bactria, were found heaped between the walls of the vestibule area. Though there is some debate as to the original location and sequence of the blocks, they probably decorated the upper part of the east and west walls of the vestibule, making two symmetric friezes, height 20 inches and 2.75 and 2.8m in length. One consists of figures making offerings of flowers and vessels, the other of celestial musicians. According to Pugachenkova, they are all female figures and each frieze consists of 4 blocks, some with scroll forms projecting from three corners. Stylistically, the acanthus leaves resemble those used in Gandhāra Kushana period capitals, but the frieze is distinct in form and individual style.[19]

The solid, chunky, boldly cut figures of the frieze with full, square faces and rather coarse, sharply carved features closely relate to the style of Palmyrene stone carvings of the 2nd to 3rd century A.D. (before 272 A.D.), considered to be a syncretic Greco-Parthian style (Fig. 3.9).[20] One of the figures of the Airtam frieze is carved with two lines on the neck (Fig. 3.8), a feature (sometimes in three lines) that appears on some of the Palmyra portrait statues as well (Fig. 3.9). Though these lines

[19] *Ibid.*, pp. 28-29 and Figs. 4-6; Pugachenkova (1971), Fig. 144; Katō (1992), Figs. 24-26; Belenitsky (1968), p. 99 and Fig. 49. The initial excavator, M. E. Masson, considered that the blocks had likely been brought in from elsewhere. P. Bernard suggested the blocks decorated the two wide parts of the temple facade (i.e., the entrance wall of the naos), but Pugachenkova claims that the walls in that area were not strong enough to hold the heavy blocks, but that the side walls of the vestibule, the location favored by Pugachenkova, are of stone and therefore capable of holding the stone blocks of the carved frieze. As far as we are aware, the frieze itself occupying such a position and having such large size figures is a distinctive work, unknown in Kushana art of Gandhāra.

[20] Ghirshman summarizes the Palmyrene style of ca. 2nd-3rd century (before 272 A.D.) as frontal representation, adhering to the principle of symmetry, utilizing schematized drapery, and essentially a spiritual and hieratic art. R. Ghirshman, *Persian Art*, New York, 1962, p. 69.

appear rarely in Kushan sculpture, they do in the Fujii Yūrinkan Bodhisattva (Fig. 2.32a), as noted in Chapter 2. However, the style of the heads is perhaps most closely related with that of the Harvard Buddha discussed in Chapter 1; the relatively certain dating of ca. mid-2nd century for this phase of the Airtam complex (see below) make these works of particular interest.

The entire temple building is surrounded by a walled corridor containing some rooms, two of which, on the east side, were identified as a kitchen and storage area. The construction is typical of the Bactrian region, and is distinct from Indian and even Gandhāran Buddhist temples.[21]

To the west of the temple was found a large rectangular platform (14 x 18 x 1.2 m) of dressed stone blocks. It possibly held statues, some fragments of which were found nearby. A similar platform and carved blocks appear at Surkh-Kotal. In the NW corner of the site a brick stairway led to underground rooms, which may have been special meditation chambers.[22]

In the 1979 excavations near the northern enclosure wall, B. Turgunov found the lower part of a stone stele on whose base were six lines of an inscription written in Bactrian script (Kushan characters based on Greek letters) and the broken remains of the lower part of a standing male and female figure (Fig. 3.10). The inscription names Shodija as the personage undertaking the construction of the impressive "malizo" (acropolis) and the maker of the stele as Mirzad (a name of Iranian origin) and further gives the date as the 4th year of Huviṣka (ca. 140 A.D.). The inscription, a rare example from the Termez region, was written in a style of writing

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[21] Two rooms discovered on the east side of the temple are thought to be a kitchen (a fireplace was found) and a storage room (jugs were found). This form of temple, with pronaos and naos and surrounding walled corridor with rooms is, according to Pugachenkova, distinctive Bactrian style not seen in India or Gandhāran Buddhist architecture. She notes other examples in the Termez area (Kara-tepe) and at Surkh Kotal (Temples B and D) as well as the temple of Dioscuri at Dilberjin and the Okhsho temple at Takht-i-Sanguin and in later examples in eastern Central Asia. Pugachenkova (1991/92), pp. 29-30. She presents two possible variant reconstructions of the Buddhist temple on *Ibid.*, pp. 30-31 and in Figs. 7 and 8.

This temple is clearly an important example with regard to Central Asian architecture and, as will be discussed in the sequel to this book, has significant and hitherto unnoticed bearing on the designs of the early caves at Tun-huang.

[22] According to Pugachenkova, the Airtam platform is similar to a stone platform at Surkh Kotal (behind and on the same axis with the Kaniṣka "acropolis"). Also, a stone corner block with stepped cutting on the side with semicircular designs found near the Airtam platform is analogous to blocks from the platform at Surkh Kotal. Since scuptural fragments were found nearby, it is suggested that the platform at Airtam held sculptures and/or stupas.

The underground room is square 2.7 x 2.7 m and lined with baked bricks. Two walls had oval niches and the ceiling was made of wedge bricks having a master's mark and secured with alabaster mortar. A doorway to the east leads to another room, but this has not yet been excavated due to the difficulty of the location. *Ibid.*, p. 32.

said to be similar to the stele inscription from Surkh Khotal. Thus, this important stele clearly provides the donor's name, the maker of the stele and the date of construction of the temple, which would include the limestone frieze, as the mid 2nd century. The male figure is bare-footed and bare-legged; the female wears a pleated skirt and large anklets, both known in Kushana Gandhāran examples, and strikes a pose well-known in Indian art. Possibly they represent the donor Shodija and his wife. Other architectural fragments and remains of clay figures and vessels have been found as well.[23]

2. *The Stupa Complex*

To the east of the walled temple complex is a walled stupa site (Fig. 3.7b). The large outer stupa has a square platform or base (9.2 x 8.3 m) one meter high; the diameter of the dome is 5.4-5.12 m. It probably had a hemispherical dome similar to the stupas in Figs. 4.3b,c and 4.4c or else a cylindrical drum with hemispherical dome as in Figs. 4.3d and 4.4d,e, but the stupa is too ruined to determine. This stupa was probably made in the mid-2nd century at the time of the major building phase of the Buddhist temple.

In 1979 Turgunov discovered a relatively well-preserved small circular stupa (dia. 1.8 m; height 2.3 m) encased within the SW quadrant of the larger stupa. This small stupa, whose surface appears to have been a rose colored pink, does not have a platform, but stands directly on the ground level. It has a circular base and drum section, both of equal diameter, with a hemisperical dome. Mouldings consisting of one row of clay bricks projecting 17 cm separate the mid-section from both the base section and dome. Clearly this stupa belongs to an earlier phase of the site prior to its enlargement ca. mid 2nd century A.D. Though similar to the early stupas of India, such as those at Bhaja, Ajanta and Karli of ca. 1st century B.C., it is distinct from those in the usage of mouldings.[24]

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[23] There are varying opinions on the identity of the sculptures on the stele, for example, P. Bernard suggests they are Śiva and Pārvatī. Pugachenkova argues against this and believes they are the donor Shodija and his wife, despite the fact that the male figure does not appear in standard Kushan dress. Interestingly, apparently the term "malizo" in the inscription also occurs in the multi-lined Surkh Kotal inscription. *Ibid.*, pp. 31-32; Kato (1992), p. 42.

Other fragments from the site include small statuettes, vessels, an iron dagger (*ASU*, Figs. 17-21, 24) and various stone architectural fragments: cornices, ancanthus leaves and scrolls from capitals (with the front scroll surrounded by two acanthus leaves), a Corinthian capital (H. 20 cm) and a round column (dia. 28 cm) with maximum height 2.5 m (which Pugachenkova suggests may have been used for the decor of a niche). Pugachenkova (1991/92), pp. 32-33.

[24] Katō (1992), pp. 39-42; Pugachenkova (1991/92), p. 33. In the area west of the stupa several rooms were found, one of which opens to the side of the stupa, suggesting that this complex had its own group of subsidiary structures like the main temple site. Nearby was a kiln site with remains of Kushan period pottery.

These sites at Airtam are believed to have declined after the end of the Kushana period, and then the buildings were robbed and broken.[25]

C. *KARA-TEPE*

Kara-tepe (Black Hill) is a major Buddhist monastery site occupying a small hill in the northwest corner within the city walls of Kushan period old Termez (Map 3.3).[26] Archaeological investigations at Kara-tepe commenced during the 1926-1928 excavation season in the Termez area (apparently a cave at Kara-tepe was the first to be spotted—by A.S. Strelkov in 1928). They continued under local leadership in 1934-35, and resumed in 1936-1938 under the direction of M.E. Masson, after which work stopped until 1961. For the last 30-some years since 1961 and until recently, B. J. Stavisky has directed on-going joint excavations of the site with the institutions of the Academy of Sciences of Moscow, Leningrad and Uzbekistan. The results of the Kara-tepe excavations with many spectacular finds have been published in a series of reports.[27] The excavations have so far uncovered 10-some caves and associated architectural units in 6 "complexes", the main ones designated A, B, C, and D (Complexes E and S just began to be excavated before work stopped and are not yet included in the map in Fig. 3.11). It is clear that the site was originally Buddhist and

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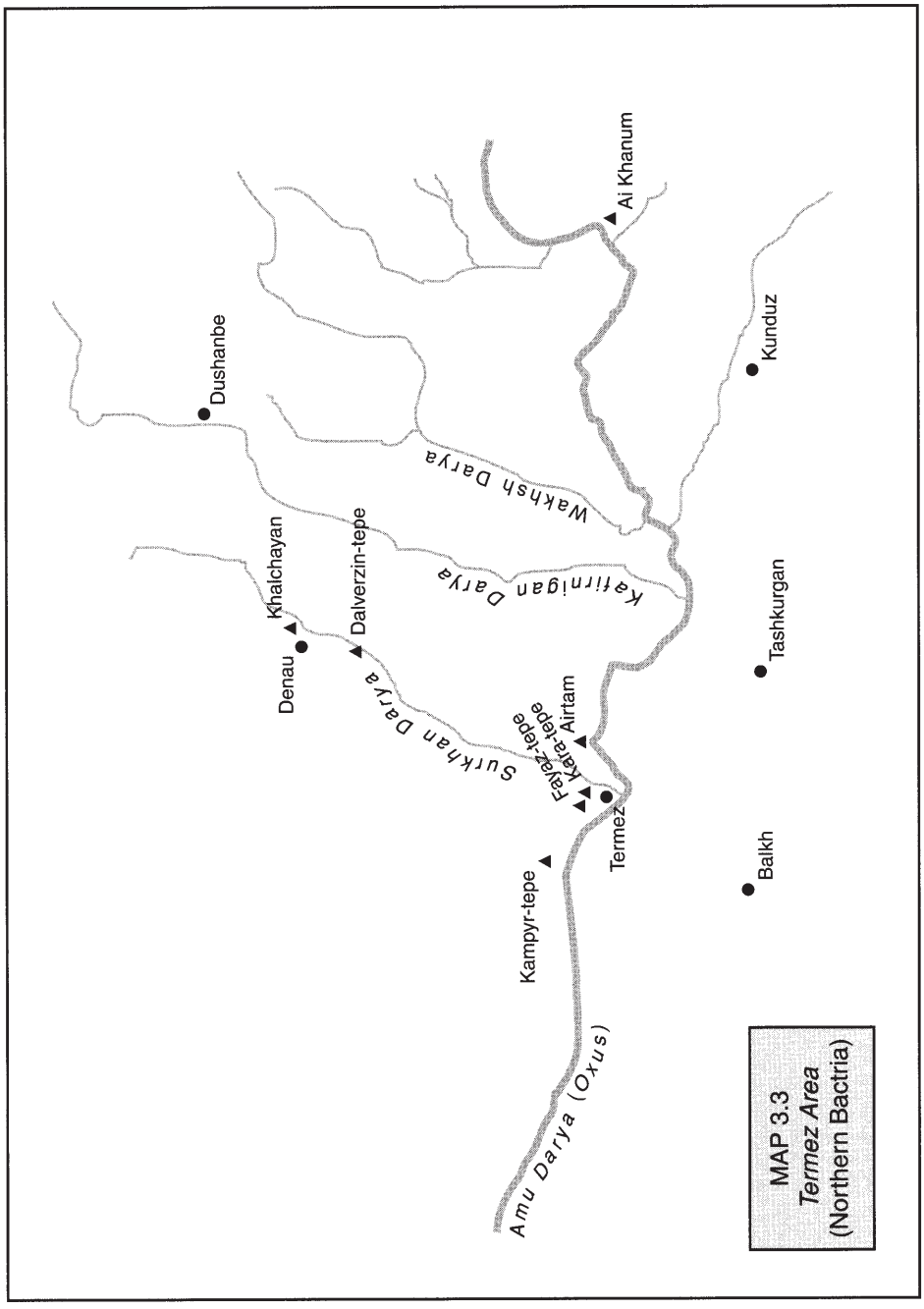
The earlier, smaller, encased stupa appears to represent an early stage related to but distinct in its moulding details from the early Indian stupas in the rock cut caves of the Deccan. The later, larger, outer stupa is a different form using a single square platform/base with the stupa drum/hemispherical dome or simply the hemispherical dome above it. These kinds appear in the Kashgar group in particular (see Chapter 4), perhaps suggestive of a natural correlation. Since the Airtam large stupa likely dates around the mid-2nd century, it provides some relative dating, despite its ruined state, for this kind of form and can possibly suggest a tentative date for the Kashgar group in Figs. 4.3 b,c and d to around the 2nd century A.D.

[25] *Ibid.*, pp. 34-36 where Pugachenkova summarizes the apparent history of the Airtam site: an early period with partially built Greco-Bactrian temple structure, probable incompletion of the structure due to the Scythian incursions ca. 2nd half of the 2nd century B.C., followed by a period of Yüeh-chih occupation as suggested by the graves, and eventual settlement as a Buddhist community with the early stage represented by the smaller encased stupa, and final development of the site with the enlarged stupa and Buddhist temple site of ca. mid-2nd century A.D. The site was apparently subjected to destruction and vandalism in the 3rd-4th century period of Sasanian incursion and Zorastrian rivalry, factors noted in regard to the the destruction of other sites in the Termez area, as will be discussed below.

[26] The information is primarily from B. J. Stavisky, "Kara-Tepe in Old Termez (Southern Uzbekistan); Summary of the Work Done in 1978-1982," in E. Curaverunt, G. Gnoli, and L. Lanciotti, eds., *Orientalia Iosephi Tucci Memoriae Dicata*, Serie Orientale Roma, LVI, 3 vols., Rome, 1985, 1987 and 1988, Vol. 3 (1988), pp. 1391-1405 and the article by Kato (1992), pp. 28-34. For the many Russian works on Kara-tepe, see Stavisky (1988), footnote 1.

[27] Notably in reports commonly referred to as Kara Tepe I-V.


Dushanbe
Khalchayan
Denau
Dalverzin-tepe
Surkhan Darya
Kampyr-tepe
Amu Darya (Oxus)
Fayaz-tepe
Kara-tepe
Airtam
Termez
Wakhsh Darya
Kafirnigan Darya
Ai Khanum
Kunduz
Tashkurgan
Balkh
MAP 3.3
Termez Area
(Northern Bactria)

it is now believed that the whole hill probably contains a dozen or so such complexes, each somewhat different, but with generally similar components. As an active Buddhist establishment the site appears to date from the 1st-3rd century A.D. and to have gone into demise by the late 4th century.[28]

Among the inscriptions found at Kara-tepe, one group, clearly from the period when Buddhism was active, comprises black ink inscriptions written on ceramics—usually names and dates or statements of offerings. Another group consists of graffiti on the walls done after the demise of Buddhism at the site. Of the ceramic inscriptions (about 100 pieces), some are written in Kharoṣṭhī, others in Brāhmī or in Bactrian (Kushan characters based on Greek letters). Others are written in both Brāhmī and Bactrian, and there is at least one disputed example. The words "Kadevaka Vihāra" ("the king's temple") appears frequently; probably it refers to the Kara-tepe Buddhist temple, thus indicating it was an imperial temple. Inscriptions written in Bactrian (about 20 pieces) were mostly visitor's names or sometimes contained a date. From these and other remains, Kara-tepe is estimated to be "the king's temple" belonging to the Kushan period.[29]

Kara-tepe was later occupied by the Sasanians, as attested by finds of Persian writing and Kushan-Sasanian coins minted by the Sasanian governor. According to the excavators, however, Sasanian occupation appears to have come after the demise of Buddhism at Kara-tepe, although it is not clear as yet how long a period elapsed between the demise of Buddhism and the occupation of the Sasanians. The site was definitely abandoned by the end of the 4th century when the hill became used for many graves (possibly the result of an epidemic). Later, ca. 9th-10th century, holes were dug out through the ceilings of some rooms, possibly by curiosity seekers, Islamic meditators or people wishing to find a hiding place. After 1220 and the invasion of Genghis Khan, the site reverted once again to the desert. Though still uncompleted, the excavations have already yielded many important finds; only those of particular interest for this study will be discussed here.

1. *Temple Complexes: Courtyards, Caves, Stupas, Paintings and Sculptures*

Each complex so far uncovered consists of a main exterior courtyard with colonnaded corridors (iwan), some with a stupa and some with subsidiary courtyards and rooms, and a major cave-temple portion dug into the hillside with two entrances off the main courtyard (Fig. 3.11). This combination of courtyard and cave-temple presents a model of immense interest, especially in relation to the study of Chinese and Central Asian Buddhist cave temples, which, more often than not in one way

[28] Stavisky (1988), pp. 1396-1397; also, Belenitsky (1968), p. 99.
[29] Stavisky (1988), p. 1396; Katō (1992), p. 31.

or another generally follow this pattern. Complexes A and B are located on the east side of the hill; Complexes C and D (and Complex E lying to the west of Complex D and just begun to be excavated before excavation work ceased) are on the northern side. Cave No. 2, the cave to first bring attention to the Kara-tepe site, as well as Complex S (excavation not yet completed), appear on the southeastern part of the hill. Remains of stupas have been uncovered from Complexes B and C and between A and B. The remains of wall paintings and sculpture have been discovered, mostly in Complexes B and D. Because of the importance of this site, each major complex will be addressed separately.

a. *Complex A*

Complex A consists of a large square courtyard with colonnaded portico and a large cave-temple (designated C-I) approached through a two entrances from the courtyard. Some small rooms appear on the southern and northern sides of the courtyard, including a square "cella" on the southern side with corridors around it on three sides. These rooms may have been chambers for important monks.

The cave C-I is composed of a relatively large square main chamber carved from the living rock of the central core of trapezoidal shape formed by surrounding corridors, also hallowed out of the rock. This main chamber may have been the sanctuary for Buddhist images and, according to the excavators, probably had a wooden ceiling. A small chamber off the northwest corner of the corridors may have been a store room. "Niche-like recesses...to hold Buddhist statues" appear in the C-I cave temple[30] and a few remains of wall paintings were found (feet of a "donor") at this complex.

b. *Complex B*

Complex B adjoins Complex A on the north and is slightly smaller, both in the dimensions of the courtyard and cave temple (C-II). In the courtyard, which is also square with colonnaded porticoes (iwan), was found the remains of a large base or platform, probably for a stupa, faced with white limestone. Another, smaller, square courtyard adjacent to the main one on the north contained the clear remains of a stupa with square base. It was made of sun-dried brick and had remnants of a limestone facing. Parts of the chattra (umbrella), which had been painted and gilded, were also found—a rare find and one that clearly confirms the structure as a stupa. To the south of the main courtyard another small courtyard linked Complex B with the main courtyard of Complex A, thus creating a north-south axis between all the large and small courtyards of Complexes A and B.

[30] Stavisky (1988), p. 1397.

From both the A and B complexes the excavators found stone architectural elements, such as pilaster and column bases, two capitals with ancanthus leaves, volutes, animals (zebu, tiger, griffin) and the upper half of human figures, fragments of sculptures in clay, stone and gypsum with traces of gilding and paint, and copper "Kushan and post-Kushan" coins.

The cave temple of Complex B (designated C-II) also has two entrances off the rear or western wall of the main courtyard, between which was the remains of a large Buddha niche. The central chamber of the cave temple, like that of Complex A—hollowed out from the square inner core that is surrounded by corridors—is, unlike Complex A, a vaulted chamber. This factor is significant for tracing the developments of the vaulted cave temple, a common feature of the cave temples of Kizil and the early caves at Toyuk near Turfan. On the outside of the hill above the C-II cave temple and approached by stairs from the main courtyard were found the remains of structures on the side of the hill and, further up, a building of 6 or 7 rooms, perhaps the residence of a great monk, as Stavisky judged from the inscription "Buddhashira-dharmakathika" on ceramic vessels found there.

Fragments of wall paintings including ornamental geometric and plant designs were found in the cave temple corridors, in the cells and in the courtyard. Two extremely important paintings from Complex B are a rare legacy from Kara-tepe: a line drawing of a stupa from inside the cave temple (Figs. 3.12a,b) and a polychrome painting of a seated Buddha with monks and trees from the southern side of the main courtyard (Figs. 3.13a-d).

i. *Stupa drawing*

The drawing of the stupa depicts a structure with three square bases of decreasing size but of about equal height, a vertically proportioned but not fully cylindrical dome, and a series of 7 umbrellas above an inverted stepped pyramid platform. This stupa drawing is of prime importance, not only for suggesting the probable original form of the square-based stupas of Complex B, as suggested by K. Katō, but also for the study of stupas from eastern Central Asia, some of which present themselves to be a close variation of the same type, especially the surviving large stupa at Mauri Tim near Kashgar (Figs. 4.2a,b; 4.3e), but also, to some degree, the stupas of Endere, Niya and Lou-lan in the kingdom of Shan-shan on the southern Silk Route (Figs. 5.1, 5.2; 5.10a-d; 5.53a-d), all probably stupas of the early period (pre-4th century). Because the Complex B drawing can probably be dated to the Kushana period (1st-3rd century A.D.), it is an evidence of major significance that helps confirm the early dates of these stupas. The drawing also survives with enough detail to postulate a reconstruction that allows us to visualize the probable original finished appearance of these large structural stupas like Mauri Tim. Furthermore, it furnishes

evidence of one major kind of square-base stupa, one that is notably different from the stupas of Gandhāra proper and India in general, by its regular, stepped, square base—also a characteristic at least of one important group of Central Asian stupas in the pre-4th century period. As discussed further in Chapter 4, the form as seen in the Complex A drawing may closely follow the stupa form as described in the *Vinaya Kṣudraka-vastu* of the Mūla-Sarvāstivādins of ca. 1st century A.D.

ii. *Buddha group*

The fragment of a seated Buddha with both a circular head halo and circular body halo, monk attendants, and landscape elements, is another rare painting from Kara-tepe (Figs. 3.13a-d). The presence of trees and monks suggests this was a preaching scene akin to the one at Miran M III of ca. mid 3rd century (Fig. 5.24a), but with more subdued style and greater differences in size relation between the figures. The head (Fig. 3.13c) reveals the extraordinary style with its mixture of delicacy and strength, naturalism and idealism. The full, oblong head has a high forehead, small eyes with lowered lids, widely spaced barely arched, almost horizontal eyebrows, a full mouth with soft appearance because of the modelling, and relatively long ear lobes close to the head with a long line indicating the hole. These specific features and generally idealistic style seem especially closely related to the Buddha in the niche from Fayaz-tepe of ca. 3rd century (Figs. 3.24 and 5.57). The hair is tight to the cranium and the uṣṇīṣa is low, more akin to the styles in South Indian (Amarāvatī and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa) sculptures than those typical of Gandhāra or Mathurā, but probably closest in style (as well as in head and body shape) to the Buddhas in the wooden frieze from Lou-lan, probably of ca. mid-3rd century (Fig. 5.58). The line is even and skillful—not sharp and thin, nor as bold and thick as the Toprak Kala, Kara-dong and Miran paintings (Figs. 3.47, 4.86a-d, and 5.24b).

The head of a monk in Fig. 3.13d from the Complex B painting is depicted in profile with wide opened eyes in almond shape like the ones in the sculpted head from Toprak Kala and the bronze Buddha head from Khotan (Figs. 3.44, 4.7a). The pupils are dark and treated a little more delicately than seen in the Toprak Kala and Miran wall paintings. The line is soft, and the delicate modelling at the fleshy creases of the cheek, chin and eyes creates a refined naturalism quite distinct from the vigorous modelling and bolder line of the Miran and Toprak Kala paintings. Some paintings at Bāmiyān appear related to this Kara-tepe painting style, such as figures in Caves 24 and 129 and in the Eastern Great Buddha niche (Figs. 3.51, 3.52, 3.59, and 3.80b), though they may be a bit later.

c. *Complex C*

Complex C is located on the northern side of the hill. Although excavations on Complex C are not completed, enough is known to reveal that it is significantly different from Complexes A,B, and D, which form a stylistically related group. The main courtyard is rectangular, not square. At the northwestern end was a large water reservoir (holding 40,000 liters) and on the southeastern end was found the remains of a small stupa (dia. 1.5 m) made of clay with circular plan and a row of lotus petals lying almost flat around the bottom (Fig. 3.14). Both the cylindrical base and the petals were painted red. The petal form is long and narrow with a raised moulded rim and a medial incised line that effectually creates a double-lobe for the petal, a form which became prevalent in China at least from ca. 400 A.D. Directly in line with the small stupa is a small square sanctuary 2.3 x 2.4 m which may have had a wooden ceiling. At the west end of this chamber stands a high clay platform with the remains of a large Buddha statue (Fig. 3.15). The upper body had fallen down in front of the base centuries ago and only the lower portion showing the crossed legs, drapery folds and cushion seat remain in place. The cushion seat, which may represent a straw mat, has remaining designs of plant forms carved in the clay. The Buddha's robes, also formed of ganch-coated clay, were red and may have also had some gilding. The arrangement is quite symmetric with a broad central flap with paired moulded rib folds of the type seen in the folds of a male figure in the wall paintings of M III at Miran (Fig. 5.31) of ca. mid 3rd century. On both sides of the central flap is a cluster of narrowly spaced pleat folds with a gentle wave movement, tight small folds of the hem, and what appears to be an incised or creased medial line in each pleat. The effect is rather gorgeous with somewhat schematized and symmetric but rich and intricate design with a sense of flowing movement. It is quite different from the Taxila stucco seated Buddhas and from the Kara-tepe Complex D seated Buddha in Fig. 3.16 a. Fragments of the fingers and head were found in the chamber and in the courtyard, perhaps purposely broken and scattered. Other fragments of smaller statues, ornamental designs, flowers, etc. were found similarly scattered. A stone griffin head similar to one found at Fayaz-tepe was also discovered in the sanctuary.[31] The walls of this small shrine had remains of wall paintings done in registers, each zone 80 cm wide. Though little remains, the lower tier of the southern wall had a number of "keel-vaulted" arches and some seated figures can be seen in the zone above. In the central part of the courtyard several column bases were found on a low platform and between them were the remains of a path paved with baked tiles, possibly demarcating a ritual path, according to Stavisky's suggestion. Stairs from the courtyard probably led to buildings above the hill, as was seen in the cases of Complex A and B.

[31] *Ibid.*, pp. 1402-1403.

Four caves appear in Complex C. Cave 1 is longitudinal with a projecting room at the end. At the entrance to Cave 2 were several grave sites from a period after the demise of Complex C as a monastery. These graves contained beads, local metal mirrors, ceramic items and copper coins of the late 4th-early 5th century and two sliver Sasanian coins of the second half of the 5th century. Further study is being done on these grave goods to understand the dating more precisely, but at present it appears from these burials that the site as a monastery was neglected and then used as a burial place by around the end of the 4th to beginning of the 5th century. Cave 3 is also longitudinal and Cave 4 appears to have long corridors around a central rectangular core. The plan is not as clearly developed as in the caves of Complexes A, B, and D. The more longitudinal thrust of the caves are more akin to the Indian chaitya halls, but cannot really be equated with them. From indications, Complex C may be an early monastery at the Kara-tepe site, but judgment may need to wait for completion of the excavation work. As noted in Chapter 1, the longitudinal character of some of the Complex C cave temples seems to relate to some of the cliff tombs of Szechwan, such as Cave IX at Ma Hao of ca. late Later Han or Three kingdoms period (late 2nd to first half of the 3rd century), a cave which also contains an early Chinese Buddha relief carving (Figs. 1.21, 1.22b, 1.23).

d. *Complex D*

Though slightly smaller, Complex D is similar in basic form to Complexes A and B, with which it forms a stylistically compatible group. The main courtyard is square; the cave temple (C-V) is approached by two entrances and consists of a large square core surrounded on four sides by corridors. The main hall of the cave temple is hollowed out of the central core with its entrance on the north side. It is rectangular, presumably with a vaulted ceiling like the Complex B main cave temple hall. The Complex D cave temple has niche-like recesses similar to the cave temple of Complex A, and in the southeastern corner there are two small hall appendages (possibly storage rooms), again similar to Complex A which, however, only has one.

In the courtyard are two colonnaded porticoes (iwan)—on the east and south sides. On the west side is a large, high raised platform whose outer wall makes the northern wall of the courtyard, possibly with the entrance, as the one remaining step may indicate. In the southwest corner of the courtyard was uncovered a flight of stairs (probably leading to other buildings on top of the hill) and the remains of an unfinished room that had been purposely blocked up and plastered over, apparently because of structural reasons. Between the two entrances to the cave temple was a large Buddha niche, similar to that seen at Complex B, but the Complex D niche had a secret chamber behind it, which at some point had become a burial

place for two persons. The numerous fragments of stucco (gypsum) with plant designs in relief that were found were probably part of the ornamental base of the statue, probably a seated Buddha, that originally must have graced this large niche.

i. *Seated Buddha sculpture*

An especially fortuitous find from Complex D is the remarkably well preserved remains of the torso of a seated Buddha sculpture in a niche just to the west of the main Buddha niche in the southern portico of the courtyard (Fig. 3.16a). Apparently finding the rock difficult and prone to destruction, another niche symmetric to it was not made and a wall of unbaked brick was erected to further protect the facade of the cave temple area, a factor which suggests to the excavators that this was an early niche.[32] The vaultlike arched niche contained the remains of wall paintings: a large painted halo for the Buddha statue in dark blue/black, some varicolored lotus flowers, and tiny white five-petaled rosettes (Fig. 3.16a). The seated Buddha, "more than one meter high", is lacking its head, forearms and most of the crossed legs. A small fragment of the image's halo, probably a round head halo, still attached to the left shoulder, had remains of green paint. The combination of a sculpted head halo—a common feature in Kushan Gandhāran sculptures—with the larger body halo or mandorla painted in the niche rather than sculpted with the image may be an important tangible evidence of the halo technique used for Kushana period Gandhāran sculptures in general, which in most cases (except for a few from Afghanistan, notably some from Shotorak) tend to lack any body halo or mandorla attached to the sculpture. That is, the common practice during the Kushana period may have been to make a sculpted head halo attached to the image with the larger body halo or mandorla painted in the niche behind the statue, as in the case of the Complex D Buddha statue.

From the remains, the excavators were able to discern the construction method of this statue. The inner structure was originally wood (in the arms) and bundles of straw tied together with ropes, the imprint of which was still visible to the excavators on the clay inside the body. The straw and wood were then covered with a thick layer of clay that moulded the rough form of the image, which was then wrapped in cloth that held together the clay with the outer layer of stucco (gypsum plaster).

[32] This niche is termed "the early Buddha niche" by the excavators. In their judgment: "As in the case of the unfinished cave cell in the southwestern corner of the D Complex yard, the builders evidently at first misapprehended the character of the Kara-Tepe rock, soft Quaternary sandstone. Before long they realized that the material was an easy prey to destruction and gave up the idea of making another niche, symmetric to the first (in the eastern part of the aywan). Moreover, they erected a wall of unbaked brick which shielded the sandstone facade of the C-V cave temple." *Ibid.*, p. 1398.

The final shape and details were made with the stucco. The Buddha's robe showed the remains of red paint, golden lines, golden rosettes and the "patched" robe designs. The statue was attached to the wall by wooden dowels in the back wall and on the bottom of the niche.[33]

This Buddha sculpture is a masterful work with full form—solid, broad and well-rounded—beautifully draped with a fluid, soft, form-revealing saṇghāti with delicate, slightly irregularly spaced long rib folds. The combination of massive form and lyrical linear grace must be expressive of the character of the Termez school of Kushana sculpture. Stylistically, the work is related to some stucco sculptures of Taxila, such as the Buddha in Fig. 3.16b from Kalawān, Taxila, and the famous group of large seated stucco Buddhas in the vihara courtyard at Mohṛā Morādu (Fig. 3.16c). However, the Kara-tepe Buddha shows even more massive body structure and somewhat less tenseness of line than the Kalawān Buddha and the Mohṛā Morādu Buddhas exhibit more mannered treatment of folds. The Kara-tepe Buddha is remarkably similar to the dated stone standing Buddha from Chārsada (Haṣṭnagar) which bears a date of 384 (Fig. 3.16d), which, if it refers to the Old Śaka era, is then equivalent to 262 A.D. It appears that the Kara-tepe Buddha may date around the late 2nd century or 3rd century, and close to the Haṣṭnagar Buddha, whatever date it is, but probably later than the Kalawān Buddha and earlier than the Mohṛā Morādu Buddhas. Perhaps most significant to our present study is the clear relation this Kara-tepe Buddha has with the Style I Buddhas at Rawak Stupa near Khotan, discussed in detail in Chapter 4 (see Figs. 4.27-4.29), one of the most important monuments of early Buddhist art in Central Asia. It serves as a major prototypical example of the Rawak Style I Buddhas and clearly shows its probable source in the Haḍḍa/Termez regional style of clay sculpture.

ii. *Wall paintings*

Remains of monumental wall paintings all along the walls above a red panel appear in the eastern corridor (north of the wall that cuts across it) and in the northern corridor (east of the entrance). These are considered to be products from the "later period of the temple's life".[34] They are all executed only in red monochrome drawing on the white plaster without other color. Red is used as the modelling color as well.

A dhyānāsana Buddha surrounded by two layers of flames (Fig. 3.17) in the northern corridor (eastern section of the south wall) of the cave temple (C-V) has already

[33] *Ibid.*, pp. 1398-1399.
[34] *Ibid.*, p. 1399.

been noted in several publications for its importance. The word "BUDDOMAZDO" (Buddha-Mazda) appears above the Buddha's left shoulder; according to Stavisky, "some visitor to the already deserted temple scrawled [it] next to the Buddha's head in the late 4th or 5th century", clearly suggesting, however, the existence of a syncretic merging of Buddha with Ahura Mazda, the main deity of the Zorastrian religion, at that time. The Zorastrian faith enjoyed popularity in this area during the Kushan period. Also, the face of the Buddha had been erased and an "Arab-Moslem formula" incised in its place.[35]

The Buddha figure is portrayed with a well rounded, full bodied and regularly proportioned form recognizable as the Gandhāran ideal and very similar to the general shape of the clay Buddha from the courtyard niche (Fig. 3.16a). The robe, with narrowly spaced lines, fits rather snugly to the form while having a sense of grace in the gently curved folds and contours. The style can be related to the sculptures of Khalchayan, except the drapery is tighter and seems more regular in this painting. The delicately spiky, quite naturalistic and unstylized flame motif is noteworthy in regard both to similar depictions at Bāmiyān Cave 129 (Fig. 3.59) and to the origin and evolution of the flame halo as it appears in early Chinese Buddhist imagery, where is occurs at least by the time of the sculptures of Cave 169 at Ping-ling ssu in the late 4th to early 5th century, although by then in much more stylized form.

Another group of fragmentary paintings to the east of the flame haloed Buddha on the far end of the south wall of the northern corridor shows a complex sequence of scenes with a number of standing and seated figures, including a dancing girl with anklet (Fig. 3.18a). These cannot yet be identified; they may be Jātakas or illustrations of local tales, but it appears likely that some of the figures are Buddhas. Even from the drawing the high quality is observable: full forms, elegant postures, and fluid, light, well-defined drapery. The seated figure with crossed ankles can be favorably compared with the cross-ankled seated Buddha in the stone frieze formerly in the Kabul Museum (Fig. 3.16b). The flow of the forms, depth of cutting that creates full mass, and the delicacy of the garments seem similar enough to think that these may date from around the same general period, possibly ca. late 2nd or early 3rd century, but in all probability before the 4th century.

2. *Some Concluding Remarks*

As noted above, Complex C has clear distinctions of form compared with the compatible Complexes A, B, and D. Of special interest are the designs of the cave temples: mostly longitudinal in Complex C and in Complexes A, B, and D complexes

[35] *Ibid.*, p. 1400.

mostly square in plan with a solid square or trapezoidal core containing a hollowed out square or rectangular room and surrounded by corridors which are undoubtedly for circumambulatory function around the central core with the image hall. This latter kind of plan is radically different from earlier structures or caves known in India, Gandhāra and Afghanistan. One very similar example exists in China: the large cave (Cave 9) at Ma-t'i ssu near Ch'ang-yeh in central Kansu. It's plan is nearly precisely the same as that of the caves of Complexes A, B, and D, although it is more elaborate with carved niches and a large, well structured inner room. However, it should be noted that the Ma-t'i ssu example is rare among Chinese cave temples and its date is not certain. Perhaps more important attention should be given to the notion that the square cave temple with an inner core could be a kind of prototype of the Chinese central pillar cave, which arises in the central Kansu area by the early 5th century or even a little earlier.

The differences between Complex C and the group comprising Complex A, B, and D are significant. The stupa in Complex C is circular base, similar to the form of the earliest stupas from India and the early stupas at Airtam and Fayaz-tepe. On the other hand, Complexes A, B, and D appear not have had a circular base stupa; Complex B has two square base stupas and a surviving drawing of a stepped square base stupa. Though the circular base stupa certainly continued to be used in India and Central Asia, the square base stupa became a major new type, possibly first used in the NE, from around the early 2nd century A.D., if not a little earlier. Similarly, the plan of the cave temples of Complex C are longitudinal, in the tradition of the early Buddhist caves in India. The form as seen in Complex C may also be reflected in the Ma Hao tomb caves of ca. late 2nd-first half of the 3rd century A.D. On the other hand, the caves of Complexes A, B, and D are square with an inner core containing a hall and a passage around the inner core—a form that seems to be related to the local regional Bactrian temple as seen, for example, in the mid-2nd century A.D. temple at Airtam (Fig. 3.7a) with its covered corridor surrounding a temple structure. This form of cave temple appears to have substantial repercussions in eastern Central Asia and China from the 4th century.

The reasons for these differences are clearly difficult to determine. They may reflect earlier (Complex C) and later (Complexes A, B, and D) forms and/or developing functional and ritual ideas taking new shape at this time, especially in the light of developments occurring in the 1st-4th century with the growth of Mahāyāna ideas, the spread of Buddhism to the north and east, and the adaptation of Buddhist forms to fit local tastes.

D. *FAYAZ-TEPE*

The hill of Fayaz-tepe, the site of a Buddhist monastery, lies northwest outside the city walls of old Termez and about one km from the monastery of Kara-tepe inside the walls. Excavations at Fayaz-tepe started in September, 1968, following the chance find of a stone female head by a shepherd, who brought it to the attention of the Termez Museum, whose director, Mr. R. F. Fayazov (after whom the site is named), subsequently showed it to L. I. Albaum, later the main excavator of the site. Though few reports are available and the excavations incomplete, the materials uncovered so far are of such exceptional quality and significance that some of them are nevertheless included here.[36]

1. *Monastery Site*

The monastery, aligned from southwest to northeast, is comprised of the original temple and its stupa, along with later additions which include two main sections added to the temple and another stupa (Figs. 3.19a,b,c). The original temple (the central section on the reconstructed drawing in Fig. 3.19b), square in plan and built around a central courtyard, and the original part of the stupa that is located in front of the original temple are the oldest parts, perhaps 1st century B.C. in the opinion of L. I. Albaum.[37] The original stupa is remarkably well preserved, probably due to the covering, added during the later period of renovation and expansion of the monastery, when the stupa was encased within four walls, of which only part of the southwest wall still remains. Since the stupa was not totally excavated (in order to preserve it), the exact situation and full view of the stupa are not known. Nevertheless, the exposed portion reveals an extraordinary monument built of sun-dried clay and straw bricks. It has a circular base, cylindrical drum, and a highly unusual bell-shaped dome (Fig. 3.20). The proportions are broad, low and powerful, and the moldings, encircling the base and mid-section, are simple, plain and bold. The mid-section moldings include a large round cornice below a prominent projecting squared molding that acts as the springing for the heavy, bell-shaped dome. Four holes were found in the dome for holding flag poles. Although paintings of stupas frequently depict flags flying from poles, this stupa actually represents a very rare, early example showing the specific physical marks of this Buddhist custom. Remains of white color still cover the stupa and, on the east side of the

[36] The date and descriptions presented here are primarily based on the article by Katō (1992), pp. 34-39, which is in turn based on reports by L.I. Albaum.

[37] *Ibid.*, pp. 35-36.

dome where it is exposed, line drawings of three red colored dharmachakras and some elaborate lotus flowers are still preserved.

The Fayaz-tepe stupa is not as tall and elegant nor as complex in the molding design as the two early stupas at Miran (Figs. 5.17 and 5.28), which date ca. mid-3rd century. The bell-shaped dome, as far as I am aware, is not known in other examples. Otherwise, the stupa relates most closely with those in the chaitya hall stupas of Ajanta Cave IX (ca. 50 B.C.) and Karle (ca. 2nd half of the first century B.C.), although the mouldings are significantly different. It is a notably important example of a an early stupa in the northern Bactrian region of Central Asia, stylistically less developed than the M III and M V stupas at Miran.

During the time of later renovation at the monastery, four walls, each with a staircase, were apparently added to the stupa as suggested in the reconstructed drawing in Fig. 3.19b. The result seems to have created the cruciform style base with the dome projecting above. The cruciform or four-direction staircase base is known in famous and larger examples, such as the great stupa of Kaniṣka at Puruṣapura (Shah-jiki-deri) of ca. 1st century A.D. (Fig. 4.21a), and the stupa at Rawak near Khotan (Figs. 4.21a, 4.20a,f). It is plausible that the additions to the Fayaz-tepe stupa may have been prompted by changes in Buddhism and its practices and by the development of the cruciform square base plan stupa during the 1st-3rd century A.D. This important example may represent an older Hīnayāna style original stupa modified later, perhaps in accord with Mahāyāna developments.

Two major additions were made to the temple during the period of renovation and enlargement, thus creating a three-sectioned unified complex measuring a total length of 117 m and width of 34 m (Fig. 3.19c). Each section was surrounded by its own walls and each had its own entrance. The central section—the original temple—contained the monk's quarters; the northeastern section (right side) had rooms for worship and a lecture hall; and the southwestern section (left side) held the dining quarters, kitchen, storeroom, and areas for weaving and making ceramics. Most of the earthenware fragments were found in the latter area, including some with inscriptions in Kharoṣṭhī or Brāhmī letters in a style of writing of ca. 2nd century A.D., similar to the inscriptions discovered at Kara-tepe. One inscription reads "offering to the monks of the common body of the vihāra." The walls, about 5 meters in height and 1.5 meters thick, were made of clay blocks; some of the lower levels were made with ordinary bricks measuring 13 x 13 x 4 3/4 inches (33 x 33 x 12 cm). Probably dating from this same period is a well-preserved, small, circular, domed stupa made of large sized bricks (Fig. 3.21).

2. *Wall Paintings*

A number of important wall paintings have been discovered, particularly in a room in the central section (the original temple) of the monastery. One, from the south wall of a room and presently known only from a published drawing (Fig. 3.22), displays two standing Buddhas and three female figures, one on each side of the two Buddhas (one is missing), standing like attendants in worshipping pose. This is an unusual configuration, though secular figures do appear as donors or worshipers in Kushan period sculptures, but generally in groups rather than as large, paired individuals as in this case. The Buddhas have round head halos, but no body halo. The form of the head and fairly small, low uṣṇīṣa, resemble the Buddha painting at Kara-tepe Complex B (Fig. 3.13a-c). The feet are rather widely separated with each foot placed on an individual round lotus(?) pedestal. The ground is sprinkled with star-like flowers and a triangular zigzag border pattern appears below. These Buddhas may be associable with the standing Buddhas in the ceiling of the main room of Cave 165 at Bāmiyān, one of the important caves near the Eastern Great Buddha. Though Bāmiyān is a complex site and most of the caves are controversial in dating, it is worthwhile to emphasize the apparently close relation between the art of the Termez area sites and some of the remains at Bāmiyān. In fact, the new materials from the southern Uzbekistan excavations may prove most helpful in approximating the dating some of the early caves at Bāmiyān, as will be discussed below in the Bāmiyān section. Since Termez and Bāmiyān are in the same general region, it is certainly plausible that their Buddhist remains would show comparably close features.

The women in this Fayaz-tepe painting wear loose clothing with a cape, a long overgarment and long shirt hanging to the ground with their feet widely spaced and their shoes peaking out from under the hems. The capes, folded open at the front to expose the underside, have a star design on the outside and a diamond-shaped square, each with flower in the center, on the underside. This kind of diamond pattern may have been a relatively popular motif in the early centuries A.D.; it appears in more complicated form in the Noin Ula embroideries of ca. late 1st century B.C.-early 1st century A.D. (Fig. 2.34) and in the statue of Ubal from Hatra of ca. 137 A.D. (Fig. 1.51). The sleeves of the overgarment have tight cuffs and a lengthwise design of several separated wavy lines. The figure on the far left, with a ribbon necklace tied with a bow at the bottom and a streamer hanging from the right arm, wears skirts and overgarment depicted with fold lines that suggest the pulling of the cloth in a way that has interesting parallels with other Central Asian examples. For instance, the folds of the skirt of the far left figure relate to those in the Buddha sculpture from Dalverzin-tepe (Fig. 3.33), and the pattern on the lower part of the overgar-

ment of the far right female suggests parallels with the mannered folds pulled across the lower part of the legs in some of the Style I (early) sculptures at Rawak stupa court near Khotan (Fig. 4.38). The latter fold technique develops into even more stylized and mannered ways in the Buddha sculptures of the northern Silk Road sites later in the 5th century. In this important Fayaz-tepe painting we could very well be seeing the early emergence of a style which prominently affects the art of some Buddhist sites in eastern Central Asia in the 4th and 5th centuries.

On the north wall of the same room a painting with nine men around a sculpture similar to the figure of Kaniṣka as represented in his coins has been reported (no photos or drawings).[38] The painted figures on each side of the sculpture wear long, single-breasted robes with the right side passing over the left side, a manner of wearing the garment apparently common in Central Asia. It is also seen in a clay figure from the site of Kampyr-tepe, near Termez.[39] The right donor of the Harvard flame-shouldered Buddha statue similarly has a single-breasted garment crossing right over left, different from the customary Chinese manner, which wears it in the reverse order.

The east wall of the same room on both sides of the entrance, has paintings of two male figures preserved above the waist. Those in Fig. 3.23 face the south wall painting of the two standing Buddhas in Fig. 3.22. Above is a Bactrian inscription of the god Pharo (Kushan fire god). These figures are ascribed by the excavators to the 3rd-4th century. Stylistically, we can note that they appear similar to the Kara-tepe paintings, though are a bit bolder in line, more akin to the paintings of Miran and some at Toprak Kala (Fig. 3.47c). Also, the profile of the Fujii Yūrinkan Bodhisattva (Fig. 2.32c and e) is not unlike these figures in most respects, particularly the left figure whose rounded nose and jaw are rendered in similar proportions, shape and gentle mood.

3. *Sculpture*

Several spectacular finds of stone sculpture have surfaced at Fayaz-tepe, including one of the finest and best preserved Buddha niches in Kushan period art (Fig. 3.24). The pointed arch niche made from the local marble-like limestone contains a Buddha and two attendant monks. The Buddha sits in dhyānāsana under a skillfully carved canopy of pipal tree branches which curve out from the round central zone representing the Buddha's halo. Two accompanying monks, one on each side

[38] *Ibid.*, p. 37.

[39] *ASU*, Fig. 166 for the male statuette with upper robe crossed right over left, from Kampyr-tepe of ca. 1st-2nd century A.D.

of the Buddha, probably both originally in añjali mudrā but now with hands missing, stand on top of the same pedestal with the Buddha.

The ovoid, gently pointed arch springs from square pillars with precisely carved base and corinthian capital decorated by two rows of well-carved acanthus leaves and volutes. The center of the pillar face is marked with a depressed vertically rectangular inset with concave semicircular top. The molding of the arch, like that of the pillar and pedestal, is especially fine with a broad plain inner strip and dentils. Though in the form of a chaitya window arch, stylistically the arch remains closer to the Hellenistic and Roman tradition of niche decor as encountered frequently in Kushan art (Fig. 3.25a,b).

The Buddha's face (Fig. 5.57) resembles that of the Bodhisattva No. 2 discovered in Room 6 at Buddhist Temple No. 2 at Dalverzin-tepe dated by the excavators to late 2nd-early 3rd century A.D. (Fig. 3.35a,b). The hair has a distinct widow's peak and fine wavy lines covering the head and uṣṇīṣa. The delicate, wavy hair placed close to the head is a style that also occurs in some fine representatives of Swat sculpture of ca. mid 4th century (Fig. 4.44a). The drapery, which clings to the form revealing only a smoothly generalized body shape, unlike most Gandhāran Buddhist sculpture, does not fall over the front of the legs, but is pulled tightly over the legs and arms forming long diagonal rib folds. Over the chest a few select folds curve with slightly asymmetric alignment. The same sense of linear beauty in individual rib folds, and of a unified and graceful figure, appears in the monk images as well. Clearly related to such Gandhāran works as the Freer Gallery reliefs (Fig. 3.26), this sculpture also represents a stylistic relation to the Lou-lan niches of ca. mid 3rd century (Figs. 5.55a,b, 5.58) and, by comparison, clearly sets off the distinct differences of the Termez regional style from that of Gandhāra and eastern Central Asia as seen in the Lou-lan example. Because of its connection to the Dalverzin-tepe and Lou-lan works, this niche probably dates ca. 3rd or, at the latest, mid 4th century A.D.

An exquisitely refined stucco Buddha head with a substantial amount of paint remains was a surface find at the site (Fig. 3.27). In general it is compatible with the stucco heads of Haḍḍa; it is certainly not as strong as the heads of the two Bodhisattvas from Dalverzin-tepe (Figs. 3.35a,b and 3.36a,b), and is even more refined than the stone niche images in Fig. 3.24. The style appears to prefigure the Gupta period Indian Buddhas of the mid-5th century. A small bronze Maitreya Buddha (seen in 1992 in the Sian History Museum) dated 423 A.D. under the Liu-Sung in China displays a similar, and rather uncommon, loose swirl pattern on the uṣṇīṣa); the exaggerated curve of the cranium resembles the head shapes of some Turfan sculptures of the mid-5th century. These factors would seem to indicate a somewhat later date, perhaps into the mid or late 4th century, for this head. Although all the

data is not yet in for this site, it tentatively appears that Fayaz-tepe continued as an active site into the 4th century, or else these two sculptures—the niche and the head—are chance finds unrelated to the activity of the site itself. At any rate, they are particularly excellent works displaying the vitality and skill of the art from this region probably around the 3rd to 4th century.

E. *DALVERZIN-TEPE*

Dalverzin-tepe is a major walled city site near Denau on the right (north) bank of the Surkhan Darya River northeast of old Termez (see Maps 3.2 and 3.3). Excavations, conducted from 1960-1963 and since 1967, have so far only partially revealed the site, which can be determined to extend back to the Greco-Bactrian period 3rd-2nd century B.C., when it comprised a town approximately 3.5 hectares in size. Around the turn of the millennium when the Kushan hegemony was being established, the town was turned into a citadel with a surrounding wall and moat (approximately 650 x 500 m), and in ca. 2nd century A.D. the wall was enlarged and strengthened. Within the walls the city was divided on a grid plan with special areas for the wealthy merchants, the poor, the artisans and for temples. Outside the walls were orchards, agricultural fields, graveyards, more residential areas and also temples. The early local religion was connected with fire worship of the god Avestar. In the northern part of the city near the wall a temple for worshipping fire was found. It is a long temple about 32 x 20 meters with 11 rooms containing several archaeological levels from Greco-Bactrian to Kushan periods. The goddess figure also appears to have been at Dalverzin-tepe; paintings and small sculptures of the goddess as well as shrines for the goddess have been unearthed, including the "Temple of the Bactrian Goddess" (DT-7). Spectacular finds of Buddhist art relevant for our present study have been unearthed so far from two Buddhist temples sites: Temple No. 1 outside the city walls and Temple No. 2 inside the walls.[40]

1. *Buddhist Temple No. I*

Located about 400 meters to the north beyond the city walls, Buddhist Temple No. 1 (DT-1) was excavated in 1967-68 by B. A. Turgunov and the Hamuza Memorial Art Institute. The site occupies a small natural hill which was used in forming the

[40] B. A. Turgunov, "Excavations of a Buddhist Temple at Dal'verzin-tepe", *East and West*, Vol. 42, No. 1 (March 1992), pp. 131-132; Katō (1992), pp. 42-43; *ASU*, p. 48.

base of a stupa and for the foundations of the rooms around the stupa (Fig. 3.28).[41] The stupa, which is not exactly aligned to the primary compass points (it is 20 degrees towards the east), has a nearly square base 8 x 7/7.7 meters and long, narrow rooms surrounding it on three sides. The room on the north (5.5 x 1.8 m) with entrance near the northeast corner is thought by Turgunov to be a worship hall because of finding pieces of a rather large Buddha image as well as other sculptures. A long passage connects the "worship hall" with the west side room (9.9 x 2.35 m), which is designated by the excavators as the "king's hall" (Fig. 3.28). The remains in this room included a large Buddha sculpture and a number of secular figures a little larger than life size, which may have been members of the royal family. Both the worship hall and the king's hall had evidences of being burnt and the sculptures in both halls showed signs of having been willfully destroyed. The Buddha in the worship hall was the most badly damaged and scattered over a wide area. In the king's hall most of the sculptures had just fallen down, but the big Buddha was badly damaged. These evidences led the excavators to surmise that these images were destroyed by non-Buddhists. Furthermore, because both rooms showed no signs of dust accumulation in their cultural strata and they had neat and clean platforms, the destruction is interpreted as happening quickly, possibly the result of anti-Buddhist, Zorastrian sentiments and/or the invasions of the Sasanians in the 3rd century. Turgunov suggests that the local Bactrian religion was pressuring Buddhism. The sculptures from Temple No. 1 are generally dated by the excavators to the 1st-2nd century A.D. At some point after the Buddha images were destroyed, this area was used as a tomb site by the Zorastrians and then abandoned until the 15th century (on the southeast side dishes of the Timur period were found).[42]

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[41] It is interesting to note that this technique was also used at Chiao-ho in Turfan where the lower part of many of the buildings was carved out of the hard clay.

[42] According to Katō's report, the date of these buildings can be inferred by the finds of coins. A Soter Megas of Vima Kaḍphises of ca. end of 1st century B.C. to beginning of 2nd century A.D. was found in room number 6 near the raised platform. Then the cultural strata shows that the temple was destroyed around the "end of the ancient classic period" when the statues in the worshipping hall and king's room were broken. Katō (1992), pp. 43-46. Recent scholarship attributes the dates of the Soter Megas coins to the period between Kūjula and Vima Kaḍphises,i.e., to the period of Vima Tak[to] (now confirmed by evidence from a newly discovered Rabatak stone inscription), thus dating ca. 80-90 A.D. in Cribb's chronology. (See N. Sims-Williams and J. Cribb (1996), pp. 118-123, and other earlier studies by J. Cribb (1993) where he dated the Soter Megas coins to the period between Kūjula (30-80 A.D.) and Vima Kaḍphises (ca. 90-100 or 110-120 A.D.) prior to the discovery of the Vima Tak[to] inscription. Also see above, note 6.

a. *Sculptures*

The most dramatic finds from Temple No. 1 are the secular figures, which may represent royal donors. One male princely or ruler type figure, well preserved in the head and lower body, is portrayed with a spectacular, close-fitting, tall, conical hat covered with round spangle discs and rimmed with small pearls or beads (Fig. 3.29 and color Pl. IV). The face is strong with rectangular shape, wide opened eyes with clearly shaped upper lids, gently arched eyebrows converging sharply at the nose, a long and naturalistically modelled nose, and a broad, firmly set mouth with rather distinct, nearly flat upper lip. An air of portraiture and naturalism infuses this handsome depiction and the more pronounced idealization of later styles is not evident. For example, there is only a hint of clear, sharp definition of the planes between the eye and brow without becoming the smooth and stunning shape apparent in the later images from Temple No. 2 (Figs. 3.35b-3.36b). Thus we can surmise that this image may represent an intermediate style between the Khalchayan and the Dalverzin Temple No. 2 sculptures. The lower part of the statue shows the figure wearing a knee-length kaftan (long belted tunic) with drooping sides and narrow trousers with fine rib-like slanting creases.[43]

Another well preserved statue from the king's hall depicts a remarkably life-like standing male with oval head and bushy, pointed mustache (Fig. 3.30a,b). He wears a smooth knee-length kaftan with only a few folds around the arm and slanted, moulded creases in the lower part. It is belted a little below the waist with a cord marked with an incised herringbone pattern. Besides being an especially rare well preserved portrait sculpture, this figure is particularly interesting for its stylistic relation with a similarly dressed male figure from Cave 111 at Bāmiyān[44], which may, however, date a bit later. Perhaps most important for our present study, however, are the clear similarities with the face of the Tokyo National Museum seated Buddha, studied in Chapter 2 as dating ca. Three Kingdoms period or ca. first half of the 3rd century A.D.(Fig. 2.26a). This relationship undoubtedly helps to confirm not only a viable source in the western Central Asian area for the style, but also helps to generally confirm the dating of the Tokyo National Museum Buddha. Since this Dalverzin-tepe figure is clearly later than the Khalchayan images, with which the Harvard flame shouldered Buddha was shown to relate, it is another factor that tends to support the suggestion that the Tokyo National Museum Buddha is later than the Harvard flame shouldered Buddha.

A number of other well preserved heads from the king's hall include those of

[43] For the full view see *ASU*, Fig. 112.

[44] For Bāmiyān Cave 111, see T. Higuchi (ed.), *Bāmiyān*, 4 vols., Tokyo, 1983-1984, Vol. I, Pl. 12.2.

women (about half life size and all found in the northern part of the room), one of which retains gold on the forehead.[45] One with a headband (Fig. 4.7e), quite important for its relation to a Khotan bronze Buddha head discussed in Chapter 4, has some similarity with the style of the left donor of the Harvard Buddha statue (Fig. 1.71) in its tight face and tiny features. This relation suggests that the time differential between the Harvard Buddha and the Tokyo National Museum Buddha may not be great, as both share some common relation with this group of Dalverzin-tepe figures.

2. *Buddhist Temple No. 2*

The second Buddhist temple, Buddhist Temple No. 2 (DT-25), was discovered in the central area inside the city walls, near the major east-west road that divided the city. Work began here in 1983 and is still in process. So far about 20 rooms are in various stages of excavation; nevertheless, it is known that the site has two architectural levels. The lower level seems to have been an early residential site using sun-dried bricks 15 1/2 x 15 1/2 x 5-9 1/2 inches (about 40 x 40 x 13-24 cm); the upper level is the Buddhist temple, built on top of the older buildings using sun-dried bricks approximately 13 1/2 x 13 1/2 x 5 inches (34 x 34 x 13 cm). The main stupa appears to have been located in the southeastern section. Apparently the square platform with staircase that leads from the Room 2 area was originally the stupa base (Fig. 3.31). Turgunov and Katō report a number of spectacular finds of sculptures from this site, notably from Room 3, but only a few are as yet available in publications.[46]

Materials discovered during excavation allow relative precision in dating of this temple site as a whole.[47] Based on coin and pottery finds, the earlier structures on top of which the temple was built can be dated to the first half of the 2nd century A.D., thus the temple was built sometime after the first half of the 2nd century.[48]

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[45] Plates for the examples from Temple No. 1 appear in *ASU*, Figs. 108-124.

[46] The main report of this temple comes from Turgunov (1992), pp. 131-153; Katō closely follows Turgunov's report in Katō (1992), pp. 46-51; photographs can be seen in *ASU*, Figs. 125-142.

[47] Turgunov (1992), Figs. 8-10; Katō (1992), Figs. 34-35; *ASU*, Figs. 125, 130.

[48] These finds include an imitation of a tetradrachm of the Greco-Bactrian king Heliocles from room 2 (these remained in circulation up to the beginning of the 1st century A.D.) and a Soter Megas coin from the same layer dating "1st century B.C." (For recent assessments dating the Soter Megas coins to end of the 1st century A.D., see above note 42). Both were in the brick work which was probably made of clay taken from the ruins of some older buildings and was therefore mixed in. Furthermore, five coins of Kaniṣka I were discovered from the building on top of which Buddhist Temple No. 2 was built, so the earlier building is dated to ca. before the first half of the 2nd century A.D. and the building of Buddhist Temple No. 2 took place about that time. Turgunov (1992), pp. 150-151. (If the

From Room 2 a coin of Kaniṣka III (generally dated 3rd century; 241-c.270 or 261-290) and two imitations of his issues were discovered. These as well as pottery and other finds provide a date of ca. 3rd century for the latest stages of activity at the temple site. It too, like Temple No. 1, seems to have been destroyed in the 3rd century, possibly by anti-Buddhist persecutions exacerbated by the Sasanian conquests in northern Bactria at this time. Later, the ruins of this temple were leveled and a new construction was made using some of the old walls.[49]

a. *Sculptures*

Room 3 (Fig. 3.31), probably a large inner courtyard, yielded a number of exceedingly fine sculptures that originally formed groups lining the walls on raised platforms made of sun-dried bricks, covered with plaster and painted red or white. The southeastern wall had a large "festooned" arched niche containing the room's largest Buddha statue: a seated clay and stucco image, of which only the lower part still remains, measuring 1.8 meters knee-to-knee and whose original height must have been about 3 meters. The large hand of a Buddha holding an edge of the robe and a number of Buddha heads have also been uncovered; there seem to be pieces of at least four, possibly five, Buddhas in this area. The head in Fig. 3.32, like the others, was made from mould and then finished by hand. Though this head appears somewhat similar to the face of the male with conical hat from Temple No. 1 (Fig. 3.29), the rounder face with its tougher, more swelling surfaces and slightly stronger lines to the eyes and eyebrows suggest a time differential. The hair curls are large and sharply defined; the hairline is almost semicircular with only a slight dip in the center; and the uṣṇīṣa is small and tight. Significantly, this head, like other sculpture in the Termez region, gains special relevancy in light of its apparent similarity with works at Bāmiyān, in this case resembling the fragment of a painting of a Buddha head from Cave 140 (Fig. 3.66). The bold, taut shape of the head and uṣṇīṣa and the specific pattern of the snail shell curls seem to unmistakably link the two works, even though they are of different medium.

The lower body of a standing Buddha (Fig. 3.33a), also from Room 3, has remains of red paint.[50] Though fragmentary, it is an extraordinary image revealing considerable difference from most Kushan Buddha images from Gandhāra, Afghanistan, or Swat. The figure, standing with a slight bend to the right leg and the weight placed mostly on the left leg, possesses a pronounced heaviness in the mass and

date of the first year of Kaniṣka is ca. 110, then the earlier building is datable to before the second quarter of the 2nd century and the building of Buddhist Temple No. 2 would be after that time).

[49] *Ibid.*, pp. 150-152.

[50] *ASU*, text for Fig. 129 on p. 277.

shaping of the body. The shapes of the thick legs are generally revealed through the drapery, including the prominent knees, and the drapery, neither highly schematized nor completely naturalistic, is loosely organized into irregularly fashioned parallel folds slanting over the legs. Between the legs the dense array of semi-circular folds are portrayed with deep grooves and overlapping folds, creating a rather agitated movement. Along the outer edge of the right leg the drape is rigidly vertical with a crenelated hem and rib pleats, and at the edge of the left leg a cascade of large folds forms a bold, irregular zigzag pattern. Though a remarkable variant of the Kushana idiom, so far without comparable examples, this image nevertheless seems most closely related to the more naturalistic depictions on the main Buddhas, generally dated ca. 3rd century, in the courtyard niches at Tapa-i-Shotur in Hadda, Afghanistan. There is also distinct resemblance to the drapery and figure style of the wall paintings of the Dura Europos synagogue of ca. 254 A.D.(Fig. 3.33b).

The head of a man (Fig. 3.34) from Room 3 clearly represents a secular person. It is stylistically quite close to the head of the standing man from Temple No. 1 (Fig. 3.30), though freer in style and more sensitively modelled. This head and a stylistically very similar clay head of a man from Khotan (Fig. 1.29c), with their coarsely ridged hair, grainy, bushy mustache, prominently rimmed eyes, and short triangular nose are both particularly striking in relation to the head of the Fujiki Buddha (Fig. 2.29) and the Ho-chia shan (Szechwan) small bronze money tree Buddhas (Figs. 1.31b) and the Royal Ontario Museum money tree Buddha (Fig. 1.32). This may be one kind of prevalent head style, as it also occurs in the Buddha figure at the top of Kaniṣka's reliquary (Fig. 1.57), presumably of ca. first quarter of the 2nd century A.D. Such a relationship serves to point up the factor of the strongly western style of these Chinese Buddhas and adds further evidences to date the Chinese works to a period later than the Harvard flame-shouldered Buddha, which relates more closely to the clearly earlier materials from Khalchayan. It is also significant that this style appears not only in Gandhāra and western Central Asia, but also in Khotan.

A number of large Bodhisattva sculptures were found in Room 3, two of which had stood on pedestals on both sides of the southeast wall Buddha niche and another that had fallen on its face in the area of the northeast wall. The Bodhisattvas designated numbers 2, 3 and 80 have been published (Figs. 3.35a-3.37). The Bodhisattva torso No. 2 (Fig. 3.35a) made of reddish clay with a thin lime paste on top, retains rose-coloring on the chest, red decor on the garments and crown, and black on the hair. The body was fashioned by hand, but the face was made by mould and then finished by hand. The body is big and powerful with wide, smooth chest. The left arm is held akimbo with the hand on the waist and part of the shawl, which has

many narrow, clustered folds, covers the left shoulder and arm. According to report, the dhoti has many folds. We can take particular note of the wide necklace with its central configuration of teardrop shaped gems at the four corners around a center gem (Fig. 3.35b); this is a specific design that occurs not only in a group of Gandhāran stone Bodhisattvas[51], but also on the Fujii Yūrinkan Bodhisattva (Fig. 2.32a, 2.38), as noted in Chapter 2. The usage of this motif in the Dalverzin-tepe work helps to establish a general dating for this motif around the late 2nd-3rd century—parameters that seem consistent with other factors that suggest a dating the Fujii Yūrinkan image in the late 3rd century.

The handsome, remarkably preserved head of Bodhisattva No. 2 has broad cheeks and a tight, smooth shape with finely formed and clearly sculpted features. The eyes have sharply defined, partly lowered lids, somewhat akin to those of the Buddha in the niche from Fayaz-tepe (Fig. 5.57). The nose is long and naturalistically modelled, but has a sharp bridge that smoothly merges with the eyebrows, which are slightly tilted up at the temples. An ūrṇā hole appears in the forehead between the eyebrows. The mouth is similar to others from Temples No. 1 and 2 (Figs. 3.29, 3.32), but is sharper in execution, probably suggesting a style heading towards the refined execution of the sculptures of the 4th century. A turban crown fits snugly to the head and small, tight, hair curls appear at the sides in a configuration that resembles the head and large turban crowns in the wall paintings at Miran of ca. mid 3rd-century (Figs. 2.37, 5.35, etc.), which, however, are more simply portrayed.

Bodhisattva No. 3 (Figs. 3.36a,b), an equally remarkable find and splendid, well-preserved figure, is also composed of clay covered with stucco. The head and hair curls are made by mould with stucco on top; pink coloring remains on the face and red color on the crown. According to report, the neck has three lines. The jewelry is astonishingly elaborate, particularly the wide circular necklaces, one with hanging teardrop shaped pendants. The thick, herringbone pattered long necklace (the clasp in the center is missing), a type familiar from paintings at Bāmiyān, and the belt, unusually composed of decorative rosettes, also made by mould, add further richness to the decor. Altogether the ornamentation and curled hair impart a flowery and luxuriously adorned appearance—more so than is customary in Gandhāran, Afghan or Swat images in stone or stucco—that must be characteristic of the local, Dalverzin-tepe style. Certainly the head style is close to heads from Haḍḍa with small, heavily lidded eyes, gracefully arched eyebrows, aquiline nose and delicate mouth (Turgunov suggests that the head moulds may actually have come from

[51] See Kurita (1988 and 1990), II (1990), Figs. 7, 17, 18, 23, 35, 73, 74.

Haḍḍa), but clearly the ornamentation is richer and the body much more powerful.

This Bodhisattva is helpful in understanding artistic developments in other areas. In fact, this style seems to relate more than any other known at present, with the paintings from Subashi, near Kucha on the northern silk route in Serindia (eastern Central Asia). A similar style mouth with pronounced V-shaped upper lip as well as the beautifully oval shape of the face occurs in the important Buddha dated 338 in the Asian Art Museum from the Later Chao period in northeast China (Fig. 1.48). These correspondences may be small factors but are nevertheless relevant clues that add evidences for dating the Dalverzin Temple No. 2 Bodhisattvas before the 4th century.

According to the reports of Turgunov and Katō, the mode of make of the Dalverzin-tepe sculptures is of two kinds: one is clay and the other is clay with stucco. In the larger images (particularly the standing ones), a central pole and bundles of reeds about 8-10 cm in diameter were used as the frame for the images. Now the poles have rotted in all the sculptures and only the empty spaces and some of the white fibers of the reeds remain. Similarly, empty spaces approximately 1.5-2 cm in diameter remain in the arms where reed and other small branches or wood were once used. When covering the clay with stucco as the final layer, instead of placing it directly on the clay, a layer of cloth was wound around the form before application of the stucco. Larger images had cloth of thicker threads while cloth of thinner threads was used on the smaller sculptures. The colors used were red, white, light red, yellow and sometimes gold. Bodhisattva No. 80, published only as a painting of the sculpture (Fig. 3.37), shows the heavy body, bunched effect of the shawl, and rich decor characteristic of this local style, but in addition has rare remains of painted textile designs of small stars, flowers and leafy branches on the dhoti.

The fragment of a clay seated Buddha from Termez can be briefly mentioned here (Fig. 3.38a). Though poorly reproduced, it does show the schematic parallel pleat robe design which became such a hallmark of the Mathurā Kushana school of Buddhist sculpture from ca. 2nd century A.D.(Fig. 2.30a). The Termez example reveals that this mode of drapery depiction was also known in the western Central Asia region. This form of drapery depiction begins to appear in Chinese Buddhist images possibly as early as the Three Kingdoms period (Fig. 2.29), and becomes a major feature of sculptural representations during the 4th and early 5th century, particularly in the form related to the Mathurā school Buddha found at Sāñchī in Fig. 3.38 b, which seems to show a slightly later style—possibly of the 4th century—than the Termez Buddha. Another important relation of this Termez Buddha is

with the small Buddhas from the haloes of the Style I colossal Buddha at Rawak Stupa (Fig. 4.34a).

III. Sites and Art of the Khorezm Region

Only two sites related to out study in the Khorezm region will be addressed here: Koy-krylgan Kala and Toprak Kala. Neither is a Buddhist site, and in fact it is not known if Buddhism ever penetrated into this region; nevertheless, the sculptural materials from these sites are so relevant in understanding the developments of Buddhist sculpture in other parts of Central Asia and China that more attention should be paid to the art of this region.

The Khorezm area apparently flourished during the Kushan period in general, but the damage caused by the Sasanian raids into Transoxiana in the 3rd century seems to have unleashed a series of events that led to the eventual decline and destruction of the vital canal system which supported the economic system of the area. By the 4th century the Khorezmian state was in crisis and collapse and open for nomadic incursions. During the 5th century the nomadic Hepthalites (White Huns) were the rulers of the area, although economically powerful states like Samarkand and Ferghana seem to have enjoyed some independence that even continued into the 6th century after the penetration of the Western Turks into the Transoxiana region.[52]

A. *KOY-KRYLGAN KALA*

Discovered in 1938, the site of Koy-krylgan Kala on the southern edge of the Kyzylkum Desert in the lower reaches of the Oxus (Amu Darya) River (Map 3.2) represents a spectacular circular fortified citadel (Fig. 3.39). Circular designed fortified cities are well known from Parthian and Sasanian sites in Iran and Syria (Takht-i-Suleiman and Firuzabad), although the one at Koy Krylgan Kala has some quite different properties. The site flourished from ca. 4th century B.C. to 1st century A.D., but apparently continued to exist until ca. 4th century A.D. The function of the site is still not entirely clear, but S. P. Tolstov, its excavator, suggests that it may have centered around a royal cult building. The outer ramparts of the city (dia. 285 ft.) with nine towers ringed a large open area in the center of which rose a

[52] *CHI*, Vol. 3 (2), pp. 1143-1144.

large two-storied, 18-sided citadel (dia. 140 ft.) with its own inner open circular courtyard containing burial grounds, possibly of the rulers. The crenelated walls (also typical of Parthian fortified cities and noted in regard to the palace at Khalchayan near Termez) of the citadel had long slit windows and a broad rampart walkway on top; inside the rooms were regularly arranged. The whole site experienced considerable modification and change during its history. Many remains of excellent pottery were uncovered as well as numerous terracotta figurines, especially those of Anahita, goddess of fertility, some terracotta rhytons, flasks, and a large terracotta ossuary (Fig. 3.40a). A few wall paintings were found in the 1st century A.D. layer. No coins appeared, but some pottery shards contained inscriptions of ca. 2nd century B.C.-2nd century A.D. in Khorezmian language and Aramaic script.[53]

The funerary urn in the form of a life-size seated man in Fig. 3.40 a in a relatively well-preserved state reveals a style quite different from the Khalchayan sculptures of ca. 1st century B.C.-1st century A.D. (Fig. 3.3). It bears some resemblance to the priest figures in the famous wall painting from the Temple of Bel of ca. 1st-2nd century A.D. in Dura Europos (destroyed in 256 A.D.) (Fig. 3.40b). In its smooth, abstract shaping of the tall, broad-shouldered body and in the delicate but stiff detail of the square-plaque belt the figure bears some resemblance to the portrait sculptures from the temple of Māṭ at Mathurā, generally dated ca. last quarter of the 2nd century A.D., though it has less sense of volume and is less subtly modelled than the Mathurā image (Fig. 3.41). Also, the body and kaftan robe are not as naturalistically portrayed as the standing male figure from Dalverzin-tepe Temple No. 1 of ca. 1st-2nd century A.D.(Fig. 3.30a), whose body has a more solid, modulated mass and is closer in style to the Māṭ sculptures (Fig. 3.41). The light and sharply linear qualities of the face with wide open eyes, small mouth, thin mustache, and pointed beard enhance the refined appearance of the ossuary sculpture, and are quite distinct from the more massive qualities of form dominating the Toprak Kala style as seen in the head in Fig. 3.44 of ca. 3rd century date. However, the sharp forms and smooth planes relate to some degree with the charioteer sculpture from Tomb No. 1 at Tao-tzu-p'ing, Hunan of ca. late 2nd century (Fig. 1.8), so this kind of style appears to exist around the early centuries A.D. as well.

[53] Frumkin (1970), p. 94; Belenitsky (1968), p. 77; L. Hambis, "Khwarizm", in *Encyclopedia of World Art*, Vol. VIII, New York, 1963, pp. 1004-1005.

B. *TOPRAK KALA*

The site of Toprak Kala is located in the same general region of Khorezm as Koy-krylgan Kala, in the delta region of the Oxus River (Amu Darya) (Map 3.2). Careful excavation carried out in the early 1950's by S. P. Tolstov, resulted in excellent archaeological documentation of the site, which appears to have been a royal city, possibly founded as early as the 1st century A.D., and probably the seat of the rulers of an independent Khorezm in the 3rd-early 4th centuries A.D.[54]

The city walls enclosed a large rectangular area 1,910 x 1,380 feet (550 x 380 yards) and were surrounded by a moat with an entrance only at one end (south) over a bridge and through a large foralice attached to the wall (Fig. 3.42).[55] Square towers, larger at the corners, projected from the wall at regular intervals. The walls with inclined foundations were furnished with vertical loop holes in the sides between the towers and a crenelated (stepped merlon) top, a design used commonly in the fortess cities of this area. As noted previously, the stepped merlon as a decorative motif occurs in a number of instances in Chinese Buddhist art in the early 5th century as in the stone stupas of Northern Liang and in the paintings of Tun-huang Cave 254 of ca. 480's.

Within the walls the city was divided into two main areas (Fig. 3.42). Towards the entrance (south end) zones with blocks of houses occupied a little over half the city. A long central avenue led to the far end (north), in the center of which was a large rectangular open space containing piled up ashes and surrounded by buildings. This is thought to have been the "house of fire" (Zorastrian Temple). In the northwest corner was the fortified palace with three separate, large, tower buildings in an area of 11,000 square meters (2.7 acres). The layout of Toprak Kala is

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[54] V. M. Masson suggests the city may have been founded in the 1st century A.D. He sees the Khorezmian coins from Toprak Kala linked with Greco-Bactrian coin type rather than with the later Kushan numismatic tradition. The destruction of the Toprak Kala city site is associated by Henning with an early Sasanian campaign in the early part of the 3rd century. *CHI*, Vol. 3^2, pp. 1139-1140. S. P. Tolstov claims that the chronology for the Toprak Kala city site can be established with great accuracy from ceramics: "The sum total of the ceramic material confirms the date of the city of Toprak-kala that we gave preliminarily in the first years of exploring the site, namely between the end of the first century B.C. and the fourth century A.D., and the date of the palace as on the borderline between the third and fourth centuries A.D." Apparently there was a single stratum of all the rooms discovered in the palace and few signs of repair, thus indicating that the palace was in use only a short time (i.e., before the demise in the early 4th century). "The desolation of the Toprak-kala palace is connected with the founding of a new seat of the Khorezmian shahs. This event occurred within the period of Afrig's reign, i.e., early in the fourth century A.D." (the Azes era began in 305 A.D.). S. P. Tolstov, "Dated Documents from the Toprak-Kala Palace, and the Problem of the 'Śaka Era' and the 'Kaniṣka Era'", in Basham (1968), pp. 306 and 318.

[55] The information is from Hambis (1963), pp. 1006-1007.

different from earlier fortress cities of the region, including Koy-krylgan Kala; however, we can note that the city of Chiao-ho (Yarkhoto) near Turfan on the northern Silk Route in eastern Central Asia and very active during the Three Kingdoms, Western and Eastern Chin periods (3rd-4th century) when it was known as Chü-shih ch'ien-pu, though less regular in plan, displays interesting similarities with the general plan of Toprak Kala in regard to the controlled entrance, long central avenue, dwellings near the front section, and religious buildings mainly at the back.

Three main levels were uncovered in the Toprak Kala excavations: the lowest strata yielded materials from the Kushan period; the middle strata contained Afrigdian coins ranging from the 3rd to the beginning of the 4th century as well as coins of Vāsudeva (first half of the 3rd century); the upper strata had only Afrigdian coins, the latest of which dated to the late 5th to early 6th century. Artifacts from the upper strata indicate a decline of the site during that period with final abandonment by the 7th century. Documents (mostly administrative and financial) on wood and leather were found written in Khorezmian language, some with dates from an undetermined era.[56]

Most pertinent in the present context are the remains of sculpture and painting from the palace, which in the main part was composed of two stories of vaulted rooms. The central section contained three great "reception halls," named by the excavators as the Hall of Kings, Hall of Victories, and Warrior's Hall, all prominently decorated with sculpture and wall paintings. In the Hall of Kings (3,000 square feet) were a series of regular, closely spaced niches containing what appeared to the excavators to be the portrait statues of the ruler(s) and members of the ruler(s) family, who were represented in smaller size. The Hall of Victories also had an arrangement of niches with sculptures in high relief; however, these niches all contained the same type of standing female figure (possibly a "victory" in billowing robes), facing left towards a seated princely type male figure (Fig. 3.43). In the Warrior's Hall a series of decorative motifs alternated with male figures turning towards the left, above which were reliefs of dark-skinned warriors in smaller size.

The sculptures, set against the painted background, dominated the decor of these halls, yet were well integrated with the architecture and wall paintings. All the sculptures were fashioned of unbaked clay mixed with alabaster powder, and alabaster powder was used to form the thin surface layer which was then polychromed. Some sculptures were in low relief; those in high relief were unfinished on the back.

[56] One-hundred-forty documents were discovered at Toprak Kala, written in ancient Khorezmian on wood or leather. Also, many Kushan coins were discovered (60 in territory of Khorezm; 22 in ancient city of Toprak Kala). Most of them, except for those of Kadphises II, have a countermark S stamped on them. No coins of the so-called third and fourth Kushan dynasties have been recorded in Khorezm territory. Tolstov (1968), pp.308-309. Frumkin (1970), pp. 96-97.

1. *Sculptures and Wall Paintings*

The head of a male (Fig. 3.44) from the Hall of Kings remains as a prime example of the Toprak Kala palace sculptures, which are generally dated to the 3rd-early 4th century.[57] The heavy, rectangular head possesses a massive, smooth jaw, thick but soft lips, large, wide tipped nose, and large almond-shaped eyes. Some remains of reddish pigment cover parts of the face and black was used to draw the irises and outlines of the eyes. The head is clearly distinct in style from the Khalchayan sculptures (Figs. 3.3, 1.59, 1.62), which have sharper forms for the features and stronger modelling for the high cheekboned face structure. On the other hand, the style is not as idealized as the Buddhas from Fayaz-tepe (Figs. 3.24, 3.27). Though the Toprak Kala head does not have the features of the Dalverzin-tepe Temple No. 2 Bodhisattvas (Figs. 3.35b, 3.36b), the strong qualities of these as well as the Buddha head from Temple No. 2 (Fig. 3.32) are generally similar. As noted in Chapter 2, the Toprak Kala head is particularly relevant in assessing the stylistic sources of the Fujii Yūrinkan bronze Bodhisattva (Fig. 2.32), one of the most important early Buddhist images in China. Significantly, the fact that the Toprak Kala work clearly dates later than the Khalchayan sculptures is a major factor in considering the Fujii Yūrinkan Bodhisattva to date later than the Harvard flame-shouldered Buddha, which closely matches with the Khalchayan sculptural style.

From the same hall the fragment of a standing female sculpture interpreted as the wife of a ruler displays a slightly relaxed pose and generally rounded limbs clothed in long robes composed of soft, parallel rib folds in clear groups (Fig. 3.45). The drapery technique, reminiscent of classical Greco-Hellenistic forms, reveals clear re-ordering of those forms to create a new style that tends towards stronger stylization. Vertical, rounded rib folds merge the upper thigh and hip into a single unit, and over the abdomen crescent shaped folds are formed with two raised rib folds with a space between that imparts the illusion of double-raised rib folds, or of folds with a medial space or groove. It is of interest that this kind of fold appears in the fold designs on the arms of a male figure from the wall paintings of Miran Shrine M V (Fig. 5.31) probably dating around the mid-3rd century (see Chapter 5). Even the face of this Miran M V figure appears to relate to the style of the Toprak Kala head in Fig. 3.44 in the bold features and rectangular shape. Furthermore, we can recognize that the fold patterns in both the Toprak Kala image and the Miran wall

[57] Belenitsky (1968), p. 241, with Fig. 51. However, some scholars believe the site was in demise by the 4th century and that it began earlier (see note 54 above). At any rate, the sculpture of the palace is not likely to be later than the early 4th century. For the problems of dating see Frumkin (1970), p. 97.

paintings are more schematically developed than those in the Dalverzin-tepe Temple No. 2 sculptures (Figs. 3.35a, 3.36a and 3.38a). These factors suggest a chronological placement for the Toprak Kala sculptures ca. 3rd century, possibly a little later than the Dalverzin-tepe Temple No. 2 sculptures.

It should be pointed out that both the Toprak Kala male head and female torso relate to the style of the small Buddha figures in the halos of Style I Buddhas at Rawak Stupa near Khotan (Figs. 4.34a), a factor which may help to center the dating of the early phase of Rawak to the period not too far removed from the Toprak Kala sculptures. The fragment of a warrior's head (Fig. 3.46) from the Warrior's Hall at Toprak Kala wears a hat somewhat similar to the type worn by the warrior guardian from a Rawak painting fragment in its smooth planes and prominent band (Fig. 4.83a). Clearly the Toprak Kala sculptures form a major group of works for understanding the developments and sources of some of the eastern Central Asian art as well as important early Chinese Buddhist images, especially of the 3rd century.

Paintings from Toprak Kala, most in worn condition, were only discovered in small fragments in piles of rubble or as bits still adhering to the walls.[58] Some fragments certainly resemble the paintings remains from Miran (ca. mid-3rd century) with respect to similar thick, bold line drawing and wide open eyes (Fig. 3.47a). Interestingly, while the painting of a goose (Fig. 3.47b) using thick outlines and some scratchy short strokes displays a technical style similar to that used for the monk's head said to have come from Bamiyan Cave 51 (Fig. 3.57a), the fragment of a figure holding a dish (Fig. 3.47c) exhibits a bold, strong even line drawing of the kind used in the Rawak guardian painting (Fig. 4.83a,b).[59]

Because of the position of Toprak Kala near the Silk Road and the probable dating of the palace sculptures and paintings to ca. 3rd century, bolstered by the apparent similarities with the Miran paintings of ca. mid 3rd century, these materials certainly provide credible evidences for stabilizing the dating of other sites in the area, most notably in the eastern part of Central Asia where dated materials are very scarce. The implications relative to Bāmiyān and Rawak, for example, should

[58] According to M. A. Orlova, the wall painting design can be categorized into three main types: 1) three-foot high circumscribed decorative panels with space above filled with ornamental or representational painting; 20 alternating decorative motifs and representational paintings over the entire surface; 3) overall decor interspersed with garlands, symbolic designs and portraits framed in ornamental motifs. Hambis (1963), p. 1007.

[59] L. Hambis has noted the apparent diverse styles of the paintings of Toprak Kala, indicating that there may have been many different sources for the art. He noted that some figures related to the Airtam frieze style, another to Syro-Egyptian paintings of the Roman period, and yet others to the paintings in the catacomb at Kerch of the Roman period. *Ibid.*, p. 1007.

not be overlooked, but taken seriously and pursued further as possible indicators of a plausible similar dating for some works of these sites which formerly have only been speculated as dating vaguely to the early centuries A.D.

IV. Bāmiyān: Some Early Caves

A. *Introduction*

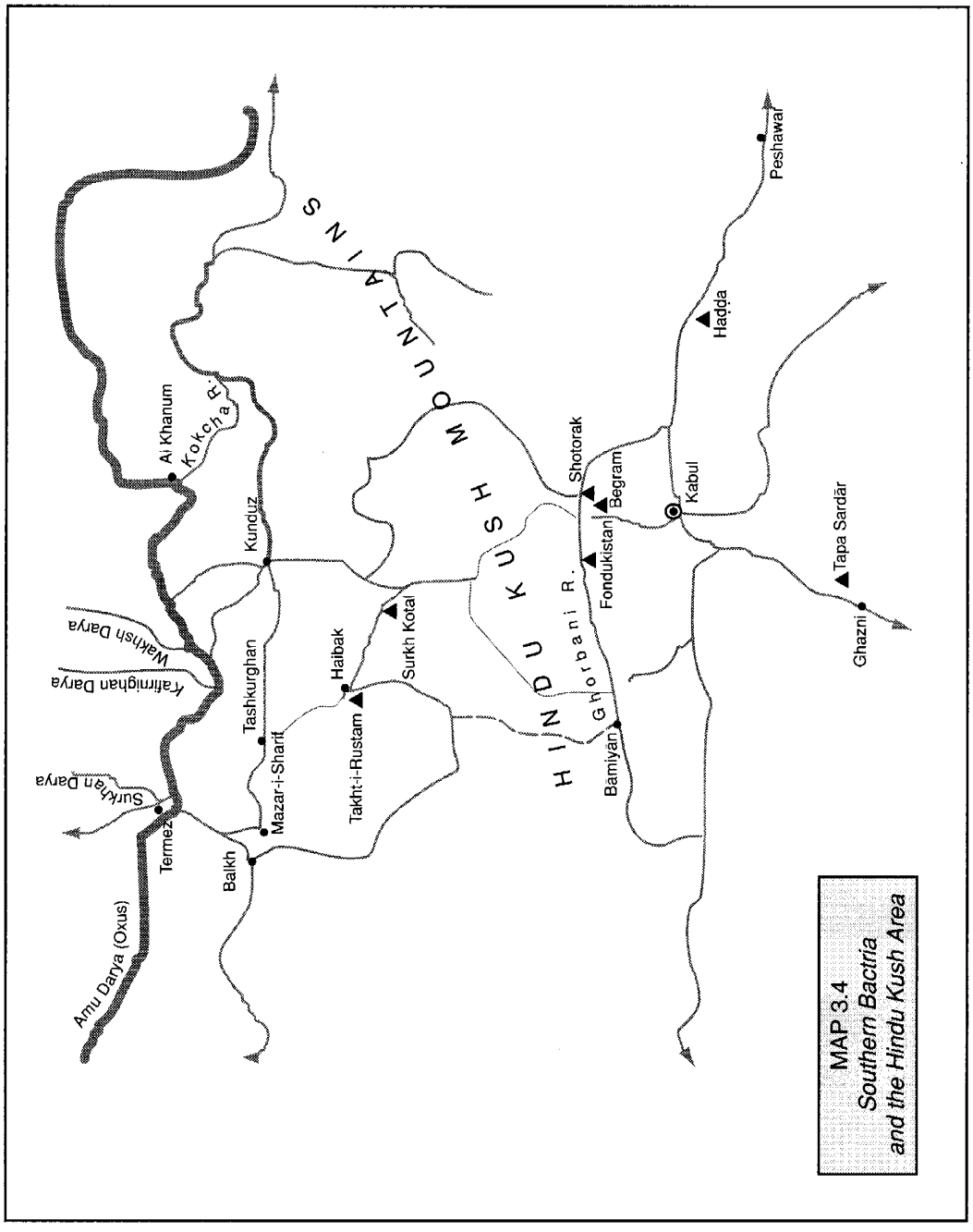
Unquestionably, Bāmiyān remains as one of the most magnificent—and in some aspects unrivaled—Buddhist sites in the world (Fig. 3.48). Despite its lamentably ruinous present condition, its original glory can still partly be perceived.

The valley of Bāmiyān lies about 150 km west of Kabul in central Afghanistan, on one of the trade routes linking Central Asia with Gandhāra and India (Maps 3.1 and 3.4), west of the main north-south road running through Surkh Kotal and Begram, the summer capital of the Kushans. Bāmiyān, though apparently not on the route used by the Chinese Buddhist monk Fa-hsien in ca. 400, was visited in ca. 632 by Hsüan-tsang 玄奘, who left an invaluable record concerning the appearance and customs of that site, and later, in 727, by the Korean Buddhist monk Heicho 慧超.

On several accounts Bāmiyān is a superlative as well as important site. Numbering more than 750 caves, many once decorated in a lavish fashion with clay images and wall paintings, in sheer dimensions it surpasses all other Buddhist cave temple sites just as the two colossal standing Buddha statues (38 and 53 meters), one at each end of the principal cliff at Bāmiyān, are among the finest and grandest of Buddhism's giant statues. The overall concept, scale and execution approach the incredible, astounding the viewer with their beauty and awesome dimensions.

A site of this magnitude and importance has been studied by many scholars over the years, but there has yet to emerge a consensus concerning the chronology of its caves, sculptures and paintings. Many difficulties impede a determination of specific dating for the caves, the most glaring being the lack of definitive evidences concerning the caves prior to the ca. 632 record of Hsüan-tsang, the fragmentary condition of the wall paintings, and near total destruction of the sculptures. The earliest major studies were undertaken by the French Archaeological Mission (MDAFA) under J. Hackin (1930) and later by B. Rowland. The most recent are by the Japanese (Nagoya University under A. Miyaji and the Kyoto University under T. Higuchi), by the Afghans (Z. Tarzi), and by D. Klimburg-Salter.[60] Though there is much controversy,

[60] For example, among the many studies, see: J. Hackin and J. Carl, *Nouvelles Recherches Archéologiques*



MAP 3.4
Southern Bactria and the Hindu Kush Area

even with regard to the dating of the two colossal Buddhas, not to speak of the wall paintings, the most recent assessments conclude that the site generally dates from the 4th to the 7th century A.D., though Deborah Klimburg-Salter dates most activity of the site to the 7th-9th century.[61] The entire site and the problem of its chronology cannot be covered in detail here, but factors important with regard to questions impinging on the topic of Chinese and Central Asian cave temples will be addressed. For this reason, this section will approach only the problem of the earliest phases of work at Bāmiyān in order to assess and reconsider the dating of a few of the earliest paintings and sculptures.

The valley at Bāmiyān stretches east-west and the cave temples are located mainly in the cliffs of conglomerate rock on the north side of the valley (called the principal cliff by the Kyoto University report, whose numbering system will be used here) (Fig. 3.48). At both the eastern and western ends of the valley is an offshoot valley to the south—the Kakrak and Foladi valleys respectively—where a few caves are also to be found, but these will not be considered here. The caves of the Bāmiyān valley principal cliff extend in length over 1300 meters (over 1/2 mile) and are divided into three general groups according to the contours of the cliff. The easterly group (510 meters long, 100 meters high) encompasses Caves 1-294 and contains the smaller colossal Buddha—the Eastern Great Buddha of Cave 155— which occupies the highest place among this group. In the central zone, the smallest of the three cliffs (110 m long and over 60 m high), are Caves 300-350. The western and largest section (680 m long and 150 m high) contains most of the caves (Caves 371-692), including the larger colossal Buddha—the Western Great Buddha of Cave 620. Caves 702 to 748 are located in a high outcropping behind the cliff of the Western Great Buddha. Besides the two colossal standing Buddhas, three relatively large niche-caves for a large seated Buddha statue (Caves 223, 404 and 530) are spaced out at wide intervals between the two great Buddhas.

As pointed out by Higuchi and others, there is a severe dearth of historical or chronological evidences for Bāmiyān aside from Hsüan-tsang's account from his visit in 632 and Heicho's visit in 727.[62] Hsüan-tsang recorded the two colossal Buddhas,

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à Bāmiyān, 1930, MDAFA, Vol. III, Paris, 1933; Z. Tarzi, *L'Architecture et le Décor Rupestre des Grottes de Bāmiyān*, 2 vols., Paris, 1977; D. Klimburg-Salter, *The Kingdom of Bāmiyān*, Buddhist Art and Culture of the Hindu Kush, Naples and Rome, 1989; and T. Higuchi (ed.), *Bāmiyān*, 4 vols., Tokyo, 1983-1984.

[61] For a summary of the various opinions and problems regarding the dating of the Bāmiyān complex as a whole, see Klimburg-Salter (1989), pp. 12-17.

[62] For Hsüan-tsang's account, see Watters (1961 reprint), pp. 115-122. For Heicho's record, see Walter Fuchs, "Huei-Chao's Pilgerreise durch Nordwest-Indien und Zentral-Asien um 726", *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, phil., hist. Klasse, Vol. 25, pp. 426-467. Although Heicho appears to have visited Bāmiyān, he makes no specific note of the colossal Buddhas. In his brief account he writes:

as well as a large reclining Parinirvāṇa Buddha. With regard to the earliest known record of Bāmiyān, there is a notice in the *Pei-shih* 北史, Western Regions Record, that states:

> The Tokhara kingdom (T'u-huo-lo kuo 吐火羅國) was 1200 li from Tai 代(the capital of the Northern Wei between 315 and 386), and east from there [Tokhara] one comes to the kingdom of Fan-yang kuo 范陽國(i.e., Bāmiyān).

Tai was the name of the original homeland of the T'o-pa Northern Wei. In 315 the T'o-pa chief was called "King of Tai"; in 376 the Tai kingdom was destroyed by Fu Chien of Former Ch'in, but in 383, after the successful battle of the Fen River, the Tai kingdom was reinstated. In 386 the T'o-pa king changed the title of King of Tai to King of Wei, so the Tai kingdom period is datable between 315 and 386. Apparently, the name of the kingdom of Bāmiyān was known to the Chinese by this period, i.e., 4th century.[63]

The caves at Bāmiyān form diverse stylistic types. In brief summary based on Higuchi's study, the plans are rectangular, octagonal or circular and the ceilings are flat, vaulted, domed or laternendecke. Most are rectangular with a flat or vaulted ceiling, but these caves more often than not lack any wall paintings or other decor, and so were probably monk's quarters. Most notable among the decorated caves is the usage of the dome, the vault, the squinch arch and the triangular corner truss brackets (laternendecke), some in very complex combinations. Wall paintings along with stucco mouldings, borders and images characterize the decorated caves, all with amazing diversity within what can be recognized as a "Bāmiyān" style, which comprises a complicated mixture of elements relating, in varying degrees according to the indi-

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From Hsieh-yü kuo (謝䫻國; Zabulistan), going towards the north for one day, [I] arrived at Fan-yin country (犯引國 ; i.e., Bāmiyān). The king is a Hu 胡. This country is not bothered by other countries; there is a strong and large military, [therefore] the various countries could not invade. As far as clothing is concerned, [they wear] coats padded with raw cotton and soft furs; the coats are belted. Their products are sheep, horses, wool and cotton, and there is an abundance of grapes. The region has snow and [the weather] is very cold. Dwellings are built on top of hills. The king and nobility as well as the citizens highly respect the Three Jewels. There are quite a number of temples and also quite a number of monks. They practice the Mahāyāna and the Hīnayāna. The people of this country as well as of Hsieh-yü kuo shave their beard and hair, and their customs are similar to those of Ch'i-pin 罽賓. Many things are different; particularly their language is not the same as other countries. Then [I] left Fan-yin country and went north 20 days, reaching the country called T'u-huo-lo kuo 吐火羅國 (Tokharistan ?, possibly Balkh or Bactria)...

See Fuchs (1989), pp. 448-449 for the German translation and pp. 465 (bottom)-466 (top) for the Chinese character text of this excerpt.

[63] Higuchi (1983-1984), IV, p. 66; III, p. 171 (in Japanese).

vidual caves, to art styles from India, Gandhāra, Central Asia, Sasanian Persia, and Byzantium. For our study, Caves 24, 51, 129, 130, 152, 140, 165 and The Eastern Great Buddha (Cave 155), all in the eastern sector, offer pertinent materials and will be discussed here.

B. *Cave 24*

A relatively small and modest cave located rather high in the eastern end of the eastern sector, Cave 24 appears to be one of the earliest caves at Bāmiyān with wall painting remains (Fig. 3.49). It is square in plan (3.7 m on each side) with a domed ceiling and walls slightly curved inward.[64] Notably, curved walls of this kind are a characteristic of some Chinese brick tombs of the late Later Han (25-220 A.D.), Three Kingdoms (220-265) and Western Chin (265-317) periods, particularly in the Kansu (northwest) region. They also appear in some of the earliest Buddhist cave temples in China, such as at Wen-shu shan near Chiu-ch'üan in Kansu and in Toyuk near Turfan on the northern Silk Route both of the early 5th century, and in the early caves at Yün-kang (the T'an-yao caves of ca. 460's-480's) in northern Shansi. At the juncture of the walls and domed ceiling of Cave 24 is carved out a projecting, circular, band-like moulding, which acts both as a rim separating the walls from the ceiling and as a simple transition mechanism between the square walls and the round dome without using the tambours or squinch arches common in the presumably later and more developed caves at Bāmiyān. The moulding displays remains of a fairly rich and complicated vine motif in raised stucco (Fig. 3.50), a standard ornamentation technique in the decor of the Bāmiyān caves. This particular motif seems to relate to some similar painted designs appearing in the garland of the wall painting of M V at Miran of ca. mid-3rd century, though slightly simpler in design (Fig. 5.29), and in the Tun-huang caves from around the mid-5th century and later. In Cave 24 the vine motif is imbued with a loose yet complex rinceau pattern unlike the more concentrated single scroll patterns in stucco in presumably later caves at Bāmiyān.

The entrance (south) and right (east) walls in Cave 24 are ruined, but the north and west walls remain (Fig. 3.49). The small niche in the north wall is probably a later addition as the series of holes for wooden dowls to attach clay/stucco sculptures indicate that the original configuration may have been three or four images on the north wall. Remains of painting on the north wall (Fig. 3.49) show some of

[64] For descriptive details see *Ibid.*, IV, p. 5 and III, p. 16.

the attendants of the missing sculptures. One, who holds a vajra, is probably Vajrapāṇi (Figs. 3.50 and 3.51). Two others, one wearing a crown and another with jaṭāmukuṭa, are probably Indra and Brahmā respectively, as suggested by Higuchi. The background for the figures is lapis lazuli blue; the haloes (round head haloes) are yellow, ochre, white or red, some with bands; and there are a few rather large globular shaped white flowers, probably lotus, on the blue background.

The painting style is exquisitely refined and particularly naturalistic in the Vajrapāṇi (Fig. 3.51) and Brahmā figures. Their bodies and heads turn gracefully and the hands with bending fingers are skillfully drawn. The hair is red and a bit loose with individualistic hair strands executed with thin strokes, some of which create soft edges that reveal a sensitivity to naturalistic depiction. The outlines are red; the line is even but rather delicate. The mouth is depicted in soft contours with a dark, soft inner line very similar to the technique seen in the Buddha and monk paintings from Kara-tepe (Figs. 3.13c,d), but even more delicate.

The painted remains of two Bodhisattvas on the west wall and the Indra figure in the painting of the north wall are more idealistic than the Vajrapāṇi and Indra figures. Their faces are rounder and less "Hellenistic" with shading in orange-red that produces a tight, smooth shape and surface. The ear lobes, which curve outward (a feature occurring in some sculptures from eastern Central Asia of the ca. late 4th-early 5th century, such as the seated wooden Buddha from Khora), are quite elongated with a long slit. Such a long slit occurs in the Kara-dong paintings (near Khotan on the southern Silk Route) probably dating in the late 4th century, though the linear style is a bit freer and bolder than the Cave 24 examples (Figs. 4.86a,b). The best preserved of the Cave 24 west wall Bodhisattvas (Fig. 3.52) as well as the Indra figure[65] wears a large bead or pearl choker necklace. Such necklaces appear in Kushana period art primarily in the coins of Huviṣka (ca. mid-2nd century), but are a prominent feature of early Sasanian art, appearing on the kings in the early monumental stone reliefs, silver vessels and coins mostly during the the 3rd and 4th centuries.[66] Although they also occur from time to time in some later Sasanian coins, they are not portrayed with such persistence and vigor. The multicolored rolled cape with

[65] *Ibid.*, I, Pl. 3-2.

[66] The bead choker necklace type appears in the coins of Huviska of the Kushan dynasty and appears to be limited to this period. See Rosenfield (1967), coins nos. 58, 59, 60, 62, 74, 86, 87, 98, 103. This kind of necklace does not appear on the coins of the Parthians, but it does in the early Sasanian period (3rd and 4th centuries in particular) in representations of rulers (mainly Shapur II, Ardashir II, Hormizd and Bahram III) in monumental stone reliefs, silver plates and on coins. For examples, see Ghirshman (1962), Figs. 205, 209, 211, 217, 218, 233, 248, 250, 252, 254, 304-306, 309, 311, 316-319. The pearl necklace also occurs in later coins, but not with such frequency and clarity as they appear in these early Sasanian examples, particularly during the period of Sharpur II in the 4th century.

arrow-head clasp worn by this Bodhisattva and also by the Indra figure is a special feature appearing in many figures throughout the span of Bāmiyān art. It is noteworthy that the capelike ornament with arrowhead clasp is not observed in Kushan Gandhāran sculptures. A necklace with somewhat similar reflection of this design appears in a standing Bodhisattva from Dalverzin-tepe Buddhist Temple No. 2 (Figs. 3.36a,b). This particular mode of decor may have been a popular type in the Bactrian area, and is also, interestingly, a major element of the decor of Bodhisattvas in the wall paintings of Kizil, though not seen in China to the best of my knowledge. The Cave 24 north wall Indra figure wears a crown whose portrayal appears quite similar to the artistic style of the hat of guardian figure painting at Rawak near Khotan (Fig. 4.83a).

Paintings of Buddhas depicted both in frontal and slightly turned positions on a yellow ground appear on the underside of the projecting moulding. They have low uṣṇīṣas, solid red robes with rather low cowl, and are in the dhyāna-mudrā. These seated Buddhas have both a round head halo and a round encompassing mandorla, similar to that on the Complex B Kara-tepe Buddha wall painting (Fig. 3.13a), though most of the head halo is encompassed within the mandorla in the Cave 24 examples.[67]

In spite of the ceiling being greatly faded, faint remains of painting reveal the configuration of a seated Bodhisattva in dharmacakra-mudrā in the large central circular zone. Below is a row of 14 (originally) seated Buddhas, alternating in a variety of hand gestures (abhayā, dharmacakra, and vitarka-mudrās) without a single one in the dhyāna-mudrā. The vitarka-mudrā appears in Chinese Buddhist art by ca. early years of the 5th century (Tun-huang Cave 272), if not earlier. On the lowest and widest zone of the ceiling standing Buddhas were painted against a blue ground. The teaching Bodhisattva in the center must be Maitreya; perhaps the other two zones of Buddhas constitute the present and past Buddhas. The five Buddhas on the underside of the projecting rim may refer to the Buddhas of the five directions (4 plus the center), a group known in China by the late 4th century. As a whole, the imagery in this cave may represent the Buddhas of all space and time, a prevalent theme in the Buddhist art (particularly Mahāyānist) of the early centuries A.D.

The similarity of the painting technique with that of the Rawak guardian and the Kara-tepe paintings along with the generally early form of the cave all suggest a relatively early date for Cave 24, possibly ca. 3nd-4th century, and probably before the Kara-dong group of paintings of ca. late 4th century. A strong western (Hellenistic) quality is retained in some of the figures, the raised stucco moulding is rather

[67] Higuchi (1983-1984), I, Pls. 2.2 and 2.3.

loosely portrayed (not as complex as later examples), and the iconography remains clear and simply stated, also without the apparent complexity of the more developed caves. If Cave 24 is an early cave at Bamiyan, then it plays an important role for understanding the development of the domed ceiling style with concentric circles containing images, a configuration prevalent in the cave temples of the northern Silk Road in eastern Central Asia.

Cave 25 appears very similar in style and probably dates about the same time, but seemingly a rather rapid evolution of caves in the eastern sector occurs thereafter. The laternendecke ceiling and arched niches employed in Cave 27 become further developed in Cave 33. Cave 35—a major endeavor—is a large cave with a huge trabeated niche for the main image and pointed arched niches along the walls. Further elaboration takes place in Cave 70, which has a complicated wall layout with arched niches in the tambour zone. The trefoil arch with pointed rim and raised stucco rinceau vine design is markedly more elaborate and more clearly composed than the design in Cave 24.

C. *Cave 51*

When Cave 51 was discovered by the French Mission in 1930 (called Grotte G) it had been covered by sand, and was largely preserved as a result. Since then it has rapidly deteriorated and is now practically in ruins except for the rear wall. We therefore rely mainly on the reports and drawings of the French and the fragments of wall paintings and sculptures believed to have come from Cave 51 which are kept in the Kabul Museum and the Musée Guimet in Paris.

Cave 51 is square (4 meters on each side) with a domed ceiling (Fig. 3.53) and four squinch arches (one at each corner) set directly into the dome without a tambour (intermediary wall zone). Only a projecting moulding band effects the transition between the square walls and domed ceiling. Two features uncommon to other Bāmiyān caves occur in this cave: a window in the south wall above the entrance, and a stupa in the center. A window in the entrance wall is common to the early chaitya halls of India (Bhaja, Karle, etc.) and is known in the earliest caves at Yün-kang (ca. 460's opened) in northern China. The stupa in Cave 51 had a rectangular base with two steps on the front (south) side (Fig. 3.53). Only one other cave at Bāmiyān—Cave 385 (J complex)—has evidence of the remains of a free-standing stupa in the center.[68]

[68] Only caves 51 and 385 had remains of a square based stupa at Bāmiyān. *Ibid.*, III, p. 174; Klimburg-Salter (1989), p. 142 (called Cave J).

From the remains of the base of the side walls as well as the holes in the walls used to attach clay/stucco sculptures, it can be ascertained that the cave had a main image in the center of each of the north, east and west walls. The holes further indicate accompanying images to either side of each main image, according to Hackin, in a configuration of three rows of 4 seated Buddha sculptures making 12 on each side of the central image which stood on a lotus pedestal. A number of stucco and wood sculptures were found in this cave, including a male head (Fig. 3.54) which has a tight, round volume, exceptionally smooth surface, and large walrus mustache. Although these features seem to relate this head to the style of male heads in the wall paintings of Miran of ca. mid-3rd century (Figs. 5.23a, 5.24b) and also to some of the heads from Dalverzin-tepe,[69] the extremely taut skin and exaggerated size of the mustache may rather be closer to the early sculpture from the Tumshuk area on the northern Silk Route from ca. late 4th to early 5th century.

1. *The Watercolor Drawing by J. Carl*

From the watercolor copy fortunately but hastily made by J. Carl on June 16, 1930 of the configurations on the north side of the domed ceiling and of the small band below we can know something of the design of that area (Fig. 3.55a). Around the top of the dome was a band of lotus petals in varying colors (blue, green, red, reddish brown, and white),[70] which are large and have an internal linear marking of irregular pointed petals with a rim. A rather similar configuration of petals (though different stylistic portrayal) around the central circular zone is known in some Chinese mirrors of the Three Kingdoms Period (220-265 A.D.)(Fig. 3.55f). The Cave 51 band is framed on either side by a narrow strip of shaded triangular dentil design and what appears to be a row of fine pearls, at least in the uppermost edge. The space between the squinch arches, which contained rows of seated 1,000 Buddhas and a pearl border at the top rim, accommodated a configuration of five seated Buddhas. The largest Buddha in the center, in dhyānāsana, was made of painted stucco, as were his head and body haloes, and pedestal with vine scroll below. The body halo is depicted with the distinctive Bāmiyān style of raised jewel-like protrusions on the outer rim. This form occurs in some notable bronze Buddha statues as well as in other caves at Bāmiyān;[71] however, this appears to be an early rendition,

[69] *ASU*, Figs. 109, 114.

[70] Higuchi notes there are similar ones in Cave 388: Higuchi (1983-1984), III, p. 74.

[71] For the bronze Buddhas with jewel-flame halos, see Czuma (1986), text figures 117.1-5 on p. 211, where they are dated to the 5th-6th century. For drawings of those from Bāmiyān, see Higuchi (1983-1984), III, p. 210.

as it does not occur on the head halo as well, as it does in later examples. The representation of a tree appears above the head halo, a feature seen in the Kara-tepe Buddha painting (Fig. 3.13a and b), in many paintings from Kizil, in the early cave paintings at Tun-huang (Cave 272), and Ping-ling ssu Cave 169 securely dating around 420 A.D. Its representation in the Cave 51 example is quite unpretentious, again possibly suggesting an early usage. The pedestal presents three layers of turned up lotus petals, much as seen in a number of Kushana Gandhāran stone sculptures, but a little more tightly and less natualistically portrayed, though not as summarily portrayed as the lotus petal designs in some Kizil wooden Buddhas. The scroll design supporting the lotus is unusual for Kushan period art. It is a style well-known by the 6th-7th century in Indian art (Ellora); its presence here may also indicate a dating ca. 5th century rather than earlier for this cave. The scroll pattern seems quite naturalistic and is not profuse, yet emphasizes the distinctions between larger and smaller sized patterns of scrolled foliage in a fairly simple design, possibly an indication of an early phase of this motif consonant with a ca. 5th century attribution.

The central Buddha, which is the sculpture in Fig. 3.55b, has a relatively narrow torso and shoulders, which are both covered by the garment whose folds appear to be a little loose and pull tightly across the torso with slanted narrow folds. The straight torso projects a gentle quality and does not emphasize a powerful body. The patterning of the saṅghāṭī over the chest is quite close but less naturalistic than that seen in the marble statue of Aelia Flacilla from Constantinople of about 380-390 (Fig. 3.55c), including the loose sleeve effect. Over the Buddha's legs the garment forms a tight pattern of loose vertical paralled folds with rather fancy, wavy hems. This pattern is somewhat related to the hem patterns on the second garment of both colossal Buddhas at Bāmiyān (Fig. 3.71) and appears close to that used in a seated Buddha dated 453 under the Northern Wei in China (Fig. 3.55e) and a seated stone Buddha probably from Bajaur, northern Pakistan (Fig. 3.55d). The latter is not dated, but it would seem to relate to the N. Wei 453 Buddha in enough respects to probably be tentavively dated around the second half of the 4th to early 5th century.

The somewhat stiff and flared effect in the Cave 51 Buddha of the saṅghāṭī hem over the arms is an unusual feature in early Buddha representations. It does appear in the garment depiction of some paintings from the Dura Europos synagogue dating ca. 254 A.D. (Fig. 3.33b), but it is also a factor, though executed in a bolder and more pronounced way, in the Tapa Sardar Buddhas of Temple 17, probably dating in the 6th or 7th century.[72] Nevertheless, though the Tapa Sardar Buddhas

[72] For the seated Buddhas from Tapa Sardar, see M. Taddei and G. Verardi, "Tapa Sardar: Second

have a general design similar to the Cave 51 Buddha, they appear to be more muscular and vigorous in overall style, more consonant with the 7th century style. Overall, the style of the Cave 51 Buddha seems to match well with the small seated Buddha at the top of the gable from Gandhāra in Fig. 5.69, probably a work of ca. 3rd century (see Chapter 5 study of the relation between some Gandhāran works and the Lou-lan material), and therefore appears to relate to works ranging from ca. 3rd-mid 5th century.

The stucco relief Buddha is flanked on either side by paintings of Vajrapāṇi (at the Buddha's left), a donor offering a string of pearls (at the Buddha's right) and by four seated Buddhas: a dharmacakra and dhyānāsana Buddha on each side, but not symmetrically positioned with respect to the mudrās. These four Buddhas, all in red robes with one shoulder bared, sit on a lotus pedestal of small sized petals, perhaps not unlike those of the Mathurā school Buddha of ca. 4th century in Fig. 3.38b. The two inner Buddhas have what appears to be the jewel flame shaped outer rim for their body haloes while the other two have varicolored rainbow circle rim body halo. Though this representation of the jewel shaped outer rim halo may be an early example, it seems to be a type that evolved during the 5th century and later. All the head halos are plain, but the two outer Buddhas have trees behind them. The shape and proportions of the head and body halo combination seems to derive from the Afghan representation, such as those known from the materials discovered at Shotorak.

The donor figure, wearing a coat with pointed lapels turned back and a border at the opening, has a mustache, long hair and a halo. The bearded Vajrapāṇi wears a crown with flying kusti ribbons and what appears to be a type of armor with leather straps. He holds a fluffy fly whisk (of the kind seen in the Miran painting of Buddha and monks in Fig. 5.24a) in his right hand and a vajra in his left hand. A lotus flower appears in the space to either side of the outermost Buddhas. The rim below has an arrangement of seated 1,000 Buddhas with a lotus bud between each figure; underneath an irregular dot pattern is painted in black on a yellow ground.

The configuration of five Buddhas is an interesting yet puzzling one. It begins to appear in Chinese art in the late 4th-first half of the 5th century. The identity of these five is not immediately apparent, but this representation in Cave 51 at Bāmiyān is an important evidence in the study of the set of five Buddhas. In the case of Cave 51, the presence of Vajrapāṇi would strongly suggest that the central Buddha is Śākyamuni. The other four could be the Buddhas of the four directions, or the other

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Preliminary Report", *East and West*, Vol. 28, Nos. 1-4, December, 1978, Figs.134, 135,, 161-163, 167, 173, 187-191.

three Buddhas of this bhadrakalpa—Krakucchanda, Kanakamuni, Kāśyapa in addition to Śākyamuni—together with Maitreya as the fifth and future Buddha.[73]

2. *Wall Painting Fragments*

Pieces of wall paintings were apparently preserved on the base of the stupa and from the east side was discovered pearl-rimmed circular medallions with boar's head inside, said by Higuchi to be in a style more realistic than the examples from the forecourt of Cave 167.[74]

The northern side of the Cave 51 stupa had a Parinirvāṇa painting of which only the two feet and lower robe of Śākyamuni remained as well as the knees and long boots of some kneeling people and the legs of two standing secular people. One old monk's face from the end portion, generally called Mahākāśyapa, was taken to the Kabul Museum (Fig. 3.57a). Presented in three quarter view, the face portrays the eyes in a strongly drawn, open shape with prominent brown irises, the eyebrows set close to the eyes, and the mouth a bright red color in a shape somewhat close to that of the bronze Buddha head from Khotan (Fig. 4.7). Deft black and grey strokes portray the scratchy beard, and a reddish brown wash is used for some shading under the eye, around the eyebrow, and for the inside of the ear, which has a wide rim, similar to that of the Harvard bronze Buddha in Fig. 1.45. The combination of strong dark even line drawing with delicate, sketchy strokes for the texture of the beard is a painting style appearing in some of the wall paintings at Toprak Kala of ca. 3rd century, such as the bird painting in Fig. 3.47b, which, however, seems slightly simpler in execution, but also has a similar iris depiction.

The west side of the stupa base was almost completely destroyed, but the south side had two preserved steps, the bottom-most of which depicted the design of braided rope in red and white (Fig. 3.56). This motif is commonly seen in Roman art especially in many surviving in mosaics. It may have had its origins in Mesopotamian art where is was a braided snake design. It also occurs in Chinese Buddhist art by the mid 5th century and survives into the early 6th century, after which it disappears as a motif in China. The upper step had a vine design with quite naturalistic but not overly elaborate leaves (Fig. 3.56).

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[73] Deborah Klimburg-Salter suggests one of the smaller Buddhas may be wearing a crown, in which case it may be Maitreya. "The first Buddha to the right perhaps wore a crown. If the latter is the Buddha Maitreya, then the large central figure is Śākyamuni, and the other three are the previous Buddhas. This iconographic program, as reproduced by Carl, is not found elsewhere in the Hindu Kush." Klimburg-Salter (1989), p. 143.

[74] Higuchi (1983-1984), III, pp. 91 -92.

The head, possibly of a Bodhisattva, in Fig. 3.57b is now preserved in the Musée Guimet and is believed to have come from Cave 51. It is drawn in a firm red line and shaded with orange-red wash under the eyes, along the nose, under the nose and in creases and along the contours of the chin and neck. The long neck is thick, splayed outward, and only has one crease fold, a mode similar to some paintings from Kara-dong near Khotan of ca. late 4th century (Fig. 4.86a,b). The ornaments, using varying sized circles connected by extended lines, are somewhat like the decorations on the elephant in the Miran wall paintings of Shrine M V (Fig. 5.35) of ca. mid 3rd century. The mouth shape is distinctively portrayed and is not unlike the representations in the Miran paintings, but very similar to the representation in the guardian painting at Rawak (Fig. 4.83a). The Bodhsattva painting from Cave 169 at Ping-ling ssu, dating ca. 420 shows enough similar features and style of drawing to suggest that this mode of portrayal was widespread by the first half of the 5th century (Fig. 3.57c). Usually the Cave 51 painting is dated later, in the 7th or 8th century, but it seems to have, together with other features of this cave, enough elements to warrant serious consideration as an earlier work of perhaps late 4th or 5th century. Motifs and techniques may continue for long periods—apparently for about 100 years at this time—and one must try to discern the early, developed and later usage of motifs and account for the time differential that it may take to travel to other regions. Of course, motifs and elements of a style can be revived later as well, not to speak of different hands and different regional interpretations, so the subtle differences of these modes of portrayal should be noticed. In dealing with such complex situations, one has to be aware not only that certain motifs may be similar, but must be able to take account of all these possible reasons that may cause differences in date of make. For this reason it is also important to notice the stylistic changes within a motif pattern that could fluctuate over as long period of time. So it is important to assess the overall style of the paintings and sculptures as well as motif designs.

Cave 51 is a complex cave with many unanswered questions remaining. Foucher and Hackin dated Cave 51 (Grotte G) and Cave 129 (Grotte A) as the earliest at Bāmiyān, dating from the third century A.D. Itsuji Yoshikawa dates it along with Cave 129 and 164 and 165 and others to the latter half of his late period, i.e., to the 7th century. Akira Miyaji postulated four styles for the wall paintings; Cave 51 is placed with the second group and Cave 129, 164 and 165 and others in the last group. It seems, from the discussion here, that many of the motifs and stylistic fac-

[75] M. Rhie (1995), p. 98.

[76] Higuchi (1979), Pl. 123, no. 246. Also see Nara National Museum, *Higashi Ajia no Hotoke-tachi* 東アジアの仏たち, Nara, 1966, Nos. 4, 5, 6.

tors are known in the art of Afghanistan and western Central Asia in particular around the 3rd century A.D., but that their usage in Cave 51 appears to be a later development, probably around the 5th century.

D. *Caves 129, 130 and 152*

Cave 129 is about 5 meters square with a domed ceiling and tambour containing four squinch arches (Fig. 3.58). The walls were decorated with clay/stucco sculptures (as indicated by the holes) without carved out niches, as well as with wall paintings, which apparently covered the entire surface of the cave. Faint traces of painted seated 1,000 Buddhas remain on the dome (especially on the north side), and some paintings still survive in the tambour section and on the lower walls.

The painted configuration on the tambour zone consists of a large seated Buddha in the center flanked by five smaller seated Buddhas on each side, the whole configuration repeated three times, once on the north (the back or main wall), east and west sides between the squinch arches (Fig. 3.58). The main Buddha in abhayā-mudrā on the west side has flames issuing from his shoulders (Fig. 3.59); the one on the north side, apparently in dhyāna-mudrā, has one shoulder bare and lacks flames; the one on the east is not clear. The configuration suggests a main Buddha on each of the three sides (perhaps a Buddha of the three times: past, present and future) surrounded by the Buddhas of the 10 directions. The flame-shouldered Buddha, already noted as a popular type in the Afghan school of Kushan art in particular, according to Deborah Klimburg-Salter, may be Dīpaṃkara as Buddha of the Past.[77] All the Buddhas wear red robes and have a small head halo, large round body halo, and a white seat. The ground is blue with white globular flowers (lotus buds) filling the spaces between the Buddhas. Surprisingly, the form of the Buddhas, with large body, broad and rounded shoulders, thick neck, and square face is quite similar to the painting of the master of the tomb in a Koguryŏ tomb at Tŏkhungri, North Korea, dated 408 (Fig. 3.60).[78] Even the delicate line, small eyebrows and mouth, curved V of the neckline and broad, smooth planes of the robe are remark-

[77] Klimburg-Salter (1989), pp. 115-116 suggests that the Buddha with flaming shoulders in this cave (Cave A) is Dīpaṃkara as Buddha of the Past in a configuration of the Buddhas of the Past, Present and Future. She discusses in her book the importance of Dīpaṃkara at Bāmiyān and the emphasis at this site of the focus on the career of Śākyamuni Buddha, in which Dīpaṃkara is the Buddha who predicted Śākyamuni's Buddhahood. She also interprets the 55 m standing colossal Buddha as Dīpaṃkara.

[78] Some of the early Koguryŏ tombs have important extant wall paintings, some containing Buddhist motifs. For the important Tŏkhungri cave see Yonghon Chu, *Tokufunri kokuri hekiga kofun* (Koguryŏ Murals in the Tŏkhungri Tomb), Tokyo, 1986.

ably similar. One would expect that the Bāmiyān Cave 129 painting would likely be earlier in date than the 408 Tŏkhungri painting. The broad body shape also appears in a seated bronze Bodhisattva from Taxila (Fig. 3.61), whose halo is similarly small with an outer band like the Cave 129 Buddhas. The flames issuing from the shoulders are rendered in a particularly delicate and naturalistic form that, in fact, strongly links them stylistically with the flames surrounding the seated Buddha in the painting from Complex D at Kara-tepe of ca. 2nd-3rd century (Fig. 3.17), a figure which also has rather similar proportions as the Cave 129 Buddha.

On the squinch arches are rows of seated Buddhas in red robes (probably the 1,000 Buddhas), except the Buddhas of the southeast corner arch, which are executed only in line drawing (Fig. 3.62) in a style that also appears close to the seated Buddha from D complex at Kara-tepe (Fig. 3.17). The line-drawing Buddhas have large bulbous uṣṇīṣas—a kind that appears repeatedly in the small bronze Buddha sculptures in China from the 4th-early 5th century in China. Overall, the style of the cave plan seems to be more advanced than Cave 24 and the style of paintings would appear to bear some relation to but probably more developed than the paintings of ca. 2nd-3rd century at Kara-tepe and to date before the 408 Tŏkhungri wall paintings and early 5th century Buddha sculptures in China, thus suggesting a dating ca. 4th century, probably later part, for this cave.

Cave 130, smaller than Cave 129 and probably datable to about the same period, is square with dome ceiling and tambour with four sets of squinch arches. Only some remains of the paintings can be seen in the tambour and squinch arches, though not in good condition. On the western side of the tambour are three large images sitting in a row and a smaller one at each end making a total of five, probably all Buddhas in red robes. The southwest squinch arch shows seated 1,000 Buddhas in dhyāna-mudrā.[79]

Cave 152 is one of the caves centered around the Eastern Great Buddha's niche. Located on the way up a stairway at the Buddha's right side, it has a window overlooking the colossal image. The plan of the cave is an irregularly shaped rectangle with a smooth vault ceiling. The vault ceiling is known in the caves of Kara-tepe near Termez in the main hall of the cave of complex B (before the mid 4th century). A few wall paintings remain on the ceiling and on part of the west wall three halos of a triad can still be seen.[80] The ceiling paintings consist of rows of fairly large Buddhas, presumably the 1,000 Buddhas, seated cross-legged each on a plain white disc (lotus or moon disc?) (Fig. 3.63). They are arranged in a series of five or

[79] Higuchi (1983-1984), I, Pl. 19.
[80] *Ibid.*, I, Pls. 21.1, 21.2, and 21.3.

six Buddhas in each row; all turn their heads up towards the top of the ceiling and have various mudrās. The round head halos are plain brown or yellow ochre; the body halos are composed of a selection of blue-green, yellow ochre, blue or white bands in differing combinations, except the blue appears always next to the body. Between all the Buddhas on the blue ground is a cluster of three or four white lotus flowers, some in a bud shape with the tip in yellow ochre. The Buddhas, whose bodies are full and rounded with sloping shoulders, are garbed in reddish-brown robes covering both shoulders and the feet. Drapery folds are drawn in lighter color and some lines are paired, equivalent to "double incised" lines in sculpture. These Buddhas closely resemble the stucco Buddhas from the Devnimori Stupa in Gujarat of ca. third quarter of the 4th century (Fig. 3.64).[81] Since this cave more than likely was executed after the carving of the Eastern Great Buddha, its style would tend to confirm a dating for the colossal Buddha prior to or around the mid or late 4th century.

E. *Cave 140*

Cave 140 is a double cave with two rectangular rooms: the flat-roofed front chamber, shorter on the front and back ends than on the sides, has a trefoil arched entrance doorway and a vaulted entrance that leads into the rear chamber, which is the larger of the two and longer on the sides than at the two ends. The ceiling of the main (rear) room is an amazingly elaborate and complex trapezoidal shape scored with a deep cruciform depression. The center crossing, twice deeper than the sides of the cross, has a recessed lanterndecke design. The four trapezoidal corner projections resulting from the cruciform depression each have a small recessed dome within a square (Fig. 3.65 a, b). Vestiges of this ceiling design used in conjunction with other configurations appear in Caves 159, 160, and 167, but none are as singular nor as complicated as the one in this cave, which may have played the role of prototype. A low platform runs around all the walls except the entrance wall, and the cave's only niche—now empty—is a parabolic shaped niche 130 cm deep in the rear wall.[82]

Cleaning by the Indian team in the 1970's revealed some remains of wall paintings with brilliant color on the rear (north) and west walls of the main room. Enough

[81] R. N. Mehta and S. N. Chowdhary, *Excavation at Devnimori*, Baroda, 1966, pp. 27-29, where the stupa containing the images was found to date "not earlier than 305 A.D. and not later than 375 A.D." or during the reign of Rudrasena III in the third quarter of the 4th century.

[82] Higuchi (1983-1984), III, p. 33.

is revealed in the fragment of a Buddha in Fig. 3.66 to show the upper portion of the head and the round red halo, the large proportions of the head with tight hair curls executed in crisp black lines, and a tight, round uṣṇīṣa. Despite the difference in medium, we can recognize that the style of this head relates to the clay Buddha head from Dalverzin-tepe Buddhist Temple No. 2 (Fig. 3.32) datable to the late 2nd-3rd century, particularly in the full, tight shape of the cranium and uṣṇīṣa, and in the sharp, clear delineation of the hair curls.

In the upper corner (south side) of the west wall the painted remains of a triad shows the upper portion of niches and figures (Fig. 3.67a). In the center is a beautiful trabeated niche with the main Buddha whose head is slightly tilted and lightly shaded in red at the hairline. The niche has a vine rinceau boldly drawn in a thick, even, black line on the orange-red ground (Fig. 3.67b). This type and style of vine motif is closely echoed in some stone steles of Buddhist images dated 411 and 424 from Sian (to be discussed in the sequel to this book). To each side of the main Buddha is a smaller, parabolic niche with a standing figure inside (Higuchi notes they are probably Buddhas).[83] The rims of these two niches are decorated with an interesting design (called a flower petal design by Higuchi) that has a double lined semicircular C loop at the outer edge and three lines like a stem pointing inward. As the border of a halo, it could be a stylized flame design, possibly in an earlier stage of evolution than the flamboyant C-shaped flame designs seen in Chinese Buddhist art from the 5th century. These attendant figures have red head halos and a body halo in blue/green with white shading or band at the outer rim. Between the niches are painted architectural features in black and slate blue color, including embattlements. Above the configuration at the juncture of the wall with the ceiling is painted a stepped merlon embattlement design; as noted earlier, this design is common in the architecture of Transoxiana and appears as a motif in the N. Liang stone stupas (ca. 420's) and Tun-huang Cave 257 paintings (ca. 480's). From the comparable elements that the Cave 140 painting fragments have in common with the Dalverzin-tepe images of ca. late 2nd-3rd century and Chinese works of early 5th century, one can reasonably speculate that this cave may have been executed sometime in the 3rd-4th century period.

[83] Higuchi notes there are Buddhas in the painted niches. *Ibid.*, III, p. 33.

F. *Cave 165*

Cave 165, one of the major caves located just west of the Eastern Great Buddha niche, seems to be a pair with Cave 164, which is adjacent on the east.[84] Both have an interconnected forecourt and a large circular main room, and the wall paintings in the main room of each are similar in style. In the forecourt of Cave 165 (width 7.25 meters) wall paintings remain on the west and north walls, all only drawn in reddish brown color, possibly unfinished, but more probably in the mode as known from Kara-tepe of using only a monochrome red drawing technique. On the north wall are two rows of alternating standing Buddhas and stupas (Fig. 3.68a) and on the west wall, besides a standing Buddha and stupa, is a large seated Buddha with head and body halo and three large leaves above the head halo (Fig. 3.68b).

The stupas, though drawn with slight variation, generally possess a two level square bases separated by a recessed zone, a flight of stairs (possibly implied for all four sides), a low hemispherical dome, and a tall concial array of tiers of umbrellas supported by strut brackets from the upper surface of the dome. From a smaller conical top section above the tiers of umbrellas fly long cloth banners. These stupas appear related to the bronze stupa from Jauliāñ, Taxila (Fig. 4.25c) and the small pair of stupas in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Fig. 4.25a), both of which are discussed in Chapter 4 as early examples of the stupa with square or cruciform base and four-sided stairs. However, the Cave 165 stupas appear to be more developed than the Metropolitan Museum stupas and perhpas slightly less evolved than the Jauliāñ bronze stupa, although the extra top on the Cave 165 stupas is a totally different feature.

The drawing of the Buddhas is somewhat sketchy with bold, thick line, rather similar to the line drawing of the Miran wall paintings of ca. mid-3rd century. For example, the pleating of the lower garment of the Buddha in the upper left corner of the north wall (Fig. 3.68a) is clearly a simpler version of the kind used in the lower garment of the figures of the seated men in the wall painting from Miran M III of ca. mid-3rd century (Fig. 5.23a), and the shaping of the body and robe over the arms in a loose manner in the large seated Buddha of the west wall (Fig. 3.68b) is readily associable with the Miran Shrine III Buddha painting (Fig. 5.24a,b), though the increased boldness in the Cave 165 paintings probably indicates a later dating, perhaps into the 4th century.

The circular main room (dia. 6.5 meters) employed a configuration of 15 tall parabolic niches around the three sides (except the entrance wall) with the three

[84] *Ibid.*, III, pp. 90-91.

main niches larger than the others (Fig. 3.69). They all seem to have held standing figural sculptures. Above is a tambour zone with some remains of the painted halos of standing Buddhas (Fig. 3.70), originally executed in stucco, whose presence is now only marked by the holes for the wooden dowls used to affix the images to the surface. On the large ceiling dome remain only the lower parts of six painted standing Buddhas with varied hand gestures, gracefully turning slightly to the side, wearing brown robes covering both shoulders, and resting each foot on a separate, round lotus pedestal (Fig. 3.70). The body halos are painted in blue with red and reddish brown outer bands. Between the figures stand slender straight pillars with pot base, behind which appears a blue "sky" and brown ground sprinkled with various fanciful flowers and jeweled necklaces in charming, meticulously executed designs. The color is rich and the painting finely executed with delicately modelled hands and feet in yellow. The posture and shape of the Buddhas and the placement of the feet in a rather natural and relaxed manner on individual lotus pedestals appear related to the two standing Buddhas of the wall painting from Fayaz-tepe of ca. 2nd-3rd century (Fig. 3.22). In conclusion, Cave 165 (and probably 164 as well) shows a relationship with works of ca. 3rd century, so there is a possibility that it may date to this time or later into the 4th century. If so, then one could entertain the speculation that the Eastern Great Buddha was probably carved by that time as well, since the position of the caves to the west of the Eastern Great Buddha would more than likely have been carved after the best carving location had been taken by the colossal image.

G. *Cave 155: The Eastern Great Buddha Niche*

Of all the wonders of Bāmiyān, it is the two colossal standing Buddhas which impart the most extraordinary character to the whole site. Virtually unsurpassed among Buddhist art remains for their quality and impressive dimensions, they still stand, despite damage, as a stupendous monument of the Buddhist world. Because of their importance in concept and execution, it is of great interest to elucidate their date, especially in regard to the problem of the history and development of the colossal image in Buddhist art, an issue of particular relevance vis-à-vis the colossal images of Kizil and Yün-kang, and possibly the colossal image at T'ien-t'i shan near Wu Wei in Kansu made by the Northern Liang ruler in the early 5th century. Although these important issues for Central Asian and Chinese Buddhist art in particular will be a major topic in the sequel to this book dealing with the Buddhist art of the Sixteen Kingdoms Period (317-439 A.D.), because Bāmiyān is related to the art of

western Central Asia, a preliminary discussion of the Eastern Great Buddha at this juncture is also relevant here—at least to set the stage for further probing into this major problem.

By no means is there agreement among scholars on the dating of the two Bāmiyān colossal Buddhas. According to the French (J. Hackin and others), the two colossal Buddhas are later than Kushana Gandhāran art and earlier than the cave temples of Yün-kang (started in the 460's) and Lung-men (started in the 490's). Hackin thought the 53 m Buddha is late 4th century or early 5th century and the 35 m Buddha was finished in the latter part of the 5th century. B. Rowland dated the Eastern Great Buddha to the 3rd-4th century as a version of the Gandhāran Buddhas, and the Western Great Buddha, which he assessed as Mathurā Gupta style, dating a little later than that Indian school. Itsuji Yoshikawa dated both Buddhas early, but the eastern one earlier and the western one to the 5th century. Akira Miyaji placed the Western Great Buddha earliest and the eastern one in his Style II period. T. Higuchi, on the basis of the construction technique, dates the Eastern Great Buddha earlier than the Western Great Buddha (Fig. 3.77).[85] Deborah Klimburg-Salter dates all the caves at Bāmiyān to a single, cohesive movement, religious concept and artistic school from the 7th-9th century and the two colossal Buddhas to no earlier than 600[86], but clearly before the arrival of the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Hsüan-tsang in ca. 632, who describes both Buddhas in his famous writings.

Certainly prototypes of colossal images have been known from earlier times in the West, from the ancient Egyptian, Greek and Roman empires and these may have been a factor in the underlying stimulus for the Bāmiyān colossal Buddhas. The appearance of very large images is apparently not known to ancient India before the 5th century and even those of the 5th century and later do not classify as colossal in the sense of the Bāmiyān Buddhas. Nevertheless, the ideas contained within the literature of India, even in the Buddhist works, supply ample basis for the concept of a colossal image. Bāmiyān's location like a hub at the juncture of the West, India and Central Asia, not only afforded easy access to influences from the Silk Road, but also meant that Bāmiyān could readily be both receiver and transmitter of art forms. Whether or not the colossal images of Bāmiyān are to be thought the first in the Buddhist world, i.e., the primary prototype for the colossal images of Central Asia and China, depends in large measure on determining the date of the Bāmiyān colossal images. Most scholars think that at least one of the great Bāmiyān

[85] *Ibid.*, III, pp. 83-89.

[86] Klimburg-Salter (1989), pp. VII, 90-91. "Probably the two extant colossal status of the Buddha at Bāmiyān can be dated no earlier than ca. A.D. 600."

Buddhas was completed in the earliest, pre mid-fifth century phase of Bāmiyān and most believe it is the smaller, Eastern Great Buddha. Though not an exhaustive study, the following comparative study of the style of this Buddha in relation to other known works, especially some from China, seems to confirm that the Eastern Great Buddha dates to the 4th century A.D., possibly the later half, and is therefore probably earlier than the known colossal images of T'ien-t'i shan, Kizil and Yün-kang.

The Buddha figure, now damaged by loss of most of the face, the two hands, and the stucco covering of the lower parts of the drapery, nevertheless still stands majestically within its deep, vaulted, parabolic shaped niche (Fig. 3.71). Located at the highest rising of the vertically flat cliff, technically the best location in the entire principal cliff according to Higuchi, the niche begins about 20 meters above the valley floor, is 40 m high, 15 m wide at the bottom, and, at the head area, is 9 m wide and 9 m deep. The niche slopes asymmetrically around the Buddha figure, possibly to avoid existing caves, some of which may have been very close to the edge. Higuchi suggests there was an attempt to create a trefoil niche, but this was abandoned before reaching the shoulder level. The height of the Buddha is 38 meters (a new revised measurement obtained after recent excavation to the original floor level of the niche (the French Team had previously estimated 35 m).[87]

Though the image is clearly related to the Kushan Afghan/Gandhāran school lineage, its specific style seems modified and not exactly coterminous with the sculptures of the 1st-3rd century period, such as the famous standing Śrāvastī Miracle stele in the Musée Guimet (Fig. 3.73), which, partly by virtue of its similarity of style with the sculptural ensemble in the lower register of the funerary triclinium of Maqqai of 229 A.D. at Palmyra (Fig. 3.74) can be strongly considered to date ca. 3rd century A.D. The sharp, firm lines and bold, rounded form seem especially compatible in each. From another direction, the rather straight, frontal stance of the Eastern Great Buddha bears some common general approach with the late 3rd-early 4th century Nāgārjunakoṇḍa Buddhas (Fig. 1.42), but the slight bend of the knee is in the Gandhāran tradition. The delicate treatment of the drapery accords somewhat with the thin nature of drapery inherent in the Kushan stucco Buddhas of Haḍḍa and Gandhāra and even with Parthian and Palmyarene works, such as the 229 sculptures in Fig. 3.74, but the folds have a pronounced laxity and regular disposition that distinguishes the style from those images. Such laxity and the rather delicate nature of the folds as well as a specific fold with a mildly concave surface does find some match in the fold treatment in the lower portion of the shirt of the Anahita goddess image in the monumental relief at Naqsh-i-Rustam of the investi-

[87] *Ibid.*, IV, p. 18.

ture of the Sasanian king Narsah (293-302 A.D.) of the late 3rd or early 4th century (Fig. 3.75).

With regard to further specific points, one of the most interesting is the treatment of the saṅghāṭī as it falls from the right arm making a gaping, tunnel-like effect between the two vertical edges of the saṅghāṭī. This is a manner akin to the technique employed in the Style I Buddhas at Rawak (Fig. 4.29), the Mathurā Buddha in Fig. 4.30 and the Complex D Buddha at Kara-tepe (Fig. 3.16a), though perhaps not quite so radically, clearly or sharply stated as in these examples, which probably date on stylistic grounds from the ca. late 2nd or 3rd century (Kara-tepe Buddha) to the early 4th century (Rawak Style I), as discussed more in detail in Chapter 4. The edges of the drapery falling from the right arm in the Eastern Great Buddha are even more stunningly similar in technique with those on the Spink collection Dīpaṃkara Buddha sculpture from Swat (Fig. 4.44a), a magnificent image which probably dates to around the mid 4th century on the basis of its stylistic compatibility with the Buddha image in the niche recently dated to around the mid 4th century from Butkara I in Swat (Fig. 4.44b).[88] Also, the Eastern Great Buddha has some compatibility with the Buddha from this datable Butkara I niche: a similar stocky proportioning and sense of overall cohesiveness of slightly relaxed linear treatment, factors which further support a ca. mid 4th century dating for the Eastern Great Buddha.

The semi-circular fold motif between the legs of the Eastern Great Buddha appears to be more developed in a stylized or mannered sense than the folds over the legs in most Kushana period Gandhāran stone statues. The standing Buddha from Loriyan Tangai dated Year 318 (probably ca. 196 A.D.) may have a slight tendency in such a direction[89], but the standing stone Buddha in Fig. 3.76, which seems to date close to the Haṣṭnagar Buddha possibly of ca. 262 A.D. (Fig. 3.16d), clearly shows the tendency towards this type of fold pattern. Also, this fold patterning in the Eastern Great Buddha may be considered as a simplified and stylized version of the drapery of the standing Buddha from Temple No. 2 at Dalverzin-tepe of ca. late 2nd or early 3rd century (Fig. 3.33a). They are clearly not so radically and manneristically treated as those used in the later phase sculptures at Rawak from ca. late 4th to mid 5th century (Figs. 4.43, 4.47, 4.55) and in dated standing Buddhas from the 5th century in China, such as the 443 Buddha in Fig. 3.77.

The 443 bronze standing Buddha is important in several other respects for the Eastern Great Buddha. Not only is it a dated work in China that helps to define the

[88] See Chapter 4, footnote 93 for discussion of the dating of this niche.

[89] For the famous Loriyan Tangai Buddha, see Czuma (1986), text Fig. 16; Ingholt and Lyons (1957), text Fig. II-1.

parameters of the gaping fold from the raised right arm, it also has the vertical folds down the legs, and the specific form of the hair, with gentle undulations and very fine strands (Figs. 3.72b and 3.77). Furthermore, though the hands are missing from the Eastern Great Buddha, those of the 443 Buddha may provide an example of the most plausible original position. The right forearm of the Eastern Great Buddha is very slightly raised and more than likely the hand was in the abhayā-mudrā. The left forearm is practically parallel to the ground and, if it had a form of the vara-mudrā, it would probably have been similar to the position in the 443 Buddha, perhaps while holding a hem of the garment, a mode used in numerous Kushana Afghan and Gandhāran examples, such as Fig. 3.73 whose left arm, however, is lowered too far to be equated directly with the Eastern Great Buddha. Though the specific fold patterns on the 443 Buddha are not those of the Eastern Great Buddha but rather follow patterns evolving on the imagery of the northern Silk Route and at Tun-huang, the body form with narrow straight chest is compatible. Elements such as the three lines on the neck occur in the sculpture of Palmyra by the 2nd-3rd century (before 256 A.D.) (Fig. 3.11) and are seen in the Miran paintings of ca. mid 3rd century (Fig. 5.23a, 5.24a).

All these relationships suggest parameters of the 4th to early 5th century for the Eastern Great Buddha, but there are further compelling evidences from the cave temple site of Ping-ling ssu in Kansu province which offer stronger confirmatory materials for a 4th century dating. Fuller explanation will be provided in the sequel to this book which discusses in detail the chronology of the earliest images at Ping-ling ssu, but in summary a few points can be noted here. A significant relation appears between the style and technique of the Eastern Great Buddha and the Ping-ling ssu Niche No. 1 Buddha, which is a semi-colossal Buddha datable to ca. mid-4th century (Fig. 3.78a). Though naturally not all factors relate, a few important ones do: the straight and short-waisted upper trunk without muscular definition, the somewhat awkward juncture of the legs with the body, the rectangular shape of the large head with softly rounded jowls, and the gauze-like quality of the drapery and some of its folds. Also, in one of the earliest Bodhisattvas from Ping-ling ssu Cave 169 (Fig. 3.78b), possibly dating before 396 A.D. but certainly before the 420 date in that cave, the hem fold of the wide kerchief-like crown ribbon that still remains on the image's right side has a pattern practically identical to the hem fold of the second robe of the Eastern Great Buddha as seen under the Buddha's raised right arm (Fig. 3.72). Such a motif is probably a mode of short duration, as it does not appear in other Chinese imagery as far as I know. Such a close match would seem to suggest some reasonably close time factor for both of these examples, and the Ping-ling ssu image is without dispute an early image ca. late 4th to early 5th century.

From the point of view of technique it is also very interesting that only the earliest images in Ping-ling ssu Cave 169, that is, those dating prior to the 420 dated Amitāyus niche and possibly prior to the images of ca. 396 (a more controversial date), are fashioned according to the technique of carving a basic core shape from the stone of the cave walls and affixing a clay covering for the finished image. This technique is notably limited to these early works at Ping-ling ssu Cave 169. Although it is possibly used in a few of the other earliest Buddhist cave temples in China (pre mid 5th century), the Ping-ling ssu Cave 169 example is the most reliable. Thereafter, this technique appears to have been abandoned, except for possibly a few colossal images of the T'ang period. This technique was also not used for the colossal images of Kizil or Yün-kang, but it is the technique used in the colossal images at Bāmiyān. This stone core technique may have been used for the very earliest cave temples images in China—those of the late 4th-early 5th century—but then abandoned as a less suitable method, especially for the smaller images, which came to be made completely in clay moulded around a wood or straw core. Taking all of these relevant factors into account, a date for the Eastern Great Buddha of ca. 4th-early 5th century seems to be consistently upheld. The Western Great Buddha will not be addressed here, as it appears to have been made later, after ca. mid 5th century and beyond the limits of the present study.

The wall paintings in the niche (Cave 155) of the Eastern Great Buddha are too complex to present here, but a few comments may provide a hint for future research. In the composition of the figures behind the balcony at the sides of the great vault over the colossal Buddha can be seen a measured, regular configuration that is relatable to the composition of sculptured figures standing behind a balcony from the base of the Hippodrome obelisk from the reign of Theodosius in Constantinople of the late 4th century (Fig. 3.79). Certainly the relationship with the art of the period of Theodosius of Constantinople, a flourishing empire at the time, bears further consideration in regard to the artistic styles of Central Asia around the late 4th to early 5th century.

There are also some surprising similarities with wall paintings in the early Koguryŏ tombs in North Korea. Though North Korea may be far from Bāmiyān, the art of N. Korea, as shown time and time again, has a strong relationship with the art of Central Asia, and it is this connection that the motifs and styles may be related to Bāmiyān. For example, the smooth shaping of the painted figures of the Eastern Great Buddha niche with their generally broad, rounded shoulders (Fig. 3.80a) also finds some parallel with the shape of the master in the tomb at Tŏkhungri dating 408 A.D. and mentioned earlier for its relation to the style of paintings in Bāmiyān Cave 129 (Fig. 3.60). A similar large, smooth body shape can be seen as well in the Devnimori

sculptures (Fig. 3.64), noted above in reference to the Cave 152 paintings. The rather dry line of these niche paintings (Fig. 3.80a), possibly related to linear styles of the Parthian and Sasanian art, of which little remains, interestingly is relatively close to the crisp drawing, long faces with long nose and sharp lines as seen in the paintings of the main figures in Tomb No. 3 at Anak dated 357 A.D.(Fig. 3.81). This is the tomb of the Chinese general Tongsu, and the painting style probably reflects the sophisticated styles of China as well. The manner of portraying the hands of Tongsu, with long, bent over fingers, is almost identical to the hand depictions of some of the figures of the Eastern Great Buddha niche (Fig. 3.80a). Such details, as well as an overall similarity of the linear quality with both the 357 Anak and 408 Tŏkhungri wall paintings would seem to indicate a 50-year spread for this style and one which may also include the paintings of the Bāmiyān 38 m Buddha niche.

Further details such as the crown type on the bejeweled Buddha in Fig. 3.80b find some parallels, albeit in more vigorous form, in the art of Niya (Fig. 5.4) of ca. mid-3rd century. More importantly, however, this figure has a clear stylistic association with the painting of the Buddha from Complex B at Kara-tepe (Fig. 3.13c), especially in the portrayal of the face, shape of the ears, eyebrows, and full face. Though these features appear a bit more developed in the Bāmiyān example (the ears are longer and there is a firmer, harder quality to the line), this may be, at least in part, a factor of a time differential, as the Kara-tepe painting probably dates ca. late 2nd or early 3rd century A.D. The face of the male in Fig. 3.82 has some remarkable characteristics of the face of the princely figure from Shami (Fig. 3.4), including the tautly rounded large face, sharply inclined thin mustache and smooth, abstract planes; however, the brittle linear style relates more closely to the Anak and Tŏkhungri wall paintings. Thin lines for the nose is a feature that also occurs not only in the paintings of these two Koguryŏ tombs, but in part is reflected in some of the Cave 169 paintings at Ping-ling ssu of ca. 420 (Fig. 4.88).

V. Conclusions

There is no question of the importance and relevance of the newly excavated and discovered materials in western Central Asia for understanding not only the Kushana art of the Gandhāran and Bactrian regions, but also for eastern Central Asia and China. Though no exact dates that can be related to a known chronological system have yet been found in these excavations, the general consensus concerning dating and rather clear chronological parameters of the western Central Asian materials provide a relatively stable basis. Though there is some flexibility and fluctuation in

dates and opinions vary a little, in general most of the materials presented in this chapter from the Transoxiana region can clearly be relegated to a period prior to ca. mid 4th century. Similar conclusions are reached regarding the art of the "Kharoṣṭhī Writing" period in the Shan-shan kingdom of eastern Central Asia, as will be discussed in Chapter 5. These evidences are at the very least providing a benchmark or general terminal date for what can be regarded as the early phase or greater Kushana period phase in the art of western and eastern Central Asia. Bāmiyān is something of a spearate and perplexing case. In what are considered here as the early caves at Bāmiyān there is a pertinent relationship to the art of the Transoxiana region and some of the materials studied in this chapter; but also there is a relation to a slightly later phase of art in the 4th and 5th century. In summary, when studied as a cohesive body of material, the art of western Central Asia and early Bāmiyān yields a general chronological development with regard to sculpture, painting and architecture roughly as follows.

A. *Sculpture*

With regard to sculpture, the Khalchayan works are among the earliest, probably dating ca. 1st century B.C.-1st century A.D. with strong elements of Hellenistic naturalism mixed with some Parthian elements, particularly in the style of male costumes. The ossuary sculpture from Koy-krylgan Kala with its stronger abstract style, seems related to the dynastic sculptures from the Temple of Māṭ at Mathurā of ca. last quarter of the 1st century A.D. and with the priest paintings from the Temple of Bel of ca. 1st-2nd century in Dura Europos. The portrait sculptures from the "king's hall" of Temple No. 1 at Dalverzin-tepe are probably of the late 1st-2nd century A.D. They exhibit a strong, bold style related to the Caṣṭana statue from the Mathurā Temple of Māṭ as well as to some heads from Khotan. The Airtam sculptures may be close to this style, or a little earlier; they date around the mid-2nd century. The Dalverzin Temple No. 2 sculptures are a bit later than those of Temple No. 1, and probably date around the late 2nd to early 3rd century. The sculptures from this particular site are especially important because of their high quality and relatively good preservation. They exhibit some close relations with the style of the Dura Europos Synagogue paintings (ca. 244-256), with some Gandhāran stone sculptures, and appear earlier than the stucco Buddha head from Fayaz-tepe. The style of the Temple No. 2 sculptures at Dalverzin-tepe is reflected in the images of the Western Chin (265-317) and early Eastern Chin (317-420) in China and also appear to relate in

some ways with some remains at Bāmiyān, though they may pre-date the Bāmiyān works.

The magnificent Kara-tepe Complex D Buddha torso (Fig. 3.16a)—more natural than the Buddha of the Fayaz-tepe niche (Fig. 3.24a,b)—relates to Taxila stucco images, such as those at Kalawān and Mohṛā Morādu (probably dating between them), but is compatible with the Haṣṭnagar Buddha (Fig. 3.16d) possibly dating 262 A.D. The gaping, "tunnel" mode of the right arm drapery is a feature that relates to 3rd-4th century works in Mathurā and Khotan. The fragment of a lower Buddha torso (Fig. 3.15) from Complex C at Kara-tepe is likely to be ca. 3rd century or a little later. It reveals a style related to such Afghan school works as the Maitreya in the pedestal of the stele from Shotorak in Fig. 3.35b, which appears to have some hint of the beginnings of the mannered treatment of folds that occurs in the Complex C image, whose folds also relate strongly to the double rib-fold in crescent shape used in the standing female statues from Toprak Kala of ca. 3rd century (Fig. 3.45).

The Toprak Kala sculptures present a relatively bold, slightly more abstract and powerful form than the sculptures we have considered from Kara-tepe and Dalverzin-tepe Temple No. 2. Probably they represent a slightly different regional style of ca. 3rd century. Clearly the female figures relate to the paintings at Miran of ca. mid-3rd century (the crescent-shaped folds). The Toprak Kala sculptural style has relevant repercussions with the Fujii Yūrinkan Bodhisattva, probably dating ca. late 3rd century. So many factors seem to confirm the Toprak Kala works from ca. first half of the 3rd century, that the works from that site become an exceedingly important benchmark.

The Buddha of the Fayaz-tepe stone niche is related to the Dalverzin-tepe sculptures in facial type (Fig. 3.35b), but is a little more simplified. On the other hand, it is not as pronounced in the refinements as seen in the later stucco head Fig. 3.27. Both posses the refined linear strands in the hair depiction that seems to be a factor in many 4th century works and appears in China by the mid 4th-early 5th century. The niche may date in the 3rd century and the stucco head in the first half of the 4th century. The Fayaz-tepe niche appears to pre-date the Devnimori Buddhas (Fig. 3.64), but not by much.

The Bāmiyān Eastern Great Buddha, though still a controversial work, seems to have a number of elements that relates to works in Swat, eastern Central Asia, China and North Korea that support a ca. 4th century dating for this important colossal image. Even so, the style is a bit more delicate in the drapery and the linear configurations distinctly different from the other schools of the region.

B. *Painting*

Painting is even more fragmentary than sculpture and some works are only known through drawings as yet. Nevertheless, a number of major finds enlarge our knowledge of the painting of western Central Asia in the early centuries. Some from ca. 1st-2nd century A.D. from Dalverzin-tepe and Khalchayan were not discussed here. From ca. 2nd-3rd century the sites of Fayaz-tepe and Kara-tepe yielded some extraordinary examples. From Fayaz-tepe, the painting of a male figure shows strong outlines and quite naturalistic depiction of the features (Fig. 3.23b). In some standing figures (so far known only from drawings) the appearance of mildly mannered folds appear to be the early—perhaps 3rd century—beginnings of the mannered treatment of folds that appears in the art of eastern Central Asia at Rawak stupa and in sites of the northern route in the 4th-5th centuries. From Kara-tepe, the soft yet clear and rather simple drawing in the Buddha group from Complex B suggests a difference from the Fayaz-tepe style, comparing Fig. 3.13d with Fig. 3.23b. The flame haloed Buddha from Complex D reveals a sense of form and line somewhat similar to the sculptures of Temple No. 2 at Dalverzin-tepe of ca. late 2nd to early 3rd century. The paintings from Toprak Kala, some of which seem to be a precursor to the Bāmiyān Cave 51 paintings, are very similar to the style of Miran of ca. mid-3rd century. Again, Bāmiyān is elusive, yet some caves may well be as early as the 3rd century and 4th centuries, or at least trace their roots to this period. Among the caves discussed here, there does not appear to be much interconnection; each appears to be a distinct entity, suggesting that there may have been the passage of some time between each.

C. *Architecture*

Secular architecture was not a main concern here, but the palaces at Khalchayan, Koy-krylgan Kala, and Toprak Kala each presents a major and different example of the monumental palatial or fortified architectural works of this region. Regarding the Buddhist establishments, the monastery at Fayaz-tepe, Kara-tepe, and Dalverzin-tepe have yielded the most complete remains. Most significant are the complexes of cave temples combined with a monastery courtyard at the Kara-tepe site. The cave temples appear to be a possible prototype for the central pillar type cave temple that evolved in central Asia and China. With regard to stupas, those with circular base have been found at Airtam, Fayaz-tepe and Kara-tepe Complex C (Fig. 3.14). The older, large stupa at Fayaz-tepe (Fig. 3.20) is a spectacular example with bell-shaped dome and

pronounced, simple mouldings. It appears to have been modified during later expansion and renovation of the site and four staircases added on the four sides, making a cruciform or four-stairway square base type of stupa (Fig. 3.19b). Besides this example at Fayaz-tepe, other square-based stupas appear in the drawing of a stupa in Complex B as well as in a stupa in the courtyard of Complex B at Kara-tepe and in Cave 51 at Bamiyan (Fig. 3.53).

The cave temples at Kara-tepe are longitudinal (Complex C) or square (corridors around a central core in which was hollowed out the main hall of the temple). The main hall of Complex B (and probably Complex D) had a vaulted ceiling. The caves at Bāmiyān again appear to reveal a distinct and different plan. Cave 24 is a domed cave with a square plan; Cave 51 has the usage of squinch arches; Cave 129 has developed the tambour area with squinch arches and large domed ceiling; Cave 140 has an elaborate laternendecke ceiling; and Cave 165 is a circular cave with large image niches, a circular tambour section and large domed ceiling. Variations of the longitudinal, vaulted, domed and laternendecke ceilings occur in the early cave temples of eastern Central Asia and China and in some tombs in China (Ma Hao), and at least one example of the squinch arch occurs in a structure at Miran.

The art of western Central Asia, related but distinct from the Gandhāran, Swat and Afghan schools, also has subtle distinctions within a general overarching regional characteristic. There is a robust flavor to their sculpture and a strong quality of naturalism in the painting. By contrast, Bāmiyān seems a bit ephemeral. No doubt in the future the variations and subtleties of the style of each local regional school will be addressed and a more refined chronology will emerge. In this matter, however, it will surely be necessary to be aware of the developments in western art, particularly Roman, Parthian, Sasanian and Bzyantine, as well as those in eastern Central Asia and China. Certainly the ramifications for the understanding of early Chinese Buddhist art are substantial, as pointed out in Chapters 1 and 2 with regard to generally confirming the radically different dating presented for some of the major early Buddhist sculptures in China. In turn, some of the established Chinese works, such as the non-controversial dated works, can help confirm parameters for some undated works in eastern and western Central Asia. Although a broadly comparative method, if pursued with care not to create circular arguments and with care with regard to the stable date or basis that is being used, then this method can produce generally reliable results, particularly if there is at least one or more other relationships that assist in tying in or confirming the dating or stylistic source gained through comparative analysis. Once these broad comparative relationships are seen, they can be continuously refined and restudied for more exact accuracy. Certainly, in the case of the earliest Chinese Buddhist images, without the materials from western

Central Asia, it would be difficult to make sense of the style in any meaningful way in establishing a chronology solely on using available Chinese data and materials. It appears that the developments in western Central Asia are suitable sources that suggest parallel stylistic developments in the early Chinese Buddhist images as detailed in Chapters 1 and 2. Though eastern Central Asia is a diverse and difficult case in the early years of its Buddhist art, it too can be helped by comparative study with these new materials from western Central Asia as well as those from the Italian excavations at Swat. Chapters 4 and 5 will be devoted to amplifying and untangling the problems of early Buddhist art in sites along the southern Silk Road in eastern Central Asia. Those of the northern Silk Road will be addressed in the sequel to this book on the Sixteen Kingdoms Period.

CHAPTER FOUR

EASTERN CENTRAL ASIA

KASHGAR TO KHOTAN

I. Introduction

The early history of Central Asia is gleaned primarily from three major sources: the Chinese historical writings, usually governmental records or the diaries of the Buddhist pilgrims; documents written in Kharoṣṭhī—an Indian script also adopted by the Kushans—(and some in an Iranian dialect using technical terms in Sanskrit and Prākrit) that reveal aspects of the local life; and later Muslim, Arab, Persian, and Turkish writings.[1] From these is painstakingly emerging a tentative history that provides a framework, admittedly still fragmentary, for beginning to understand this vital area and prime player between China, India, and the West during the period from the 1st to 5th century A.D.

Previously, we have encountered the Hsiung-nu, particularly the northern branch, who dominated eastern Central Asia during much of the Han period (206 B.C.-220 A.D.), and the Yüeh-chih, a branch of which migrated from Kansu to northwest India and formed the powerful and influential Kushan empire of ca. 1st-3rd century A.D. By ca. mid-3rd century the unified Kushan empire had ceased and the main line of kings from Kaniṣka had ended. Another branch (the Eastern Kushans) ruled in Gandhāra and the Indus Valley, and the northernpart of the former Kushan empire came under the rule of Sasanian governors. However, after the death of the Sasanian ruler Shapur II in 379, the so-called Kidarites, named from Kidara, the founder of this "new" or Little Kushan Dynasty (known as the Little Yüeh-chih by the Chinese), appear to have unified the area north and south of the Hindu Kush between around 380-430 (likely before 410). After ca. 468 Sasanian inroads eroded the power of the Kidarites and by the end of the 5th to beginning of the 6th century (rather than ca. 400 as previously thought) Hepthalite invasions from the north appear to have destroyed the Kidarite kingdom.[2]

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[1] H. W. Bailey, *The Culture of the Sakas in Ancient Iranian Khotan,* the columbia Lectures on Iranian Studies, No. 1, Delmar (New York), 1982, p. 7.

[2] During the period of Shapur I (241-271) Sasanian power in the east reached as far as Merv and

It is now considered that peoples mainly of Tokharian stock, including possibly the Yüeh-chih, dominated the northern route in eastern Central Asia and another stock—the Iranian Śaka—inhabited the western parts of the southern route and the region of the Upper Ili. The states of Kashgar, Yarkand and Khotan on the southern route are believed to have been of Śaka origin, although this is not specifically mentioned in Chinese sources. The ancient (pre-1000 A.D.) languages of Kashgar and Tumshuk were related to those of Yarkand and Khotan, all of which belong to the Iranian family of Indo-Europeans.[3]

A. *History of the Region: Han-early 5th Century A.D.*

Chinese imperial political relations with Central Asia—the "Western Regions" of the Chinese histories—seriously began in the Former (Early or Western) Han period (206 B.C.-8 A.D.).[4] Following Chang Ch'ien's first mission to Central Asia, Emperor Wu-ti (r. 141-87 B.C.) consolidated the central and western parts of Kansu ca. 121 B.C. by moving against the Hsiung-nu in that area and extending the Great Wall further than Tun-huang. Trade with Ferghana and other Central Asian states increased and diplomatic missions were frequent.

In order to ward off harassment by the Hsiung-nu and insure safe passage for trade, Chao P'o-nu was sent in 108 B.C. to pacify the region around Lob nor (then known as the kingdom of Lou-lan 樓蘭) and Turfan. At this time the Yü-men gate, which came to symbolize entrance to the west and the frontier of China, was established west of Tun-huang (Fig. 1.1a). By 101-100 B.C. Han had made a successful military conquest of Central Asia up to Ferghana in western Central Asia. In 77 B.C.

Seistan. According to J. Harmatta, at this time, the western part of the Kushan empire became a vassal kingdom under the Sasanians and later a province governed by Sasanian prince-governors, who issued coins as "Kushanshahs". On the basis of coins, the following Kushano-Sasanian kings are known: Ardashir I and II, Peroz I, Hormizd I, Peroz II, Hormizd II, Varahran I and II. A. H. Dani and B. A. Litvinsky, "The Kushano-Sasanian Kingdom", in *HCCA*, III, pp. 104-106.

The earliest report of the Kidarites (who may be identified with the Chionites) dates around 350 A.D. They achieved some conquests in Sogdiana and had some short-lived alliances with Shapur II (309-379). The Kidarites, probably formed into a kingdom ca. 390-430 (before 410), apparently continued to advance into Gandhāra and may have been repulsed by Skandagupta's army on the Sutlej. The kingdom probably came to an end from the Hepthalite invasion from the north. E.V. Zeimal, "The Kidarite Kingdom in Central Asia", in HCCA, III, pp. 120-124. Also see Narain (1990), p. 172.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 173.

[4] References consulted for the history of the eastern Central Asian states of the southern and central routes include: *CHC*, chapter 6, Yü Ying-shih, "Han Foreign Relations", pp. 377-446; Hulsewé (1979); Bailey (198); M. Aurel Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, 2 vols., Oxford, 1907; M. Aurel Stein, *Serindia*, 5 vols., Oxford, 1921; and Narain (1990), pp. 377-381.

the Chinese engineered the death of the king of Lou-lan, and the name of the Lou-lan kingdom was changed to Shan-shan 鄯善.

During the Wang Mang interregnum (8-23 A.D.) the kingdom of Yarkand took advantage of China's weakened position to strengthen its hand. After receiving nominal control from China in 29 A.D. over "the fifty-five kingdoms of the Western Regions", Yarkand became the strongest kingdom east of the Pamirs from ca. 33-61 A.D. In 41 A.D. Yarkand attacked and secured Khotan, Shan-shan and Kucha, and even asserted its authority in Ferghana. However, in 60 A.D. Khotan rose against Yarkand, successfully conquering it by 61 A.D. Khotan then proceeded to extend its power to include all the kingdoms from Ching-chüeh 精絕(Niya) to Shu-le 疏勒(Kashgar), although this territory was soon reduced by the attacks of the Hsiung-nu, and the king of Shan-shan was able to consolidate dominion in the Lob nor regions up to Cherchen. "From this time on the southern route these two kingdoms (Khotan and Shan-shan) were alone great throughout the region east of the Ts'ung-ling [Pamirs]".[5] On the northern route at this time Karashahr (Yen-ch'i 焉耆) became the dominant kingdom.

In 73 A.D. Emperor Ming (r. 58-76) of the Later (Eastern) Han (25-220 A.D.) re-asserted Chinese military and political power in the Tarim Basin area. By 74 A.D. the general Tou Ku had extended Chinese authority as far as Kashgar, and by 88 A.D. Yarkand was subjugated in spite of aid received from Kucha, which three years later was also forced to submit to the Chinese. In the latter decades of the 1st century and early years of the 2nd century under the masterful direction of Pan Ch'ao, greatest of the Chinese commanders in Central Asia during the Later Han, China amassed its most extensive control over the states of eastern Central Asia by defeating the Hsiung-nu, securing Shan-shan, and attaining the allegiance of the king of Khotan. With the subjugation of Karashahr in 94 A.D., Pan Ch'ao accomplished the complete conquest of the Tarim Basin.

After Pan Ch'ao's death in 102 A.D. China's authority in the Tarim Basin area of Central Asia became lax and the Hsiung-nu once again assertive, but in 123-24 A.D. under Pan Yung, Pan Ch'ao's son and last of the great Han commanders in Central Asia, the Chinese moved to again strengthen their control in the area by establishing a military colony north of Lop nor at the site which was called Lou-lan (the same name as the old kingdom of Lou-lan, which since 77 B.C. had been renamed Shan-shan), from which vantage point the Chinese were able to defeat the Hsiung-nu at Turfan and again at Karashahr in 127 A.D., thus securing yet again Chinese dominance of Central Asia. From ca. 132-134 Chinese authority in eastern Central Asia

[5] Stein (1921), I, p. 330.

appears to have slackened, but documentation is scant. Records possibly indicate involvement up to 179 A.D., with possible continuation up to ca. 185 A.D. when problems in Liang-chou (Kansu) suggest lack of probable control by the imperial government in the Western Regions (see Chapter 1, note 10).

The situation in the Three Kingdoms period (220-265 A.D.) is also ambiguous, but a growing body of Chinese and Japanese scholarship is interpreting the few circumstantial evidences as suggesting a certain degree of involvement in the Western Regions, probably mostly with respect to the Shan-shan kingdom, by the [Ts'ao]-Wei (220-265) from ca. 223-265. Evidences generally cited are from the *San-kuo chih*, notably, 1) emissaries sent from Shan-shan, Kucha, and Khotan bearing gifts in 220, "after which the Western Regions gradually became passable"; 2) the establishment of the office of wu-chi chiao-wei 戊己校尉 (Management of the Western Regions); 3) the influence of the Tun-huang t'ai-shou 敦煌太守 Ts'ang Tz'u 倉慈 (from 227-233) whose death in 233 elicited marked response of genuine mourning by the kingdoms and people of the Western Regions; 4) among the wooden slips recovered from the Shan-shan kingdom's sites by Stein and others, the official title hsi-yü ch'ang-shih 西域長史 (or just ch'ang-shih) and tu-tu 都督 appear. Though Stein considered these to date from the Western Chin period, a number of Chinese and Japanese scholars now believe the offices were in existence in the [Ts'ao] Wei period and continued into the Western Chin. This would naturally imply serious involvement in Shan-shan by Ts'ao Wei and the subsequent Western Chin.[6] As discussed in Chapter 1, [Shu]-Han in the Three Kingdoms period may have had its own alternative route through Ch'ing-hai to the Shan-shan kingdom.

With Emperor Wu (r. 265-289 A.D.), the first emperor of the Western Chin (265-317 A.D., capital at Ch'ang-an), Chinese imperial interest in the Western Regions is without doubt, particularly with respect to the Shan-shan kingdom, as various dated documents discovered from the Shan-shan sites amply testify (see Chapter 5). Missions with tribute from Central Asian territories were received at the Wei court, including "young men of princely descent" from Shan-shan sent to the court in 283, tribute from Ferghana and Karashahr in 285, young men sent to the court from Kucha and Karashahr in 285 (the kings of each country each sent their son—a common practice in the diplomacy between China and the nations of Central Asia), and presents from Samarkand in 287. However, the active relations maintained during Wu-ti's

[6] The problem of the establishment of the ch'ang-shih is a thorny one and not completely resolved. However, following the initial work of Wang Kuo-chih and K. Nagazawa, more recent scholars seem to accept the view that a ch'ang-shih seems to have continued from early [Ts'ao]-Wei and into the Western Chin. See Meng Fan-jen (1991), p. 30; Hou Ts'an 侯灿, "Lou-lan hsin fa-hsien mu-chien chih wen-shu kao-shih" 楼兰新发现木簡纸文书考释, *Wen-wu*, 1988, No. 7, pp. 41-43, 54-55.

reign virtually ceased after his reign as China began to politically disintegrate in one of the most destructive periods in Chinese history at the beginning of the 4th century.[7]

With increasing instability in China after 300 and the rapid deterioration leading to the disasters of the Yung-chia period (307-312) and total collapse of the Western Chin in 317 from Hsiung-nu invasions from the north, Kansu—the main route linking central China with the West—became dominated by various contending kingdoms in the 4th and first half of the 5th century, and the eastern portion of eastern Central Asia became more intimately related with these specific kingdoms. From ca. 313-376 the Former Liang dynasty, founded by the Chang 張 family in Kansu, dominated central and western Kansu and controlled the eastern part of eastern Central Asia up to Turfan, which was made a chün 郡 commandary in 327 A.D., including a military outpost with governor at Hai-t'ou 海頭. The Turfan area continued as a chün under the control of the Former Liang for 50 years (327-376), the Former Ch'in 前秦 for 9 years (377-385)—at which time, in 384, Fu Chien 苻堅 dispatched a force to Central Asia under general Lü Kuang 呂光 who captured the famous Buddhist monk Kumārajīva at Kucha—the Later Liang 後涼 for 12 years (386-397), the Western Liang 西涼 for 21 years (400-420), and the Northern Liang 北涼 for a total of 42 years (398-439).[8]

After the Northern Wei conquest of northern China from ca. 439 and the collapse of the Northern Liang in Turfan by 460, Northern Wei was the dominant Chinese influence in Central Asia, but records are scant with regard to the extent of the Northern Wei powers in Central Asia. It appears that the kingdoms of eastern Central Asia enjoyed a more independent status until Chinese conquest returned in the late Sui (581-617) and early T'ang (618-906) periods.

B. *The Routes from China Through Eastern Central Asia*

During the time of the Later Han, Three Kingdoms and Western Chin, from ca. 25-317 A.D., there were three main routes in eastern Central Asia—the Tarim Basin area east of the Pamirs (Map 4.1). Proceeding westward from China, all of them

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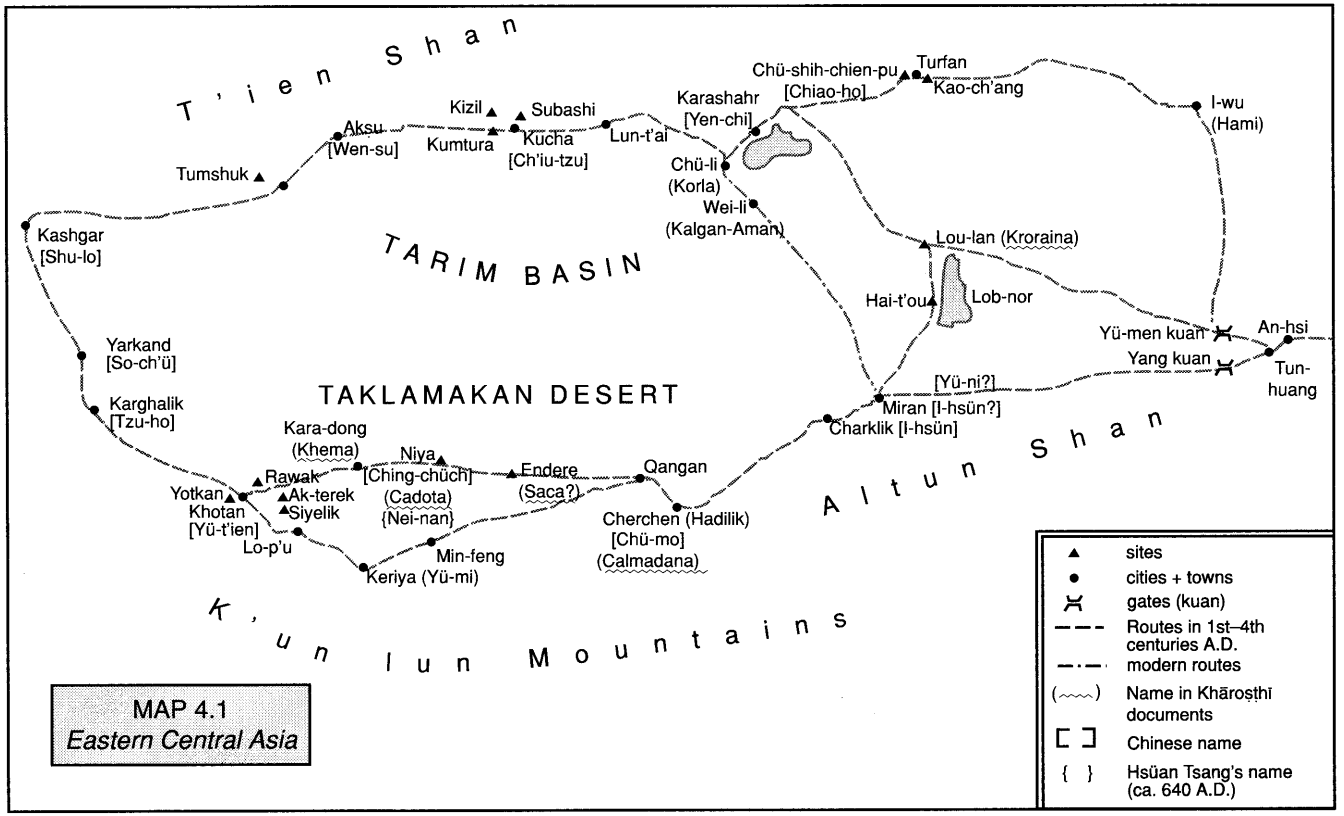
[7] Stein (1921), p. 328; E. Chavannes, "Chinese Documents from the Sites of Dandan-Uiliq, Niya and Endere", Appendix A in Stein (1907), I, pp. 537 and 543, from his translations from the *Chin-shu* and other texts.

[8] Hulsewé (1979), p. 81, note 77. Ma Yung 馬雍, "T'u-lu-pan ch'u-t'u Kao-ch'ang chün shih-chi wen-shu kai shu" 吐魯番出土高昌郡时期文书概述 in *Hsi-yü shih ti wen wu ts'ung kao* 西域史地文物叢考, Beijing, 1990, p. 116. The Northern Liang continued as a small kingdom in the Turfan region until ca. 460.



MAP 4.1
Eastern Central Asia

departed from the An-hsi area near Tun-huang. The southern route passed through the Yang-kuan Gate, southwest along the northern edge of the Altun-tagh mountains to Miran and Charklik and thence to Cherchen and Khotan. The northern route, after ca. 1-5 A.D., went northwest through the Yü-men kuan (Jade Gate, Fig. 1.1a), to Pei-shan 北山, the Turfan area and thence to Karashahr, where it joined the Central Route, to Kucha (Ch'iu-tzu 龜茲), Tumshuk and Kashgar. The Central Route, which was the most used in Han, Three Kingdoms and Western Chin, left Yü-men kuan and proceeded over 120 some miles of waterless desert to the "wells of Kumkuduk" at the eastern edge of the Lob nor desert. At that point it split into two: the most frequented branch passed northwest to the Lou-lan military colony and onwards from there to Karashahr; the other branch skirted the Lob Desert southwest to Miran and Charklik, major centers of the Shan-shan kingdom, and thence to Cherchen and Khotan.[9]

It is clear from the investigations of both Sven Hedin and Aurel Stein of the Lob nor region and the vagaries of the Kuruk-darya River, that the Central Route fell to demise along with the Lou-lan colony by the mid-4th century A.D. Although the reason is not known, Stein conjectures that the Kuruk-darya delta, which supported water and grazing for the Lou-lan colony and the 100 some miles of desert east of the colony, ceased to exist, thus making the stretch of 240 some miles of waterless desert from Tun-huang all the way to the Lou-lan colony without the intermediate "wells" too hazardous for overland travel, as, according to Stein, it still was in his day.[10]

II. The Sites and Their Buddhist Art Remains

Any study of Central Asia is profoundly indebted to the explorations, discoveries, and research of the pioneer scholar/explorers— Sven Hedin, Aurel Stein, Sergei Oldenberg, Albert Von Le Coq, Alfred Grünwedel, Paul Pelliot and others[11]—who

[9] Stein (1921), I, p. 418.

[10] *Ibid.*, I, pp. 426-427.

[11] In brief, the first explorers of the 19th century mainly reported on the general culture of the region and were primarily the British officers Montgomerie, Forsyth and Johnson, who went between 1860 and 1875, and the Russians Nikolai Prejevalsky (between 1875 and 1880) and Albert Regel (a botanist who was the first foreigner to see Khocho), both of whom reported seeing Buddhist images. More serious explorations began with Sven Hedin of Sweden in his series of missions beginning in 1885 and continuing in 1890, 1893-97, 1899-1902, 1915-16. Sir Aurel Stein, the Hungarian who became a British citizen and was an archaeologist in India, made three major expeditions to Central Asia in 1900-1901, 1906-1909, 1913-15. Between 1901 and 1915 the work of the Russian archaeologist Dimitri

in the late 19th and early 20th century braved incredible hardships at great risk to bring to light the materials we depend on today for much of our knowledge of the art and culture of this intriguing and important area of oasis centers in the heart of Asia between Persia, India, and China. Based on the observations of these researchers, new materials appearing from more recent Chinese investigations, and new data obtained from various scholars' works on deciphering the documents and studying the history of this region, Chapters 4 and 5 focus on the Buddhist art of the major centers of the southern and central routes from the 1st to early 5th century A.D., beginning with Kashgar, the westernmost site within Chinese Turkestan and from which branch both the southern and northern routes around the Tarim Basin and Taklamakan Desert. From there we move eastwards along the southern route to the great center of Khotan, ending with the major centers of Niya, Miran and Lou-lan in the kingdom of Shanshan, which straddled the southern and the central routes.

A. *Kashgar*

Kashgar, generally known to the Chinese from Han to T'ang times as Shu-le 疏勒 and strategically located at the eastern foot of the Ts'ung-ling 葱嶺 mountains (Pamirs), is the main meeting point of most of the main communication routes between China and the centers of western Central Asia. Usually associated with the northern route, it is nevertheless discussed here as a suitable beginning point mainly because of its early Buddhist stupas.

Throughout its history the oasis is known to have been fertile and prosperous. In Former Han times the kingdom is said to have had 1,510 families with a population of 8,647 and 2,000 trained soldiers.[12] In ca. mid 1st century B.C. it became a Chi-

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Klementz stimulated German, French and Japanese expeditions that took place between 1902 and 1915. The four German expeditions occurred between 1902-1914 (Grünwedel, Huth and Bartus in the Turfan area), 1904-1905 (Albert von Le Coq and Bartus, later joined by Grünwedel and Pohrt, in the Turfan area), 1905-1907 (Grünwedel, von Le Coq, Pohrt and Bartus at Tumshuk, Kucha, Shorchuk and Turfan), and 1913-1914 (von Le Coq and Bartus at Kucha). Pelliot from France, Tachibana and Nomura under Count Ōtani from Japan, and the Russians Colonel Koslov and Sergei Oldenburg all went between 1907 and 1911. Stein was the last to leave in a deteriorating situation in Central Asia in February 1915. In 1923-1925 Langdon Warner from the Fogg Art Museum, Trinkler in 1927-1928 in the Khotan area, Stein again in 1930 in another Fogg Art Museum expedition, and finally Sven Hedin in 1927-35 brought the great explorations to an end as Central Asia became closed to foreigners. See Härtel and Yaldiz (1982), pp. 24-46 and Kaneko Tamio 金子民雄, ed., *Sven Hedin to Ro-ran ōkoku ten* スウエン・ヘデインと樓蘭王國展, Tokyo, 1988, pp. 185-186.

[12] Stein (1907), I, p. 52.

nese protectorate and an important administrative and commercial center, but during the first half of the 1st century A.D. when the Chinese political situation was unstable, especially under Wang Mang (9-23 A.D.), it came under the domination of Yarkand and then Khotan. With the resumption of Chinese interest in the "Western Regions" during the reign of Emperor Ming (r. 58-76 A.D.), Kashgar and Khotan were conquered in 74 A.D. by Pan Ch'ao, and, along with most of Chinese Turkestan, came under Chinese sovereignty, which reached its peak in the last quarter of the first century A.D. under Pan Ch'ao's administration of eastern Central Asia. Chinese control weakened again during the reign of Emperor An (107-125 A.D.) and remained only nominal towards the end of Han. In the 3rd century there appears to have been little Chinese influence this far west. Wu-ti of Western Chin (265-317) asserted power along the central and southern routes during his reign (265- 289), but there appears to have been no Chinese dominance of the Kashgar area.

Kashgar was also confronted by powers from the west. In the 107-113 A.D. period the Kushans (Ta Yüeh-chih), who controlled central and northwest India, Gandhāra, Afghanistan, and possibly parts of western Central Asia (Transoxiana), apparently invaded Kashgar, forcing, as some records indicate, the king of Kashgar to relinquish as hostage a prince, Ch'en-p'an, who was later (in the 114-120 period) instated by the Kushans as king of Kashgar, a circumstance that is believed to have contributed to the introduction of Buddhism into Kashgar.[13] Little is known about the Buddhism of Kashgar in its early period, but in the 4th century, the famous monk Kumārajīva spent a year in Kashgar at the time he was converted to Mahāyāna by Sūryasoma, a royal prince of from Yarkand. Hsüan-tsang in the 7th century notes that Kashgar at that time had more than 1,000 monks of the Hīnayāna Sarvāstivādin school.[14]

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[13] Brough (1965), p. 589 notes that in the "Later Han Annals between 114-119 the king of Kashgar, An-kuo, sent his uncle into exile to the country of the Yüeh-chih and after the king's death the Yüeh-chih did in fact send a body of soldiers to escort the uncle back across the Pamir to Kashgar and to install him as king by armed force in place of a nephew."

[14] Hsüan-tsang in the 7th century connects the hostage prince of Kashgar, and others as well, with the reign of Kaniṣka (in his section on Kapiśa). He also notes the existence of a monastery where the hostages were kept. The monastery, in Chia-pi-shih (Kapiśa), was Hīnayāna. Kashgar is said to have been Hīnayāna, but Stein thinks probably Buddhism was introduced from the Bactrian side, which may have been mainly Mahāyāna (Stein, (1907), I, pp. 56-57). Tsukamoto notes that Hīnayāna was strong in Khotan in the late 3rd century and that Mahāyāna may have become strong only in the 4th century—by the time Fa-hsien travelled there in 401. Tsukamoto (1985), I, p. 125. For Kumārajīva, see Kenneth Ch'en, *Buddhism in China,* Princeton, 1964, p. 82; for Hsüan-tsang's remarks on Kashgar see T. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India (A.D. 629-645),* Delhi, 1961 (reprint), p. 290.

1. *Stupas of the Kashgar Area*

Though unable to find the exact position of the early capital of Kashgar, during his expedition of 1900-1901 Stein reported observing antiquities of an early date in the area, primarily a number of large stupas. These and others were also investigated by Pelliot in September, 1906, and Stein reported more when he returned again in 1906.[15] This group of monumental stupas, most located to the north, northwest and northeast of present Kashgar, form a considerable body of structures that, despite their severely eroded condition, indicate Kashgar was an important Buddhist site, as the scanty records also suggest. Though data concerning the stupas is scarce and no study has yet been put forth, five of the stupas are briefly discussed here in an attempt to offer a tentative chronological sequence based on similarity with corresponding forms appearing in the monumental and reliquary stupas of the Gandhāran and western Central Asian regions.

a. *Topa Tim*

Several major stupas appear near the village of Khan-ui about 20 miles northeast of Kashgar at a site locally believed to be a Han Dynasty Chinese settlement. In 1900 Stein found some fragments of old glass and a ruined stupa locally called Topa Tim. The mound of this stupa was hemispherical, seemingly with circular base, with an extant height of 28 feet and circumference of 350 feet. The sun-dried bricks were 14 1/2 inches square and 3 inches thick—conforming to the proportions of the early period bricks in Central Asia. Next to it were the remains of a quadrangle which had probably been part of a monastery (Fig. 4.3a).[16]

This stupa may represent the oldest among the five Kashgar stupas discussed here. Its circular base and hemispherical dome generally accord with the early form of Indian stupa and the earliest form in the Gandhāran region, such as the Dharmarājika at Taxila, the Māṇikyāla (20 miles southeast of Rawalpindi) in the Punjab, and the stupa at Jamālgarhī in Gandhāra, all of which are among the earliest stupas in the area and probably date before or during the 1st century A.D. in their earliest levels. However, in specific proportion, it may more closely resemble the form of the reliquary stupa in Fig. 4.4a, which may be dated to ca. early 2nd century on the basis of its close correspondence with the stupa dated from the period of Vima II Kaḍphises (r. ca. 90-100 or 110-120 A.D.) in Fig. 4.4b.

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[15] Stein (1907),I, p. 73; L. Hambis, M. Hallade, and M. Paul-David, Mission Paul Pelliot, *Toumshouq*, 2 vols., Paris, 1961 and 1964, Vol. I (plates), Figs. 329-335; Vol. II (text), pp. 3-37.

[16] Stein (1907), I, pp. 79-80; Hambis, *et al*, (1991 and 1964), II, pp. 30-31, and I, Fig. 331.

b. *Kurghan Tim*

Northwest of Kashgar is the remains of a stupa known as Kurghan Tim, by far the largest of all the stupa mounds in the Kashgar area. Though badly damaged, it was still an impressive sight with an extant height of 85 feet when Stein investigated it in 1900. Although too ruined to exactly determine its original shape and dimensions, he estimated that it probably originally had a hemispherical dome with 37 foot radius. This original dome, he discovered, was encased, probably at a later time, with an outer rim that enlarged the stupa to about 50 feet in radius. The base, which may have been square, was about 50 feet in height. This proportioning (see Fig. 4.3b) prompted Stein to note: this stupa "presents a striking contrast to all other stupas surveyed in the course of my Turkestan explorations; for in these the height of the domed portion ordinarily represents only about one third of the total elevation." The original inner core of masonry was made of sun-dried bricks measuring 18 x 18 x 5 inches (a typical size of bricks in the pre-T'ang periods); the later bricks used for the enlargement were smaller. This was clearly a grand stupa that, as remarked by Stein, was apparently the largest west of Endere (Fig. 4.3b).[17]

The remarkable feature of this stupa besides its grandiose size, which implies it was a major edifice, is the combining of the hemispherical dome with a square base that is about as high as the dome. The reliquary stupa in Fig. 4.4c, probably an early specimen ca. 1st-2nd century A.D., may provide an approximation of the shape and proportions of the Khurgan Tim stupa.

c. *Kizil Debe*

The stupa found at Kizil Debe, two miles south of Kashgar, resembles Kurghan Tim, but is smaller with an extant height of only 27 feet (Fig. 4.3c). The base is a rectangle about 130 by 108 feet, but Stein suggests it may have been nearly square. The sun-dried bricks are 17 x 17 x 3 inches. A smaller circular mound nearby with a diameter of 125 feet and extant height of 12 feet may have been a shrine related to the stupa.[18]

Although this stupa may be related to the same examples as relate to Kurghan Tim, the possible rectangular base is an interesting difference which suggests a similarity with some stupas at Taxila, such as some small stupas near the great stupa of Dharmarājika, and the main stupas at Kalawān, Kunala, Mohṛā Morādu, Jauliāñ,

[17] Stein (1907), I, pp. 74-77 and Fig. 14; Hambis, *et al* (1961 and 1964), II, pp. 8-11.
[18] Stein (1907), I, pp. 77-78; Hambis, *et al* (1961 and 1964), II, pp. 11-13.

and Lalchak, probably of the 2nd century A.D. and all having a rectangular platform base, though with a staircase at one end.[19]

d. *The Stupa at Khakanning-shahri (Tegurman)*

A stupa discovered by Stein in June of 1906 north of Kashgar in the area known as Khakanning-shahri (called Tegurman by Pelliot) and near the caves of Öch Merwan, had the eroded remains of a square base and circular drum. Though Stein did not characterize the shape of the dome, Pelliot called it cylindrical (Figs. 4.1, 4.3d). The base measured 32 feet on each side and the extant height was also 32 feet. The bricks were 15 x 12 x 4 with 1 1/2-2 inch mud mortar. A square shaft 3 1/2 feet through the center was similar to one seen at Mauri Tim, as were the horizontal rows of branches near the top and bottom of the drum for the attachment of cornices.[20]

The form of this stupa seems to accord quite closely with that of the reliquary stupa of Fig. 4.4d, and of the upper portion of the stupa in Fig. 4.4f, both of which probably represent a development in the 2nd-3rd century in the stupas of the Gandhāran area, as well as in Swat and Afghanistan, where the square base and rising or attenuated form of the dome or drum/dome combination has a pronounced cylindrical rather than hemispherical shape. The soaring yet balanced shape of this form of stupa is well expressed in the famous model stupa from Loriyan Tangai (Fig. 4.4e) and in the monumental stupa at Top-i-Rustam in Balkh, Afghanistan (Fig. 4.22a and Map 1.6), both probably ca. 2nd century A.D. This type would seem to be conceptually more advanced than the square base hemispherical dome stupas and earlier than the multiple level square base type seen in the following stupa of Mauri Tim.

e. *Mauri Tim*

About four miles north of Khan-ui[21] is one of the best preserved, most complex and important of the large stupas in the Kashgar area: Mauri Tim (Moer t'a 莫爾塔).

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[19] There are many examples at Taxila of the rectangular base (platform) stupas: John Marshall, *Taxila*, 3 vols., Cambridge, 1951, Vol. 3, including some small stupas near the Dharmarājika, such as that of Monastery M6 (Pl. 45), at Chir Tope (Pls. 67-68), Kunala (Pls. 86, 87a), Jandial (Pl. 90), Mohṛā Morādu (Pls. 92b, 93), Jauliāñ (Pl. 101), and Lalchak (Pl. 113a), i.e., many major stupas at Taxila, most of them clearly dating in the 1st-3rd century A.D.

[20] Stein (1921), I, pp. 81-82; Hambis, *et al* (1961 adn 1964), II, pp. 18-21, and I, Figs. 335-336, where the site is called Tegurman.

[21] Pelliot also noted other stupas south of the area of Khan-ui, but they were very ruined. *Ibid.*, II, pp. 32-33.

Situated on a rise of ground, it appears to be much taller than its extant 38 feet. It has a square, three-story base, each level receding by three feet from the preceding one (Figs. 4.2 a and b; 4.3e). Above the three-storey square base rises a circular base 5 feet high and 24 feet in diameter from which springs the drum (5 feet high and 17 feet in diameter), originally decorated with projecting mouldings at the top and bottom. The dome is not hemispherical, but ovoid or parabolic. It rises directly from the drum with the same diameter (17 feet) and curves inward for an extant height of 14 feet. Original hard plaster still adhered to the southeastern face of the stupa and some woodwork used to support the mouldings was still in place when Stein examined it in September of 1900. The solid masonry, composed of sun-dried bricks 16-17 inches square by 3 1/2 inches thick, was mortared by clay 2 inches thick. A shaft 2 feet 8 inches square was found running vertically through the center of the dome and drum (it was uncertain whether it went into the base) and a chamber about 4 feet square and similar to those found later by Stein in the Rawak, Niya and Endere stupas, appeared in the top of the dome, probably for the insertion of relics.[22] Marshall noted that the relic chamber high in the stupa was a feature of the later stupas at Taxila.[23]

While the circular base plan with hemispherical dome of Topa Tim probably relates to the early stupas of the northwest represented by the Dharmarājika, Māṇikyāla, and Jamālgarhī stupas, the Kurghan Tim and Kizil Debe stupas appear to reflect a development to a square or rectangular base while retaining the hemispherical dome—a type also seen in the mid-2nd century A.D. stupa at Airtam near Termez (Fig. 3.7b). The Tegurman stupa reveals further change with its square base plan and cylindrically proportioned dome, but it is the Mauri Tim stupa that presents the most radical change with its multi-level receding square base and paraboloid dome. In form and proportion the Mauri Tim stupa has a remarkable correspondence with the drawing of the stupa from Complex B at Kara-tepe (Figs. 3.14a and b and 4.4g), which has a base of three square, receding levels of equal height and a dome that appears to be more ovoid than hemispherical. This striking correspondence in general form suggests a possible shared dating for Mauri Tim and the Kara-tepe drawing (ca. 2nd-3rd century A.D.), and a possible source of the Mauri Tim style from the northern Bactrian, Termez area. Without necessarily suggesting the demise of the hemispherical form in the process, this style stupa with the stepped square base and

[22] Stein (1907), I, pp. 80-84; Hambis, *et al* (1961 and 1964), II, pp. 26-30, and I, Figs. 329-330. Pelliot found some fragments of drapery and parts of bodies belonging to Buddha and Bodhisattva clay images, including the ear of a Buddha. *Ibid.*, I, Fig. 348a.

[23] Marshall (1951), I, p. 392: "In the fourth and fifth centuries it was usual to construct the relic chamber of large stupas high up in their dome instead of low down in their foundations...."

parabolic dome could be considered a variant form related to but not quite the same as the stepped square base with cylindrical dome typical of the Niya, Endere and Lou-lan stupas, all datable to before ca. 300 A.D. Suffice it to say at this juncture, the Kara-tepe drawing furnishes a piece of critical evidence which points to the probable date for Mauri Tim around the late 2nd- 3rd century and to its regional source in the northern Bactrian area. It also provides a conjectural original appearance of the Mauri Tim stupa, a large stupa which still fortunately survives in relatively good form to be one of the most significant early monuments of Buddhism east of the Pamirs.

The stupa of square platform/base with ovoid (paraboloid) or cylindrical dome in Central Asia is undoubtedly related to the evolution of the stupa with square platform/terrace/base that was taking place in Gandhāra, Swat, and Bactria (northern Pakistan, Afghanistan and southern Uzbekistan) in the first three centuries A.D. These changes may reflect differences in vinaya texts as well as doctrine arising from the growth of Mahāyāna, a factor, as suggested in Chapter 3, that may have also had a relation to some of the Kara-tepe temples.

Several vinaya texts offer interesting descriptions of stupas and reveal clear changes evolving in the 1st-3rd centuries A.D. compared with writings concerning the stupa in earlier vinaya texts. For example, according to the study of Gustav Roth,[24] in the tradition of the early Pāli *Mahāparinibbāna-suttānta* of the Dīghanikāya, which contains one of the oldest references to the stupa in the Buddhist canon, the stupa is proclaimed by the Buddha to be the task of layman, not monks, to make and to worship. Changes occur in the text *Vinaya Kṣudraka-vastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins (translated into Chinese by I-Ching in ca. 700-702, but dating up to the 1st century A.D. according to Roth), where the Buddha gives permission for a stupa to be built for Sāriputra, one of the Buddha's disciples. Here the Buddha imparts instructions concerning the specific construction of the stupa in 7 parts as follows: 1) "four terraces" (vedikā); 2) "receptacle for the pot" (karaṇḍaka); 3) "pot" (kumbha); 4) "vessel" (harmikā); 5) "pole" (yaṣṭi); 6) "umbrella canopy" (chattra); and 7) "protection against rain" (varṣasthālī) (Fig. 4.4h). A stupa for a Buddha is instructed to have 13 umbrella canopies; 9 for a Pratyeka Buddha (and without the varṣasthālī); 4 for an Arhat; 3 for a Non-returner; 2 for a Once-returner; one for a Stream-enterer; and none for a stupa for a lay person.

Furthermore this text states that stupas of saints should be located within the precincts of the residential quarters of the monks and nuns, and that such a com-

[24] The following is based on the translations and discussions of G. Roth, "Symbolism of the Buddhist Stupa", in A. Dallapiccola and S. Lallemant, *The Stupa*, Wiesbaden, 1980, pp. 183-207.

pound is called a vihāra or saṅghārāma. This text explicates a situation which had probably already been in practice for some time, but Roth notes that around the 1st century A.D. the stupa seems to have became meaningful as more than just a receptacle of relics (śarīra), but also as a Dharma element in the practice of monks and nuns where the various parts of the stupa acquired specific, expanded meaning and acted as elements of practice. Other texts of the 1st century A.D., such as the *Caitya-vibhāga-vinayodbhāva-sūtra* list the various meanings, and, according to Roth, use terminology that indicate Mahāyānist tendencies, such as "karuṇā" and "śūnyatā", although he could not determine which specific sect was involved.

Two other texts that amplify the developing approach to the stupa are the *Prakīrṇaka-caitya-lakṣaṇa* of the *Stūpa-lakṣaṇa-kārikā-vivecana* of the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins of ca. 2nd century A.D. and the *Dīvyāvadāna* of the 3rd century A.D. The latter text describes the stupa as follows: 1) four flights of steps (catvāri sopānāni) at the four sides of the stupa; 2) three lofty platforms, each superseding the other (medhī); the egg-like dome (aṇḍa) into which the shaft for a pole (yūga-yaṣṭi) is to be sunk; 4) the top-enclosure above the dome (tasyābhinavāṇḍasyopari harmikā); 5) the pole (yaṣṭi) proper; 6) the rain-receptacle (varṣa-sthālā); and 7) decoration of gems on the rain-receptacle (mahā-maṇi-ratnāni) (Fig. 4.4i).

From the above accounts, though not clear in every respect, it may be possible to tentatively link the description in the *Vinaya Kṣudraka-vastu* and the *Dīvyāvadāna* with some of the stupas near Kashgar. In the *Vinaya Kṣudraka-vastu* it is not certain whether the four terraces (vedikā) are square or round or a combination of both, but the dome section is termed a kumbha, meaning "pot", suggesting the hemispherical rather than an ovoid (parabolic) shape. In combination with the karaṇḍaka (receptacle for the pot) and the four square and/or round levels of the vedikā, the stupa could assume an appearance rather similar to the Tegurman stupa (Fig. 4.1) or other cylindrically shaped stupas. Although there do not appear to have been stairs with the Mauri Tim stupa and it could conform in some ways to the stupa form of the *Vinaya Kṣudraka-vastu* with "four terraces" (vedikā), it seems to conform more closely with the major elements of the stupa as described in the *Dīvyāvadāna* text of ca. 3rd century A.D., particularly with the square shape of the "medhī" with its three levels and with the "aṇḍa" dome, which could imply an ovoid shape. Since the *Dīvyāvadāna* is a text with definite Mahāyāna tendencies, Mauri Tim stupa could be a form of Mahāyāna stupa, as distinct from the round or square base hemispherical domed stupas which may accord with the older, Hīnayāna style stupa. Again, the fact that Kumārajīva was initiated into the Mahāyāna at Kashgar suggests the presence of at least some degree of Mahāyāna in the Kashgar area in the 4th century.

B. *Yarkand and Karghalik*

Situated southeast of Kashgar and west of Khotan, Yarkand was probably the So-ch'e 莎（索）車 of the Han Shu, which notes a population at 16,373 (double that of Kashgar) in the Former Han period. Its propitious location on the routes from Khotan, Ladakh, and Kabul, joined by roads to Kashgar and the Oxus area, seems to have assured its prosperity.

From 33-61 A.D. Yarkand asserted independent power and for a short time held control over Khotan. When China was weak during the Wang Mang interregnum (9-23 A.D.) King Yen of Yarkand held out against the Hsiung-nu and his successor king K'ang remained loyal to Chinese imperial power, for which he received in 29 A.D. nominal control from China over the "55 kingdoms of the Western Regions." Under king Hsien (r. 33-61) of Yarkand, however, all the kingdoms east of the Ts'ung-ling became subject to Yarkand by 38 A.D. In 41 A.D. king Hsien was granted title of Protector General by China, but he ignored this allegiance and subsequently attacked Khotan, Shan-shan and Kucha and asserted authority over Ferghana. In 60 A.D. Khotan rose up and was successful in defeating king Hsien in 61 A.D. Despite Khotanese success, the Hsiung-nu appear to have made inroads again before Pan Ch'ao's conquest of Khotan and Kashgar in 74 A.D. With the help of Kucha, Yarkand held out to 88 A.D., but then succumbed to Pan Ch'ao.[25]

Between Yarkand and Khotan lies Karghalik, whose early designation in Chinese was probably Tzu-ho 子合, and later name (by the sixth century) was Chu-chü-po 朱俱（駒）波. Closely related to Khotan and its culture, Karghalik is an oasis of remarkable fertility according to Stein, who was reminded of Kashmir with its comparably rich orchards. Hsüan-tsang in the 7th century notes the flourishing population and some tens of Buddhist monasteries, many, however, in ruins. He expressly comments on the exceptionally numerous Buddhist texts preserved there.[26]

Although Stein did not notice any ancient remains in the Yarkand or Khaghalik areas, he encountered two large, ruined, hemispherical stupas on his route from Khaghlik to Khotan along the edge of the Taklamakan desert. This was basically the same route as in ancient times, unlike east of Khotan, where the modern route has shifted further south from the ancient one. In the region of Guma, including Mokuila and Moji, an area Stein considers formed part of the ancient kingdom of P'i-shan with a population of 3,500 persons according to the *Han shu*[27], Stein found

[25] Stein (1921), I, p. 83.
[26] Watters (1961 reprint), pp. 293-295.
[27] Stein (1907), I, p. 99.

numerous remains of coarse red pottery of the "ancient type", indicating a thickly settled area.

About one and a half miles northeast of the oasis of Mokuila Stein found a ruined stupa mound known as Topa Tim (Fig. 4.5). About 29 1/2 feet high in its ruined state, it was constructed of solid masonry of sun-dried bricks with a square lower base 47 feet on a side, a square second level base 41 feet on a side and 5 feet high, a circular drum 5 feet high and 35 feet in diameter, and a dome (probably hemispherical) with measurements of the remaining portion 14 1/2 feet high and 29 feet in diameter.[28] This type combines a double level receding square base with a hemispherical dome, a style somewhat akin to some Swat stupas and the reliquary stupa in Fig. 4.4f, but with more pronounced hemispherical shape than these. It may be a Central Asian variant with an interesting mixture of the early hemispherical dome with the changing mode of the multiple square bases; in that case it may represent a transitional form between the Kashgar stupas of Kurghan Tim and Kizil Debe (Figs. 4.3b and c) and the stupa of Mauri Tim (Figs. 4.2a and b; 4.3e), which appears more developed and closer to the Niya, Endere and Lou-lan stupas (Figs. 5.1, 5.10 and 5.53).

Another stupa in an isolated position at the site of Karakir Tim on the road to Pialma and "three days march west of Khotan", though more decayed, nevertheless resembled the stupas observed by Stein at Kurghan Tim and Kizil Debe near Kashgar. Made of bricks 16 inches square by 3 1/2-4 inches thick, it had a square base approximately 65 feet on a side, and a dome (presumably hemispherical), whose highest extant elevation was about 22 feet.[29] In 1928 the Trinkler expedition from Germany discovered nearby the remains of two temples and some fragments of sculpture very similar in style with sculpture from Dandan Uilik.[30]

The stupas known from the reports of Stein and Pelliot in the Kashgar to Pialma

[28] *Ibid.*, pp. 104-105.

[29] Stein considered relating this particular stupa with the shrine of the miraculous Buddha statue brought from Kashmir by a king of Khotan, one of the famous Buddhist legends and sites associated with ancient Khotan. It is said that the statue "refused" to proceed further than P'o-chieh-i (possibly Pialma, according to Stein), so the king built a shrine at the spot and presented the image with his crown adorned with precious stones. Hsüan-tsang recorded this legend and also noted the brilliant light coming from the crown of the seven foot high statue when he saw it. *Ibid.*, I, p. 109. This account is interesting in relation to the problem of the development of the iconography of the crowned Buddha, the earliest example of which occurs in China in the late 5th century. It is a major form at the Bāmiyān caves and in Kashmir art of the 8th century, in Pala art of the 9th-12th century. This statue recorded by Hsüan-tsang could have some bearing on the crowned Buddha image.

[30] Emil Trinkler, during his expedition to the Khotan area in 1927-1928 found a relief 1 1/2 km north of the stupa, and the remains of two temples: temple I with the base of a statue, and temple II, 200 m north of temple I, with two statues. G. Gropp, *Archäologische Funde aus Khotan Chinesisch-Ostturkestan*, Bremen, 1974, pp. 60-61.

area are predominantly square base with hemispherical dome. One had circular base and hemispherical dome, the Tegurman stupa has a square base with cylindrical drum/dome, and Mauri Tim stupa stands out for its square three-storied receding base and parabolic dome. These stupas of the Kashgar, Yarkand, Karghalik area are all likely to be earlier than the Niya, Endere and Lou-lan stupas, which probably date ca. 3rd century, prior to 300 A.D., and they appear to relate to forms from Gandhāra, Swat, Afghanistan, and the Termez region.

C. *Khotan*

Known as Yü-t'ien 于闐 to the Chinese, as Kustana in Sanskrit, and Khotana in the Kharoṣṭhī documents, Khotan is a major, if not the greatest, kingdom of the southern route in eastern Central Asia. It is famous for its true jade, which is brought down from the K'un-lun mountains in the rivers flowing though the city, the main one of which is known as the River of Precious Stones (Ranijaittaji). By all accounts it was rich and its people skillful and highly religious, particularly devoted, in its pre-Islamic period, to Mahāyāna Buddhism, at least by 400 A.D. as testified by the Chinese pilgrim Fa-hsien.[31] Khotan's dual relation with India and China, a major factor in its early history, and apparently also with regard to the art of Khotan, is graphically reflected even in the legend of its founding, involving a conflict between men in exile from China and the group of nobles banished with Aśoka's son from Taxila (northern Pakistan). This relation is expressed in an interesting way in the so-called bilingual Sino-Kharoṣṭhī coins found in and around Khotan by Forsythe, Stein (who found 40-some), Hoernle and others. On these intriguing coins the obverse is in Kharoṣṭhī script and the reverse in Chinese characters (Fig. 4.6 c). The deciphering and dating of these coins is difficult; various studies grappling with the problem offer dates generally ranging from the 2nd century B.C. to 3rd century A.D. Most recently J. Cribb dates them to around early 1st century-ca. 132 A.D. and Lin Mei-ts'un to between ca. 175-220 A.D. Other coins found in the area include those of the Kushans and the Chinese, with the greater majority being Chinese.[32]

[31] Bailey (1982), p. 1; James Legge, *A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms*, N. Y., 1965 reprint of original Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1896, pp. 16-20.

[32] J. Cribb re-examines the coins (all more or less round and struck in bronze except for two in lead) and divides them into 13 groups by size and type, inscriptions, and symbol or design. The coins include riderless horse (walking, standing or fore-foot raised), riderless camel (walking), and non-pictorial examples. On the obverse in Kharoṣṭhī script are the titles and name of the issuing king in the possessive case. The titles used by all the kings are Maharaja (Great King) and yidiraja or yitiraja (King of Khotan or King of the Khotanese). The names are Gurgadema, Gurga, Gurgamoa, Gurgamoya, Inaba,

Although Khotan came under Chinese control in the latter half of the first century B.C., under the rule of Yarkand for a short period between A.D. 33-61, and was the headquarters of Pan Ch'ao's governance of Central Asia between 77 and 91 A.D.,[33] Khotan tended to dominate the region and oasis kingdoms in its immediate vicinity along the southern Silk Road. At the time of the Three Kingdoms (220-265) Kho-

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and doga or Panadesana. Most had the prefix "Gurga", none of which he was able to link with any Kings of Khotan named in the Chinese or Tibetan sources. One, Inaba, which he found for the first time, he equates with Chinese Xiumoba, who ruled for only a few years after A.D. 60 and who probably issued Groups 9 and 10 in his grouping. On the reverse the Chinese inscriptions are of 6 or 3 (and one uncertain) characters written in small seal form of the Han dynasty type. Chronologically, Cribb places Groups 1-6 (those with kings not using rajatiraja title) before Groups 7-11 (all of which use this title and have as well a kind of "tribal symbol"). Groups 9 and 10 only use the Bactrian camel (a type Cribb claims follows the coinage of Bull and Camel used by Kūjula Kaḍphises rather than the earlier very rare square bronze camel coin of Menander) and Cribb assoicates these with the king Inaba (Xiumoba) ruling a few years after A.D. 60. Group 11 is set apart and Groups 12 and 13 are not a part of the main series. In conclusion, he finds these coins to have been issued from early 1st century A.D. to end by 132 A.D., covering about 100 years with some gaps. J. Cribb, "The Sino-Kharoṣṭhī Coins of Khotan", *The Numismatic Chronicle*, Part I, Vol. 144, (1984), pp. 128-152 and Part II, Vol. 145, (1985), pp. 136-149.

Lin Mei-ts'un addresses the problem of dating mainly from the reading of the king's names in Kharoṣṭhī and in relation to the Kharoṣṭhī document No. 661, found at Endere, which he dates to ca. 230 A.D. (see below, Chapter 5, note 84). The prefix "Gurga", apparently a royal family name, occurs in five forms, but Lin suggests these actually are only two names: Gurgamada and Gurgamaya (some names being mistakenly written or having alternative modes). He rejects Gurga as a dynastic name, and suggests that it is the name of a king, which, through phoentic transcription Lin surmises to be Ch'iu-jen 秋仁. He sees the upper (earliest) limit for the issue of coins to be ca. 175 A.D., the latest date for the material on the history of Khotan contained in the *Hou Han-shu*, which mentions An-kuo as ruling in Khotan and makes no mention of a Gurga dynasty. Furthermore, the Sino-Kharoṣṭhī coins all use raja (not raya, as used after the Shan-shan king Amgvaka in ca. mid-3rd century in the Shan-shan kingdom Kharoṣṭhī documents—see Chapter 5 for discussion of the date of the change from raja to raya in the Shan-shan kingdom Kharoṣṭhī documents). Also, the early limit for the coins cannot be far removed from the date of the Kharoṣṭhī document No. 661 and the usage of Kharoṣṭhī in the Shan-shan kingdom. Further, he cites Hsia Nai's dating of the Chinese character style on the coins as Eastern Han. The latest limit for the coins could be no later than ca. 220 when the king of Khotan Shan-hsi 山习 became king. Between ca. 175 and 220 (about 55 years), Lin suggests Khotan was ruled by king Ch'iu-jen (who may also have been the (unnamed) king of Khotan to send the gift of a tamed elephant to the Eastern Han court in 202 A.D.) and the time when the Kharoṣṭhī language entered the country. Lin Mei-ts'un 林梅村, "Ch'ia-lu wen-shu chi Han ch'ia erh t'i ch'ien so chi Yü-t'ien ta wang k'ao 佉卢文书及汉佉二体钱所记于阗大王考" (Investigation of Kharoṣṭhī Documents and Sino/Kharoṣṭhī Coins of the Great King of Khotan), *Wen-wu*, 1987, No. 2, pp. 41-43.

Concerning the other coins found at Khotan, most are Chinese, but some are Kushan. Stein found one copper coin of Kūjula Kaḍphises, 5 copper pieces of Kaniṣka, Chinese coins from the Wang Mang era dating 14-19 A.D., 3 Han period *wu-chu* coins (in circulation in Central Asia until T'ang), 1 former Han coin, and others of T'ang and later date. Stein (1907), I, p. 204. The Mission Dutreuil de Rhins dans la Haute Asie obtained a coin of Huviṣka in Khotan. D. MacDowall, "Numismatic Evidence for the Date of Kaniṣka", in Basham (1968), p. 146.

[33] Zürcher (1959), I, p. 62 (from the *HHS*, 77, biography of Pan Ch'ao, pp. 3a and 7b).

tan appears to have been in control of the western section of the southern Silk Route. During the reign of Wu-ti of Western Chin (r. 265-289 A.D.), the influence of China seems to have reached at least as far as Niya in the kingdom of Shan-shan on the eastern edge of the Khotan sphere.

Remains of the ancient capital of Khotan were identified by Stein at the site of present-day Yotkan, which from around 1874 had been continuously dug up by local treasure hunters for its rich finds of gold, jade, gems and ornaments. The digging had created a large depression revealing about 15 feet of strata above the virgin ground level. Objects acquired by Stein and others of ancient pottery fragments, jade, seals, and small images, are said to have mostly come from local diggings at Yotkan. In size this ancient capital was apparently relatively small, and even travelers of old noted the low, but seemingly adequate, walls of the city, which, it is said, never succumbed to siege.

It is thought that one of the numerous Śaka tribes who came into Central Asia settled in the Khotan area before the 2nd century B.C.[34]. Although the early history of Khotan is highly speculative and fraught with numerous problems due to a lack of documentation, an outline is provided by the major Tibetan source on Khotan, the *Li Yul Annals*, a treatise in the *Kanjur* probably complied from a number of independent sources. In conjunction with Chinese sources and some of the data emerging from the translations of the documents discovered in Central Asia early in this century, a provisional history can be obtained.

The *Li Yul Annals* records a list of 56 kings (probably before the 10th century) and legends of the founding of Buddhist monasteries. According to this source, Buddhism was introduced about 404 years after the Buddha's Nirvāṇa during the reign of Vijaya Sambhava, the 3rd king who ruled 165 years after the founding of Khotan as a kingdom. He is said to have founded the nation's first Buddhist monastery (Carma Monastery). Though the calculations are ambiguous, it is generally surmised to have occurred in the 1st century B.C.[35] However, he was followed by 7 non-Buddhist kings until the 11th king, Vijaya Vīrya, who adopted Buddhism anew and built the Gumattira monastery, perhaps ca. 1st century A.D. The 14th king, Vijaya Jaya, is said to have married the Chinese princess who brought silk worms and mulberry leaves, thus introducing the important silk industry to Khotan. The following four kings were Buddhist, but the dates are difficult to establish for any of these

[34] Bailey (1982), p. 43.

[35] If the date of 483 B.C. is accepted as the date of Śākyamuni's Parinirvāṇa, then the introduction of Buddhism to Khotan occurred in the 1st century B.C.

rulers up to the 56th ruler who is thought by scholars to have ruled in the 9th or 10th century.[36]

Work by linguists, especially H. W. Bailey and R. Emmerick, on the ancient texts from Khotan has led to the identification of an "older Khotan Śaka" language and a "later Khotan Śaka" language within a 700 year span from ca. 300-1000 A.D. with a period of about 300 years for the transition from one to the other. In Older Khotanese Śaka the name for the country was "hvatäna" and the script was square. Over time the name changed to hvatana, hvataṃ, later becoming hvamna, hvana, hvani, and still later hvaṃ-ksīra. Hsüan-tsang ca. 640 recorded the name as huan-na. The Later Khotan Śaka script is not square, but is a cursive form of Indian Brāhmī.[37] According to Bailey, "the scholars of Khotan made the language into a flexible instrument to cope with a foreign philosophy [i.e., Buddhism]. In some Buddhist texts the influx of Sanskrit words was copious. But the language retained its Iranian grammar in nominal inflexion and verbal bases with the many proverbs...".[38]

An interesting linkage seems to occur between the Śakas of northwest India and Khotan as reflected in their language. According to Lüders, the language of the Khotanese from the 1st-4th century was related to that of the Śakas of Malwa and Mathurā. Both used a certain ligature Ys for the spoken "z".[39] The Śakas of northwest India were a branch of the Śakas from Seistan-Śakastan in southeastern Iran, where they had migrated from Central Asia around the 2nd century B.C., about the same time as a branch of the Śakas appear to have settled in Khotan. These links are extremely tenuous, but nevertheless intriguing, and may, at first glance, be one factor in the apparent relation one sees between the art of Khotan and that of other areas populated by the Śakas.

1. *Buddhism and Buddhist Art in Khotan from Literary Sources*

In addition to the information provided in the *Li Yul Annals* noted above, several Chinese sources and some manuscripts discovered in Khotan and Tun-huang provide critical data for understanding Khotanese Buddhism and its art in this early period prior to ca. 400 A.D. The oldest trace of Buddhism is believed to be the portion of the *Dharmapada* manuscript possibly dating ca. 2nd century A.D. found in 1892

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[36] Gropp (1974), pp. 30-34; Stein (1907), I, pp. 151-153 and Appendix E. For discussion of the possible kings who issued the Sino-Kharoṣṭhī coins, see Cribb (1984-85) and Lin (1987).

[37] Bailey (1982), p. 2 and H. W. Bailey, *Sad-dharma-puṇḍarika Sūtra, The Summary in Khotan Śaka*, Canberra, 1971, p. 8.

[38] Bailey (1982), p. 56.

[39] Gropp (1974), p. 32.

at Khotan and written in Kharoṣṭhī following a Prākrit version.[40] From Tun-huang was found a manuscript of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa Sūtra* written in Old Khotanese (Old Khotan Śaka) and the *Book of Zambasta*, a long book in 4,000 lines of verse in 24 chapters relating a variety of Buddhist stories and texts, written in excellent Old Khotan Śaka and named after the donor, whose name is mentioned in several colophons. This rare text relates in chapter 22 the complete story of Maitreya, including the coming of Ketumati (the future name of Benares), and in chapter 23 the story of King Udayana's image.[41] A wealth of extant Buddhist texts from Khotan is probably but a small part of the original libraries this great Buddhist center undoubtedly possessed. A literature on Amitāyus is known and Bailey notes that "before the coming of Buddhism older Iranian beliefs had dominated. Of these older beliefs the Buddhist texts retain some traces of concepts which could be taken over into the Khotanese Buddhism", such as the world mountain.[42]

From the biography of the Chinese Buddhist monk Chu Shih-hsing 朱士行 more light is shed on the situation in Khotan around the second half of the 3rd century. The first known Chinese Buddhist monk to journey west in search of Buddhist texts, Chu Shih-hsing left China sometime around 260 A.D. and went to Khotan where he remained for the rest of his life (he died at age 79, but his dates are not known). He was primarily seeking for the text of the 25,000 verse *Prajñāpāramitā*. Chu Shih-hsing was able to send the text back to China where it made its way to Loyang and was translated by Mokṣala, a Khotanese monk.

Reports note the struggle Chu Shih-hsing encountered with the Hīnayānists of Khotan, who appealed to the king to prevent the sending of the manuscript to China, claiming that it was a heterodox Brahmin text. Chu Shih-hsing requested a test by fire, from which the text emerged whole from the ashes and was therefore subsequently allowed by the king to be sent to China. Whether or not the details of this account are reliable or not, it probably reveals the strength of the Hīnayānists in Khotan in the latter part of the 3rd century. It also reveals the availability of the *Prajñāpāramitā* texts and the conduit of the merchants and/or monks in the transmission of Buddhist texts (and probably also images) from Central Asia to China at this time. Although prior to Chu Shih-hsing's departure from China no Khotanese Buddhist monk is known to have been part of a translation project or a teacher in China, by the 2nd half of the 3rd century there are several, including Mokṣala and

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[40] Zürcher (1959), I. p. 62 and note 186, chap. 2; see also, J. Brough, *The Gāndhārī Dharmapada*, London, 1962.

[41] Bailey (1982), p. 76. The text is the same as the Buddhist Sanskrit *Maitreya-vyākaraṇa*. See R.E. Emmerick, *The Book of Zambasta*, London, 1968.

[42] Bailey (1982), pp. 71-72, lists the known texts.

the monk Gītamitra, who arrived in 296 in Chang-an with another Sanskrit copy of the 25,000 verse *Prajñāpāramitā*, and Fa-i 法益, the disciple of Chu Shih-hsing who came to China after his master's death and left accounts of his miraculous cremation.[43] Clearly in the 2nd half of the 3rd century the role of Khotan in Chinese Buddhism has some notable effects. This implies the importance of Khotan as a Buddhist center at that time, even if it may have been predominantly Hīnayānist.

By the time of Fa-hsien's journey in ca. 400, the situation in Khotan had clearly become predominantly Mahāyānist. Fa-hsien traveled to Khotan across the desert from Karashahr (on the northern route), where he had gone after leaving Shan-shan. It is not certain why he chose to go this extremely difficult and highly unusual route to Khotan. He arrived in 401 after a month and 5 days travel through "country that was uninhabited," enduring sufferings that "were unparalleled in human experience." He found Khotan (Yü-t'ien) "a pleasant and prosperous kingdom with a numerous and flourishing population."

> The inhabitants all profess our Law, and join together in its religious music for their enjoyment. The monks amount to several myriads (10's of thousands), most of whom are students of the Mahāyāna.... Throughout the country the houses of the people stand apart like (separate) stars, and each family has a small tope (t'a 塔) reared in front of its door. The smallest of these may be 20 cubits high or rather more. They make (in the monasteries) rooms for monks who may arrive, and who are provided with whatever else they require.[44]

Fa-hsien also notes four (or 14) great monasteries in the country, not counting the lesser ones, the foremost being the Mahāyānist Gomati monastery favored by the king. Monks from this monastery took precedence in the great festival that lasted for 14 days while Fa-hsien was there, beginning on the 1st day of the 4th month. He describes the elaborate four-wheeled image cars more than 30 cubits high containing a standing image flanked by two Bodhisattvas with devas (apsaras) hanging in the air. He noted all were "brilliantly carved in gold and silver." Each monastery had a different display and each was given one day for the procession. In describing the King's New Monastery, located 7 or 8 li west of the city and which had taken 80 years to complete under the reigns of three kings, Fa-hsien provides us with graphic details that bring to life the prosperity of the Buddhist establishments of the Khotan area ca. 401 A.D.:

> It may be 250 cubits in height, rich and elegant in carvings and inlaid work, covered above with gold and silver and finished throughout with a combination of all the pre-

[43] Zürcher (1959), I, p. 62.

[44] Legge (1965 reprint), pp. 16-17; S. Beal, *Travels of Fah-Hian and Sung-Yun*, London, 1869.

> cious substances. Behind the tope there has been built a Hall of Buddha of the utmost magnificence and beauty, the beams, pillars, venetianed doors, and windows being all inlaid with gold leaf.[45]

Such a picture reveals the flourishing condition of Khotanese Buddhism and its Mahāyānist dominance around 400 A.D. This implies that at least from the late 3rd century Khotan continued to prosper and Buddhism, especially Mahāyāna, to increase during the 4th century.

The *Li Yul Annals* and the diary of Hsüan-tsang in the 7th century leave written accounts of the famous shrines of Khotan, most of which cannot yet be identified with specific sites in Khotan, and have not been systematically studied archaeologically. The oldest shrine in the kingdom was said to be the Temple of Vaiśravaṇa, built in honor of Vaiśravaṇa's direct hand in providing a male heir for the first king, who was heirless. Hsüan-tsang records that the temple stood by the capital city with a tower built of wood seven stories high on the summit of which the image of Vaiśravaṇa resided. Throughout early Khotanese history Vaiśravaṇa has continued to be an important tutelary protective deity for the region.[46]

Several other famous monasteries and shrines noted by Fa-hsien, Hsüan-tsang, and the Tibetan texts may have been erected in Khotan by the 4th century A.D., though further archaeological evidence is desired for confirmation. For ascertaining the special quality and circumstances surrounding Khotan and understanding its influence in Central Asia and China, a summary of the 10 famous ancient sites around Khotan is presented below.[47]

(1) *Vairocana's Monastery*, the first monastery built in Khotan, located south of the capital 10 li, was founded by the king in honor of the Arhat Vairocana (or Maitreya in some texts) from Kashmir, who was credited with introducing Buddhism to Khotan. The famous stupa at the monastery was hemispherical, in the shape of "an overturned begging bowl", and the image inside the stupa was said to be miraculously visible from the exterior.

(2) *The Double-peaked Gośṛṅga Mountain*, southwest 20 li from the capital, was said to have been visited by the Buddha and where he prophesized the rise of Mahāyāna in the country. Hsüan-tsang saw a monastery there with a light-emitting Buddha image.

(3) *The Ti-chia-p'o-fu-na Saṅghārāma*, built by a minister of Khotan and situated

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[45] Ibid., pp. 19-20.

[46] J. Williams, "The Iconography of Khotanese Painting," *East and West*, n.s. 23 (March-June 1973), pp. 132-135. Figs. 34, 36, 37, 38.

[47] Watters (1961 reprint), pp. 295-303 ; Stein (1907), pp. 224-233.

10 li southwest of the capital, contained a standing Buddha statue believed to have come miraculously from Kucha.

(4) *The Po-ka-i city* (300 li west) with its over seven foot high seated image of a crowned Buddha, formerly in Kashmir (see above note 29).

(5) *The Mounds of Rodents* 150 li west of Khotan's capital where a monastery was built commemorating the rats who helped the king win a battle.

(6) *The So-mo-je Monastery*, containing a stupa 100 feet high, located 5 or 6 li west of the city, was built by a king (according to the *Li Yul Annals*, the king was Vijaya Vīrya, the 11th king), for an Arhat (named Buddhaduta in the *Li Yul Annals*), who is said to have later deposited relics in the stupa. This may be the King's New Monastery mentioned by Fa-hsien for its wealth and gold adornments.

(7) *The Lu-she (or Mo-she) Saṅghārāma* 5 or 6 li southeast of the royal city, was founded by the Chinese queen of Vijaya Jaya. She had successfully introduced silk culture to Khotan and the monastery was founded on the spot where she planted the mulberry seeds.

(8) *The Monastery at Drum Lake*, deserted in Hsüan-tsang's time, was probably, according to Stein, the present-day mound known as the Nagharakhanah.

(9) On the way east about 300 li from Khotan towards Niya is the traditional spot, now a great marsh, where the two armies of early settlers—the Chinese and the Indian—fought and the Chinese were victorious.

(10) *P'i-mo city*, 30 li east of the battlefield noted in (9) and identified by Stein with Uzun-Tati, 330 li east of Yotkan, had a Buddha statue more than twenty feet high made of sandalwood. This statue was of great renown for its supernatural powers and was said to be the famous image of Udayana, King of Kauśambī. According to the *Book of Zambasta*, the King Udayana image is a sitting image on a lion throne. This renowned so-called image of King Udayana has a long and somewhat complicated history that is difficult to unravel.[48] It became an influential stylistic source for some images in China and is mainly known through the late 10th century copy made by the Japanese monk Chonen when he was in China and is now in the Seiryōji temple in Japan. This image is standing and is characterized by clusters of parallel folds that form sequences of schematized patterns over the figure. It may be interesting to consider that an image like the Harvard flame-shouldered Buddha seated on a lion throne could reflect the kind of image described by the *Book of Zambasta* text (Fig. 1.44).

Furthermore, Bailey informs us that "the Khotan scholars asserted that eight Bo-

[48] Emmerick (1968), p. 351. For a discussion of the Udayana image see Soper (1959), pp. 259-265.

dhisattvas had taken into their care the eight divisions of the Khotan land and the names of the divisions are recorded."[49]

2. *Sculpture from Khotan*

Only a few sculptural remains are known from Khotan—most found in Yotkan, the ancient area of the city. Besides the famous bronze Buddha head and a smaller, less well-known one, and a small bronze Bodhisattva, other sculptures are mostly works in clay. Nevertheless, taken as a whole these few works provide an intriguing glimpse into the early East-West trade and the early Buddhist art of this major center on the southern route.

a. *Figurines of western deities*

Two small figures found by the Ōtani Mission in Yotkan in 1910 supply interesting evidence for the East-West trade in this area. One, a Serapis and Harpocrates, is now part of the Central Asian collection of the National Museum of Korea (Fig. 4.6 a) and the other, probably a baby Herakles, is in the Tokyo National Museum (Fig. 4.6b). Both appear to have been made from moulds, and either the figures or their moulds were probably imported from the West, most likely Egypt.[50]

Serapis, presented as a western type godly male figure, sits with both legs pendant on a high-back throne decorated with rectangular recessed panels. A cornucopia rests in the crook of his left arm and his right hand reaches forward to touch the head of a naked boy, who stands, ankles crossed, leaning on the side of the throne. The boy holds in his left hand the stem of a flower, composed of large indented circles. The posture of the right hand, raised to his mouth, and the lock of hair hanging onto his right shoulder identifies the youth as Harpocrates, originally the popular Egyptian god Horus. Serapis, originally the Egyptian god Osiris (in the Graeco-Roman world also associated with Dionysus and Zeus), is the husband-brother of Isis, who in Greco-Roman context is also named Demeter, Thesonophorus, Selene, and Hera. The cornucopia is frequently associated with Isis and, by assimilation, with Serapis. The cult of Isis with the related figures of Serapis and Harpocrates was widespread throughout the Greco-Roman world of the Roman Empire, though especially strong in Alexandria, Egypt. He is also known in Gandhāra, and

[49] Bailey (1982), p. 73.

[50] M. Maillard first identified the Serapis plaque and discusses its similarity with a work from Fayum, Egypt, in "À propos de deux statuettes en terre rapportées par la Mission Ōtani: Serapis et Harpocrates en Asie Centrale", *JAS*, No. 263, 1975, pp. 223-230 and Figs. 1 and 2. Aslo see R.E. Witt, *Isis in the Graeco-Roman World*, Ithaca, N.Y., 1971, pp. 36-45.

appears in some Kushana coins. One from the period of Huviṣka (ca. mid-2nd century) with the legend SARAPO shows Serapis seated frontally on a throne like the Khotan clay figure.[51] This figurine may be the easternmost example known of Serapis, not only an interesting factor in the history of East-West art and trade for Central Asia, but also for the study of this cult and its artifacts from a western art historical perspective.

Here Serapis, who frequently assumes Zeus or Jupiter-like characteristics in the period of the Roman Empire, is shown bearded, with bared chest, and wearing a long skirt-like cloth which covers his legs. His head, proportionately small for his body, lacks sharp patterning and is notable for its western physiognomy, soft features, and the bushy hair of his head and beard. There appears to be a tall crown on his head; it may be the corn measure (modius) crown Serapis is known to wear. His bared upper torso is fashioned into smooth muscle shapes emphasizing the chest muscles and the muscular divisions of the mid-section and abdomen, and clearly corresponds to the Graeco-Roman sculptural tradition.

The folds of the lower garment, portrayed as coarse pleats distinguished by wide groove-like lines, form loose patterns of diagonal movement in the overlap at the low waistline, loose asymmetrical U-folds between the legs, and reverse V-folds on the right leg. Notably, the coarse folds are technically similar to the those used in the Buddha figure from Ma Hao Cave IX (Fig. 1.23) in Szechwan of ca. later Eastern Han or Three Kingdoms, i.e., ca. late 2nd-first half of the 3rd century A.D.

The other small clay figurine is a chubby, cheerful figure of baby Herakles about 7" in height (Fig. 4.6b). He is portrayed loosely holding his right hand around a large club. An animal skin seems to be draped over his left shoulder and a pillar or altar appears beside his left leg. Like the Serapis and Harpocrates, this is a rare work that survives as testimony to the kinds of objects that made their way to this far city in Central Asia from the West.

b. *Two bronze Buddha heads*

The two bronze Buddha heads in Figs. 4.7a,b, color Pl. V, and 4.7d, both obtained by the Ōtani expedition, are not only extremely rare, relatively large (H. 17 and 13

[51] Maillard (1971), p. 227; Rosenfield (1967), Pl. IX, Coin 186. A figure of Harpocrates carved in a dark blue stone was found in 1957 in the Farhad gorge in the Farghana Valley. It apparently comes from a grave of the 1st-2nd century A.D. whose furnishings are said to show close relation with Kushana culture. See the short note on this piece by B. Brentjes, "A Figure of Harpocrates from the Farghana Valley, *East and West*, n.s., Vol. 21, Nos. 1-2 (March-June 1971), pp. 75-76, Fig. 1. The round ball shape of the eyes and prominent lids of the figure seem to relate it to well-known Mathurā sculpture of ca. 2nd-3rd century A.D. Other figures of Harpocrates were found in Taxila as well.

cm respectively), bronze Buddha heads from Khotan, they are also among the oldest, if not the oldest, Buddhist sculptures from eastern Central Asia.

The larger head, now in the Tokyo National Museum, is hollow and cast in the round as a separate entity to be attached to the body, a technique—as noted by D. Yuji—that is also used for the large bronze statue from Shami (Iran) of ca. 1st century B.C.-1st century A.D. (Fig. 3.4). These two examples seem to indicate a method used for making large bronze sculptures—the Khotan head would have been attached to a figure only slightly less than life-size—in this early period. Although the back of the head and the right side of the uṣṇīṣa are broken off (Fig. 4.7b) and some corrosion and patina have appeared on the surfaces, the front part is remarkably well preserved and even some small patches of gilding remain. Usually ascribed a 3rd-4th century dating, this rare and important head merits closer study.[52]

The head is quite distinct in its features and surprisingly delicate in execution. In some aspects it relates to sculptures from western Central Asia and Swat of ca. 1st-3rd century A.D. and with some Chinese sculptures dating from ca. mid-2nd to late 3rd century. In the treatment of the eyes—wide open, sharply edged, symmetrically curved on top and bottom with a slight indication of the tear duct—the shallow lid and only gently arched eyebrows, it bears some resemblance with the head of the ossuary from Koy-krylgan Kala of ca. 1st (or possibly early 2nd) century A.D. (Fig. 3.40). However, the features of the ossuary head are sharper, especially in the mustache and mouth. The soft mustache and nearly flat mouth of the Khotan head are more in common with the paintings at Miran of ca. mid-3rd century (Fig. 4.7c), and the mouth shape relates with some sculptures from Dalverzin-tepe ranging from 2nd to early 3rd century (Figs. 3.29 and 3.32). The Miran figures also have widely opened eyes, but stylistically they are executed with more verve in the curves of eye and eyebrows. The soft, faint shape of the drooping mustache also appears as a feature of the Fujii Yūrinkan Bodhisattva (Fig. 2.22) probably dating ca. late 3rd century (see Chapter 2). In shape, the mustache is also comparable to the clay figurine from Szechwan of ca. early 3rd century (Fig. 2.25). The ears of the Khotan Buddha and those of the Buddha in the painting from Miran Shrine III (Fig. 5.24) both have similar short lobes with only a small dot or slit to indicate the pierced hole. The

[52] For the comments of Dainobu Yuji on the technique, see Giès and Cohen (1996), No. 54. From my observation of the head in the summer of 1997, it appears to have gilt remaining in areas behind the right ear, under the right ear in front, on the side of the chin, above the right and left eyebrow and on the left side of the neck and face. Also, there may have been some black color on the hair. For the dating, see *Ibid.*, No. 54; Rowland (1974), p. 134, where he also discusses the relation of the head from Khotan with the Harvard flame-shouldered Buddha, suggesting that the Harvard Buddha may have been an import from Khotan; and Tokyo National Museum (1987), p. 72.

usage of more extended earlobes does not seem to occur in art of this area until later—in the fourth and early fifth century.

The hair line is practically indistinguishable, but the large uṣṇīṣa is prominent and similar to the type seen in the same Shrine M III Buddha and in the sculpture of Swat, as also noted by Rowland. Though the band around the base of the uṣṇīṣa is a feature known in Gandhāran Buddha representations and the double band appears in a number of examples from Swat (Fig. 4.7f), those with a knot in front are more rare.[53] The smooth surface of the hair and uṣṇīṣa without carved or moulded curls relates to modes that appear in the clay and wooden sculptures of eastern Central Asia and China of the 4th century rather than with Kushana Gandhāran examples, which invariably have textured hair. Perhaps the plain hair mode is related to the Mathurā Kushana school. The eight round indented circles (7 circles around a central one) is a curious feature. They may have been inlaid with jewels, but the position is remarkable as it seems to be above the hairline and not related to an ūrṇā, which is otherwise not seen here.[54]

This head has frequently been compared with the Harvard flame-shouldered Buddha (Fig.1.44). Perhaps the most evident similarity in relation with the Harvard Buddha appears in the profiles of each; both are nearly identical and possess a gentle and fluid contour line (Figs. 4.7b and 1.65). However, the Harvard Buddha, discussed in Chapter 1 as an image probably dating ca. 2nd half of the 2nd century A.D., has slightly more curve to the nose and heavier quality to the mass as well as having distinctly different treatment of the eyes, mustache, mouth, hair and uṣṇīṣa. The profile of the Khotan head may be even more fitting in respect to the seated bronze Buddha in Fig. 2.18a, dated in Chapter 2 to ca. 1st half of the 3rd century. Both have a similar chin, jaw and cheekbone shape as well as the straight nose-forehead contour, although the chin is more sloping in the Chinese image.

The comparisons pointed out above suggest a possible dating range between ca.

[53] There are quite a number of examples from Butkara I in Swat of Buddha images with a band at the base of the uṣṇīṣa. See Faccenna (1962 and 1964), II,2, Pls. CCVI, CCXVIII, CCIX (lower), CCXXIII, CCXXXVIII, CCXXXIX left and right, the latter example perhaps with a loop in the center. Pl. 1.28 in Chapter 1 of this book may have a knot or a jewel. For B. Rowland's discussion of this head and its relation with Swat and Miran, especially in regard to the large uṣṇīṣa, see Rowland (1974), p. 130.

[54] Such configurations of circular indentations do occur in the hands of some Buddha sculptures, such as the Nitta collection seated bronze Buddha of ca. late 4th century A.D. It has similar holes in his raised right hand, but this clearly indicates a cakra (National Palace Museum, Taipei, *Crucible of Compassion and Wisdom*, Taipei, 1987, Pl. 57). A painted ūrṇā with dots around it appears in a Buddha head from Turfan, usually dated in the 8th century, but probably from the mid-5th century, published in the Japanese catalogue of the Silk Road exhibition: Tokyo National Museum, *Sai-iki bijutsu ten* 西域美術展 (Central Asian Art Exhibition), Tokyo, 1991, No. 140. One wonders if the 8 circular indentations could have some special significance for the Khotan area, such as refering to the 8 regions of Khotan protected by the 8 Bodhisattvas noted above in the introduction to Khotan.

mid-2nd to mid-3rd century A.D. for this large head form Khotan. It is highly unlikely to be later than the 3rd century. The relationships between the art of the western Central Asian region on the one hand and the Chinese images on the other hand again seem to reflect the intermediary position that the art of Khotan seems to maintain. Certainly there does not seem to be any reason to believe this bronze head is from India; it does not reveal strong Indian characteristics, but is rather more closely tied with the artistic movements of western Central Asia and Swat regions than with the art of India or even Gandhāra proper. Because the art of Kashmir is little known, it is difficult to judge any possible connection with this area.

The smaller bronze Buddha head, now in the Hirayama collection (Fig. 4.7d), has the remains of a halo that was cast with the head, which appears in high relief. Other examples of this technique are the two bronze Buddhas from Taxila (Figs. 2.11 and 3.61) and the Fujiki Buddha (Fig. 2.29), the latter dated in Chapter 1 to ca. first half of the 3rd century A.D. In overall appearance, this head seems to be relatively close to the large bronze Khotan head and to have some resemblances to the Taxila bronze Buddha in Fig. 2.11 (whose head is also similar to some at K'ung-wang shan—see Fig. 1.7) and to the bronze money tree Buddhas (Figs. 1.31 b and 1.32), particularly with the large plain uṣṇīṣa. The hair on the cranium is portrayed with slightly wavy bandlike strands, a mode that occurs in coarser form in the clay female head from Temple No. 1 at Dalverzin-tepe probably of ca. late 1st-early 2nd century A.D. (Fig. 4.7e). It also occurs in a number of examples from Swat (Fig. 4.7f), but in a stronger, bolder form, and in the mane and tail of the horse in the famous gilt silver plate of Shapur II (309-379) in Fig. 4.7g, where is appears as a sleek, well-assimilated pattern.[55] The fact that the Khotan head also has the narrow long nose and small mouth similar to the Dalverzin-tepe head could be an indication of its relatively earlier rather than later dating. It does not partake of the changes occurring in the 4th century, but is related to styles seen in China in first half of the 3rd century. It appears most likely that both bronze heads date in the 2nd half of the 2nd century A.D.

[55] The Khotan head is likely to date prior to this Sasanian plate. In her detailed study of the Sasanian silver gilt plates, Prudence Harper explains the pivotial position of this Shapur II plate, especially in the fact that it appears to be the earliest of the usage of the "paired line" drapery, a form which she claims was derived from Gandhāran modes (such as seen in the Begram ivories), which the Sasanians probably learned during their governance of the northern Bactrian region around the mid 4th century. P. Harper, *Siver Vessels of the Sasanian Period*, Vol. I: Royal Imagery, New York, 1981, p. 127. Certainly other motifs, such as the wavy hair strands, could have been assimilated as well. It appears that this motif had a life from at least ca. late 1st or early 2nd century A.D. (the probable date of the Dalverzin-tepe Temple No. 1 images) up to this Shapur II plate in ca. mid-4th century.

c. *A small bronze Bodhisattva*

The Bodhisattva in Fig. 4.8 in abhayā-mudrā, and possibly holding a flask in the left hand, which could identify it as Maitreya, was acquired by Stein at Khotan. Although so tiny and corroded that scarcely any details can be discerned, it nevertheless is of significant interest as a bronze Bodhisattva from Khotan, and for revealing a Kushana Gandhāra related style. In certain respects it can also be associated with the Fujii Yūrinkan Bodhisattva (Fig. 2.22), discussed in Chapter 2 as probably dating in the late 3rd century: the long swag of the asymmetrical scarf, the open spread of the hems of the scarf as it falls from the right arm, the big proportions of the hands, and, most importantly, the shape of its lotus pod pedestal with, according to Stein, a "chule or tang for the insertion into a socket"—exactly the same form used for the Fujii Yūrinkan Bodhisattva and the Kyoto National Museum standing Buddha inscribed "one of nine" of ca. late 3rd-early 4th century (Figs. 2.32g and h), but not in later bronzes in China. This small Bodhisattva is likely to be an image of ca. 2nd-3rd century, possibly reflecting a Khotan regional variant, if not imported.

d. *A small clay Buddha head*

The small clay Buddha head in Fig. 1.29 from the Ōtani Mission probably dates ca. 2nd-3rd century. It has similar coarse definition of the hair as seen in the Kaniṣka reliquary figures and in a number of Chinese images of the late Later Han-Three Kingdoms, including the P'eng-shan ceramic money tree base Buddha and the Ho-chia shan bronze money tree Buddhas (Figs. 1.26, 1.31b). Characteristics of some of the Dalverzin-tepe clay heads are readily apparent in this head, notably in the treatment of the eyes and hair (Fig. 3.34), again demonstrating an interesting probable relationship between Kushan period art of Gandhāra and the Termez area with Khotan art on the one hand, and between the Khotan/western Central Asian art and that of China on the other hand, reflecting what may be the reality of the times in the transmission of Buddhist art from western Central Asia, of which the Termez-Transoxiana area is primary, to eastern Central Asia, where the Khotan area is a major, influential Buddhist as well as commercial center known to have transmitted Buddhist texts as well as monks to China in the 3rd century.

e. *Small steatite fragment of a stupa*

The tiny, yet skillfully carved, steatite fragment from the top of a miniature stupa (Fig. 4.9), found at Khotan but probably Gandhāran because of the stone, is important in tracing the development of the stupa form as seen in the miniature and reliquary stupas. Above the stepped harmikā is carved a seated Buddha in each of

the four directions and a standing bird at each corner. Above, four remaining, slightly curved umbrellas (chattras) rise in decreasing size. These rather closely spaced umbrellas have a row of unusual, dentil-like beading at the lower rim. These umbrellas closely resemble those appearing in the clay plaque from Harwan of ca. 300 A.D. (Fig. 4.25e) and appear to be a transition stage between the curved umbrellas as seen in Figs. 4.4a,b and the thick, flatter and more separated umbrellas of Figs. 4.25b and c, which are close in style to the Liang-chou (Kansu) stone stupas of ca. 420's and 430's. Though the Lou-lan wooden reliquary stupas of ca. 2nd half of the 3rd century (Fig. 5.70a-c) are simpler and more abstract, they may in fact belong to a similar general period as this steatite example.

f. *Large clay Buddha head*

The handsome, large Buddha head of clay in Fig. 4.10 from the Ōtani Mission group of images in the National Museum of Korea, possesses marked stylistic differences from the bronze Buddha heads in Figs. 4.7a and d. It is clearly not characterized by features of the early, ca. pre-300 A.D. period sculpture. Instead, the style is close to the head of the Amitāyus Buddha dated 420 in Ping-ling ssu Cave 169 in eastern Kansu (Fig. 4.10a). Both are fashioned with distinctive, attenuated eyes with wide upper lid and smoothly arched area of the eye socket with gently curved eyebrows. Freedom and elegance of line dominate the style. The hair line is a delicate, sensitive, curve with subtle turns, and the hair is smooth. The mouth, though damaged, seems full and slightly smiling. Like the 420 Amitāyus, the head shape itself is wide and smoothly contoured without strong cheekbone or bony distinctions. These features also relate to those of the stone Buddha from Fayaz-tepe of ca. 3rd century (Figs. 3.24 and 5.57) and the Bodhisattva No. 2 from Buddhist Temple No. 2 at Dalverzin-tepe (Fig. 3.35) of ca. late 2nd-3rd century. The Swat Dīpaṃkara stone Buddha in Fig. 4.44 of ca. 1st half of the 4th century (see Chapter 4 for dating) belongs to this group, possibly as a precursor of the Khotan head style. Based on comparatively similar marks, one can postulate that this head from Khotan probably dates between the Fayaz-tepe and Dalverzin Temple No. 2 images and the 420 A.D. Ping-ling ssu Amitāyus, roughly between the 3rd century and ca. 420, i.e., perhaps to ca. mid or 2nd half of the 4th century. This head represents a major change from the earlier bronze Buddha heads in Figs. 4.7 a and d and is important in relation to other 4th century clay images from eastern Central Asia, such as the Buddha heads from Miran M II (Figs. 5.44, 5.45), and for indicating the possible antecedents of some of the Ping-ling ssu Cave 169 images. It is a style evolving in the Termez area as witnessed especially by the Fayaz-tepe Buddha niche, as well as in Haḍḍa and Gandhāran images, such as those in Figs. 5.46 and 5.47a.

g. *Conclusions*

This group of pre-5th century sculptures from Khotan, few though they are, nevertheless provide critical evidences that reveal a number of factors for understanding the early art of that region and its relation with other areas. Firstly, the Khotan images clearly seem to have a relation both with the works from the Transoxiana and Swat regions and with China; secondly, the artistic style appears to follow the pattern of assimilation, particularly from the Transoxiana/Swat area, and transmission further east, including to China, probably with a period of some decades between; thirdly, the ca. pre-300 A.D. style relates to Han-Three Kingdoms-Western Chin period styles; fourthly, there emerges a different style, clearly apprehendable in China at least by 420, but probably developing by the mid-4th century and current in Khotan some decades earlier than in China. This latter style can be termed a post-ca. 300 A.D. style, and roughly corresponds to the period of the Eastern Chin (312-420) and Sixteen Kingdoms period (317-439) in China.

3. *Textiles from Tombs at Shampula*

Ancient tombs discovered on a 4 km square, inclined, sandy plain at Shampula (Shan-p'u-la 山甫拉), 11 km south of Lo-p'u hsien 洛浦縣 southeast of Khotan have yielded some extraordinary textile remains from the Later Han period ca. 1st-2nd century A.D. Of the excavated tombs two were group burials and 16 were of individuals. The tombs are rectangular, and the larger group burials had an additional corridor and walls made with wooden pillars. About 1,000 articles have been unearthed from these tombs, including woven woolen and cotton fabrics, but few reports have yet appeared on these items.[56] Several of particular interest in our present study are discussed here: two woven woolen, one cotton patterned, and one silk textile fragment, all probably dating ca. 1st-2nd century A.D.(Figs. 4.11, 4.13, 4.15).

[56] There is a brief notice on these tombs and their art in *Yin jan chih hsia* 印染織綉 (Stampted, Dyed, Woven and Embroidered Textiles), 2 vols., in *CKMSCC*, Craft Arts, 6, Beijing, 1985, Vol. 1; for the Lo-p'u textiles see Figs. 51, 70, 73, 93, 94, 96, 99, 102 and the accompanying figure texts. Also see *Chung-kuo Hsin-chiang* 中國新疆 (Xinjiang China), Urumchi, 1989, pp. 192-193. In respect to the centaur fabric, Mary Tregear and Shelagh Vainker in *Art Treasures in China*, Tokyo, 1993 (Abrams, 1994), p. 167 notes that the fabric is an "indigo-dyed wool cloth" and is a fabric type "called Ke mao (wool brocade with figurations): the warp thread is continuous, while the weft, with which the motif is sewn, turns at the edge of each color; because a shuttle was used, it also passes across the warp threads, gathering them slightly."

During the summer of 1993 I received assistance in the study of these and other textile from Central Asia from my research assistant, Lindley Wilson.

At this time Lo-p'u was a center of iron ore and iron making, a factor which undoubtedly contributed to the prosperity of the region and to international trade.[57]

a. *Woolen fragment with design of a man's head*

This piece (Fig. 4.11) with a narrow band sewn at one end, is from the leg portion of a pair of man's baggy trousers of the kind worn by the people of Central Asia. A well-preserved pair of trousers discovered in 1989 from Tomb M4 near Wei-li hsien 尉梨縣 (on the Central route between Lou-lan and Karashahr, Map 4.1) and dating ca. 3rd-4th century A.D., clearly represents a similar type of trousers and helps to affirm the widespread usage of this type in eastern Central Asia (Fig. 4.12 a,b).[58] This type of trouser is apparently also worn by the Parthians, as illustrated by the Parthian costumes in the wall paintings of the Dura Europos synagogue, dating 244-256 A.D.(Fig. 4.12c). The Shampula piece is comprised of several fragments of the same type of fabric which have been sewn together to make the trousers. The colors are dark and light blue, brick red (the primary background color) and a light yellow flesh color.

Part of the design consists of a man's head portrayed in three-quarter view. From its remarkably western type and style we can surmise that the fabric was imported from the West, probably from either western Central Asia or the Parthian West. The head shows remarkable similarity to some of the heads from Khalchayan near Termez (Fig. 4.12d), probably dating ca. mid-1st century A.D., a factor which strongly suggests a dating for this textile to the same general time or a little later. The long, rectangular face, large square jaw, flat plain band around the forehead and hair, and the coarse parallel lines of the hair are closely comparable in each. The eyebrows are heavy and arched towards the temples; the eyes are open with prominent lids and blue irises; the nose is long, thick and western in style; and the mouth is full with sensitively shaped contours and a dark inner line. The ear has a thick, cusped upper rim similar to the manner of portrayal in the Harvard flame-shouldered Buddha dated in Chapter 1 to ca. 2nd half of the 2nd century A.D.(Figs. 1.44, 1.61). Shading effects, skillfully incorporated into the face around the eyes, nose, mouth,

[57] "Lo-p'u hsien A-ch'i-k'e-shan ho K'u-ch'a hsien A-ai-shan liang ch'u Han-tai k'ai k'uang yeh t'ieh i-chih" 洛甫县阿其克山和库车县阿艾山两处汉代开矿冶铁遗址, in Hsin-chiang she-hui k'o-hsüeh-yüan k'ao-ku yen-chiu-so 新疆社会科学院考古研究所, *Hsin-chiang k'ao-ku san-shih nien* 新疆考古三十年 (Thirty years of Archaeological Studies in Sinkiang), Urumchi, 1983, p. 69.

[58] Hsin-chiang wen-wu k'ao-ku yen-chiu-so 新疆文物考古研究所 (Sinjiang Institute of Archaeology), "Hsin-chiang Wei-li hsien Yin-pan ku mu tiao-ch'a" 新疆尉犁县因半古墓调查 (Investigation of Ancient Tombs at Yinban of Weili County in Sinkiang), *Wen-wu*, 1994, No. 10, pp. 19, 27. This tomb is dated by the excavators to the Later Han, Wei/Chin period or later.

chin, jaw and ear, together with the illusionistic three-quarter view, successfully impart a strong quality of naturalism to the face, generally related with western art that probably was derivative from Roman or classical artistic techniques. Some resemblance to the face of the Hatra statue of ca. 137 A.D. can be detected as well (Fig. 1.51).

A design of red slanted lines and blue irregular dots (probably petals of a flower) against a white ground appears on part of another piece of fabric that has been attached. The nicely patched condition indicates the value afforded to the fabrics, which were carefully used and re-used, finally to be fashioned into clothing for the deceased.

b. *Woolen fragment with design of centaur in a circle of rosettes*

This second woven woolen fragment, also from a man's trouser leg and made of separate pieces sewn together, has as its main design an image of a centaur, a popular motif in the classical West (Fig. 4.13). The horse part of the figure is brick red, the man's torso is light yellow flesh-color, and the background is dark blue. The man holds a long flute or trumpet which he seems to be playing, much as that of the centaur in the sculptural fragment in Fig. 4.14a, a relatively rare example from Gandhāra, but one which, together with this Shampula textile, testifies to the penetration of this classical motif into the Gandhāran and Central Asian regions. It is also known in the early Kushana art of Mathurā.

A cape, similarly seen in the Gandhāran centaur, curves around the shoulders and back and flies loosely behind the figure, trailing what appears to be an animal tail, which identifies the cape as the skin of an animal. A long, thin, ribbon streamer from his cap forms a calligraphic, reverse S-curve above the flying cape. Echoing the thin ribbon shape is the curious circular band beneath the horse. The horse portion of the centaur prances with a swift gait notably similar to the famous "flying horse" from the Lei-t'ai tomb in Wu Wei, central Kansu, of the later Later Han period, ca. 186-219 A.D. (see Chapter 1; Fig. 4.14b); even the tail is flat and bent in a somewhat similar motion. These correspondences suggest a Later Han period dating for this fabric, which is likely to be from the same source as the former fabric. Both have the same coloring and weave, as well as the four-petaled blue flower with red diagonal lines, a motif which is more clearly identifiable in the centaur fabric.

Surrounding the centaur, portrayed against a dark blue ground, is a medallion-like circle of individual yellow, white, and red rosette flowers. Perhaps this scheme can be considered a prototypical form of the medallion design with central figure made popular in Sasanian Persia and used for centuries in the art of Bāmiyān, Central Asia, and China. The rosette, a motif design in Iran from Achaemenid times and in materials from Gandhāra and other Central Asian sites from at least the 1st century

A.D., is here divided into four sections by a red line emanating from a central red dot. The particular form of these rosettes closely resembles the large rosette in the center of the hat worn by the figures of the wooden furniture legs found by Stein at Niya (Figs. 1.60 and 5.4); both have the bi-cusped upper edge of each petal, although the wooden ones of the Niya furniture legs are not so pronounced. A similar, but more definitely delineated rosette appears in the underside of a wooden bracket also found at Niya (Fig. 4.14c). These items from Niya, as discussed in detail in Chapter 5, date prior to ca. 300-early 4th century, the probable date of abandonment of the Niya site.

Part of a wing, portrayed more delicately than the wings in the wall paintings at Miran (Figs. 5.20 and 5.29) and other floral or leafy shapes appear around the ring of rosettes. Above, besides the four-petaled blue flower and red diagonal line motif, there is part of a section of a dark and light yellow checkered pattern, a common decorative pattern depicted in Kushan sculpture (Figs. 4.4e, 3.73) and also seen in the Niya batik in Fig. 5.7.

These two textile fragments from Shampula are valuable new evidences of the interaction taking place between eastern Central Asia, in this case on the southern Silk Road, and the West during the early centuries A.D. They take a place along with the Niya batik fragment and the woven woolen fragment of Hermes and Caduceus from Lou-lan (Fig. 5.82a) as evidences of the trade with the West along the Silk Road during the Later Han period. However, the comparative realism of the Shampula fragments and their proximity in style with the Khalchayan works and the Wu Wei flying horse of ca. late 2nd-early 3rd century A.D. could suggest an earlier dating than the Lou-lan Hermes. The more pronounced abstraction in the shaping of the eye and face in the latter work probably corresponds to the style of the Three Kingdoms and Western Chin period, much as seen in the wooden sculptures from Lou-lan (Figs. 5.73a and 5.78) and, as Rowland has observed, in the Miran wall paintings.[59]

c. *Cotton fabric with rosette, pearl and wave design*

The fragment of cotton cloth in Fig. 4.15a with design of row of rosettes, two lines of pearls, strips and circles and a double wave pattern in indigo and white colors is apparently dyed in a process like a batik.[60] The motifs are not associable with Chinese designs, but again relate to designs known in western art. The wave pattern is a common pattern appearing in Roman mosaics, such as that in Fig. 5.85. A similar

[59] Rowland (1974), pp. 38-39.
[60] *Yin jan chih hsiu*, Vol. 1, p. 45 (Fig. 102).

wave motif also occurs in some of the clay tiles from Harwan in Kashmir of ca. 300 A.D. (Fig. 4.15b).

Other designs in the Shampula woven woolen and cotton textiles include stripped patterns and diamond patterns with floral figures in each space, similar to the patterning on the sleeves of the Hatra statue of ca. 137 A.D. (Fig. 1.46). The woolen and cotton textiles found at Shampula offer a fascinating connection with the West indicative of the Silk Route trade, but do not appear to have any relation with Chinese designs or textiles.

d. *Chinese warped-faced compound tabby silk fragment*

This fragment (Fig. 4.15c) is of the special Chinese warped-faced compound tabby silk. It has a design associated with the Warring States period so-called dragon-feng bird motif. Similar exquisite warp-faced compound tabby silks with various animal designs have been found in other sites in Central Asia, notably in Niya and especially at Lou-lan, and in sites in Mongolia and Siberia as well, where they probably were part of the Han tribute trade. The characteristics of this type of finely woven figured silk are discussed in more detail in Chapter 5 with the Lou-lan examples, but it should be recognized here that, though apparently found in less quantity than the woven woolen fabrics of western make and/or design in the Khotan area, and found in less numbers than the silk fragments from Lou-lan, this silk fragment nevertheless affirms the presence of imported Chinese silk in the Khotan region.

The dating of the warp-faced compound tabby silk has not yet been determined. Most experts date it to the Later Han period, but there is some evidence, presented by Meng Fan-jen, that it may be most prevalent during the 3rd century Three Kingdoms and Western Chin period.[61]

4. *The Site of Rawak*

Aurel Stein discovered the site of Rawak, northeast of Khotan, on April 10, 1901 (Map 4.1).[62] Immediately realizing its importance, he set to work excavating the

[61] *Ibid.*, Fig. 51 and text p. 21. Meng Fan-jen 孟凡人, "Lun Niya 59 MNM001 hao mu ti shih-tai" 論尼雅 59 MNM001 号墓的时代 (On the Age of Tomb NO. 59 MNM001 Found at Niya), *Hsi-yü yen-chiu*, 1992, No. 4, pp. 51-53 argues for a dating in the 3rd-early 4th century for these warp-faced compound tabby silks found in Sinkiang, citing various evidences in literature that seem to indicate that the Three Kingdoms and Western Chin may have been the flourishing period for this kind of special silk production.

[62] Stein reports the meaning of Rawak in the local language is "high mansion". According to Chu Yün-pao, the name of Rawak in Uighur means the same as the Chinese Lou-k'o (pavilion or tower): Chu Yün-pao 朱雲寶, "Ssu-ch'ou chih lu shang ti fo-t'a" 丝绸之路上的佛塔 (Remains of Buddhist Stupas on

southern portions, which were not so heavily buried under the high sand dunes as the other areas (Fig. 4.16).[63] He left on April 18th, having uncovered some of the most amazing remains of Buddhist statuary and a site of immense importance in Central Asia. The notes and photographs of the site and its art taken by Stein are an invaluable legacy which can no longer be replaced. Working under trying conditions of heat, wind and sand, some 91 statues were uncovered, all in "friable clay" from the main enclosure wall as well as from part of an "outer passage wall". Numerous well preserved wu-chu coins were found, but unlike at Niya and Lou-lan no documentary evidences or Sino-Kharoṣṭhī coins of the early centuries were discovered, nor were there any later coins of the T'ang period.[64] These factors led Stein to date the site to between the 3rd and 7th centuries. No signs of wanton destruction appeared, but there were signs of pre-abandonment disrepair. During excavation of the statues along the enclosure walls broken parts of images were found lying as though put in a pile or placed up against some other statue for safe-keeping. Little else was found in the immediate vicinity of the stupa site other than some broken pieces of pottery and coins, probably indicating dwelling sites which had already decayed. The subsoil water at the area was high, perhaps accounting for the decay of all wooden members in the stupa as well as those used for the statues (the holes for the wood still remained) and for the lack of any documents or perishable materials being found.[65]

In 1910 the Ōtani Mission paid a hurried visit to the site, and Stein returned in 1914 to find it in a sad state of ruin more extensive than on his first visit in 1901. The Trinkler Expedition from Bremen, Germany, with the purpose of investigating the geography and history of the Khotan area, excavated the western quadrant of the site from March 7th-10th, 1928. Thirty-nine clay statues (25 still adhering to the walls) and several paintings were found at that time.[66]

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the Silk Road), *Hsi-yü yen-chiu*, 1992, No. 2, p. 65. There has been some discussion that Rawak is the O-lao-lo-ka site north of Khotan mentioned by Hsüan-tsang. See Watters (1961 reprint) p. 298 and 302-303. However, there are difficulties and discrepancies in this interpretation. See Yim Young-ae 林玲愛 "Hotan Rawak sawŏnchi sobulsang ui Yŏn'gu" 호탄(Khotan, 于闐) 라왁(Rawak) 寺院址塑佛像의研究 (Research on the Clay Sculptures of Rawak Temple Site, Khotan), *Misulsahak Yŏn'gu*, No. 198 (June, 1993), pp. 38-39.

[63] The description below is summarized from Steins's account in (1907), I, pp. 482-503.

[64] *Ibid.*, I, pp. 500-501: "On the one hand, the fact that of the numerous coin finds of the Rawak Vihāra not comprising a single later piece makes it probable that the date of these votive deposits could not have been removed by many centuries from the period of the Later Hans, when the *wu-chu* coinage was the recognized currency of the Chinese empire. On the other hand, the complete absence of Sino-Kharoṣṭhī pieces seems to preclude the assumption that the shrine had existed in the first centuries of our era."

[65] *Ibid.*, I, p. 486.

[66] Gropp (1974), pp. 13-16; 221-242.

Little progress has been made on the dating of Rawak Stupa and the sculptures since Stein's writing and Gropp's report on the Trinkler expedition. Rowland essentially followed Stein's dating; Gropp, writing on the Trinkler expedition, dates the stupa to the 6th century, and Whitfield dates specific remains brought by Stein and now in the British Museum, generally assigning them a dating within the 4th-6th century. In a recent article on Rawak, Yim Young-ae gives more detailed attention to the style of the sculptures, dividing them into two groups similar to Stein's assessment. She dates the earlier group to the 4th-early 5th century and the later group to the early-later 5th century, largely based on some comparisons with Kushana Gandhāra and Gupta sculpture and the sculptures of Ping-ling ssu Cave 169 dated 420 A.D.[67]

Because of the significance of Rawak Stupa and its art in the history of Buddhist art in Central Asia and for its consequential relation with Indian and Chinese Buddhist art, the stupa, sculptures and one example of the rare paintings will be examined here with a view to more closely relating the stupa to developments in Gandhāra and Central Asia and to formulating a classification of the various styles of the more than 100 sculptures, which have not been studied to the extent their importance merits. It is hoped that this detailed analysis will lead to more accurate understanding of the identity, related sources, and dating of the art, as well as of its role and significance within the Buddhist art of Central Asia and in relation to that of India and China.

a. *The stupa*

The mound of Rawak stupa presented an imposing sight to Stein in 1901. High drifted sand, not less than five feet anywhere, had protected much of the site from atmospheric destruction and allowed assessment of most of the dimensions and general shape of the stupa (Figs. 4.16-4.18). Total extant height was approximately 31 feet from the floor of the court to the top of the existing part of the ruined dome (Figs. 4.19 and 4.20e). The lowest or first level platform, 7 1/2 feet high and 78 feet on each side, has, in Sir John Marshall's terminology, a "cruciform" plan. According to the classification of G.H. Franz, it is a "star-shaped" plan (Figs. 4.20a-d).[68] In regard to plan, the term cruciform will be used here with respect to Rawak, as it appears to

[67] Rowland (1974), p. 126; Gropp (1974), p. 44; Whitfield (1985), Vol. 3, pp. 313-314, and Yim (1993), pp. 45-58.

[68] Rowland (1974), p. 123 states, in accord with Marshall's definition: "The plan of the stupa [Rawak] in the center of the vihara is a large square basement platform with staircases projecting at the quarters so that the ground plan becomes cruciform." According to Franz, "A special type of terrace stupa is to be seen in the stupa of Rawak near the oasis-city of Khotan on the southern branch of the silk-road. The stupa has four staircases and the ground-plan has become star-shaped." Franz (1980), p. 40.

accord more accurately with the developments of the Rawak type of stupa, as will become clear in the ensuing discussion.

At Rawak the corners of the main, square, portion of the platforms are oriented to the cardinal directions, the same as the corners of the enclosure wall of the site. At each of the four sides is a broad staircase, 14 feet wide on the first level (Figs. 4.17, 4.19). The second level has the same shape as the first level, only smaller. It is square 45 1/2 feet on a side and 9 feet high, and has a narrower staircase—9 feet wide—also on each of the four sides. Stein noted a third set of stairs three feet in height, leading on each of the four sides to the circular base of the round drum of the dome.[69] Only 8 1/2 feet of height remained of the drum/dome unit, insufficient to be able to determine either the original height or shape of the dome. Patches of thick plaster painted white were still adhering to part of the base and a foot wide cornice moulding in stucco was found at a corner on the first level platform (Fig. 4.18).[70] This plaster cornice design is rather similar to the plaster corner on the circular shrine M XIV at Miran (Fig. 5.50) and on the circular section of a structure uncovered in 1987 by the Chinese near the L.A. section of Lou-lan (Fig. 5.54a).

The remains of Rawak stupa accord closely with the stupa as described in the *Dīvyāvadāna* text of ca. 3rd century A.D. discussed earlier, which designates 4 flights of steps (catvāri sopānāni), one on each side (so it is obviously square) and three lofty platforms (medhī) superseding each other (Fig. 4.4i). It seems reasonable to call the Rawak platforms by the term medhī (as opposed to the earlier term vedikā used in the *Vinaya Kṣudraka-vastu*), and, if we are correct in assuming that Rawak stupa follows this text, then the dome may be termed an "aṇḍa" (egg-shaped) as opposed to a "kumbha" (pot-shaped).

A rectangular enclosure wall surrounded the stupa court 163 feet (SW and NE) x 141 (SE and NW) with maximum preserved height 11 feet in the uncovered parts and 3 1/2 feet thickness. Stein found only one entrance (about 8 1/2 feet wide) in the middle of the southeast side (Fig. 4.17), but in 1928 the Trinkler expedition uncovered another on the southwest side, clearly establishing that the enclosure wall had an entrance in each of the four sides to match the four staircases on the stupa. Both the stupa and the enclosure wall were constructed of sun-dried bricks about 20 x 14 x 3 1/2-4 inches consisting of the harder material characteristic of the early, pre-T'ang phases in Central Asia. Stein surmised that originally there may have been some sort of wooden cover or gallery over the sculptures which lined the enclosure wall. A problematic conjectural drawing of Rawak stupa showing such an

[69] Stein (1907), II, Pl. XL and I, p. 486.
[70] *Ibid.*, I, p. 486.

enclosure wall, but without four entrances, has been made by Chu Yün-pao (Fig. 4.20d).[71]

The stupa with cruciform base platform with a staircase on each side is a type particularly known among the stupas of Gandhāra, including Kaniṣka's Stupa at Shah-ji-ki-dheri (Fig. 4.21a) near Peshawar generally dated to the late 1st-early 2nd century A.D. (and in a smaller stupa near the great stupa: Fig. 4.21b), the Top-i-Rustam stupa at Balkh, Afghanistan (Figs. 4.22a and b), and the Bhamāla stupa (Figs. 4.23a and b) at Taxila.[72] Both Franz and Rowland acknowledge that this type also occurs in the stupas of Kashmir, notably, among surviving remains, in the monumental stone stupa of Chaṅkuṇa at Parihāsapura of the mid-8th century (Fig. 4.24).[73] Among surviving Central Asian stupas, the cruciform plan stupa appears infrequently; besides the stupa at Rawak, the recently discovered renovated stupa at Fayaz-tepe near Termez in southern Uzbekistan may be the only other notable example (Fig. 3.19b), but it is not as monumental as Rawak.

In the Rawak stupa, the first level platform is actually a square with prominent stairways on four sides creating the distinctive cruciform shape. Projecting angles of the platform where the stairs meet the wall inject an angular elaboration which increases the angles of the plan (Fig. 4.20f) and may have led Franz to designate the plan as "star-shaped" (stellate). However, the star-shaped or stellate plan implies rotation of the square base, and this does not appear to be the case in the early form of the four staircase stupa nor in the Rawak stupa. Only later, in the 7th-9th century stupas of Kashmir and Afghanistan and elsewhere, does the plan appear to assume a genuine stellate appearance (Figs. 4.24a,b and 4.25g,h).

Stages in the development of the cruciform plan platform with staircases on four sides can be traced from the examples noted above. Kaniṣka's stupa at Shah-ji-ki-dheri, famous in the accounts of the Chinese travelers Sung-yün (ca. 519 A.D.) and Hsüan-tsang (2nd quarter of 7th century), is only known nowadays from the cur-

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[71] *Ibid.*, I, p. 488; Chu Yün-pao (1992), p. 67 and Fig. 5; Yim (1993), Fig. 5. This conjectural drawing seems to include an entrance on the northwest side as well as the entrance discovered by Stein on the southeast side. Also the shape of the upper part of the stupa does not seem proper for the period of Rawak. This drawing does not appear to be based on any new archaeological investigations by the Chinese.

[72] There are also small examples found by Marshall at Sārnāth, but most come from the "trans-Indus" region: the Ahin Pash stupa in Jalalabad Valley, the Tahkal Bala Stupa near Jamrun (5 or 6 miles from Shah ji-ki-Dheri). H. Hargreaves, "Excavations at Shah ji-ki Dheri", *Archaeology Survey of India*, Annual Report, 1910-1911, p. 25.

[73] Rowland (1974), pp. 123-124. Franz also notes several examples in Turfan, in northern India (the great stupa at Lauriyā-Nandangaṛh as well as in the small encased stupa within), and in many small votive clay tablets, such as those found at Tapa Sardar in Afghanistan. Franz (1980), p. 40.

sory excavation by Spooner, who uncovered the platform of the stupa in 1910-11.[74] It has a large square platform with a prominent projecting stairway on each side and lacks any intermediate angles (Fig. 4.21a). The projecting circular tower-like or possibly pillar forms at the four corners are a distinct feature, apparently not known in other stupa examples. A small stupa near the great stupa is similar in plan and may provide an example in smaller scale of the basic form and proportions of the lower part of Kaniṣka's stupa (Fig. 4.21b).

The great stupa of Top-i-Rustam in Balkh, Afghanistan, was first presented by A. Foucher,[75] from whose reconstruction we can see that the lowest base platform has a square form whose angles remain as the governing shape of the design, much as in Kaniṣka's stupa (Fig. 4.22a and b). Some increased elaboration occurs where each of the four stairways meets the wall with an angled projection that does not occur in Kaniṣka's stupa. The design of Rawak stupa's first level platform is virtually the same as that of the Top-i-Rustam stupa (Figs. 4.20a and f).

The second level of the Top-i-Rustam stupa is round, but there are still four staircases, narrower than those on the first level, that continue the same line of ascent. We find this same principle of design on the second level at Rawak with the notable exception that the plan is square like the first level and not round. With a series of three base/drum demarcations all of the same radius on the stupa proper in the case of Top-i-Rustam, the overall shape of that stupa's drum/dome unit produces a distinctly cylindrical shape. Among Gandhāran reliquary stupas similar designs appear (Fig. 5.19b), although certain elements, such as the presence of four corner pillars on the first level square platform, as well as the absence of stairs, are distinctly different in the Fig. 5.19b reliquary. Nevertheless, this reliquary and the Top-i-Rustam Stupa seem to be markedly close in design concept. They probably do not date later than the 3rd century and are likely to be earlier, ca. 2nd century A.D. Franz includes the Top-i-Rustam stupa within his designation of the "classical terrace stupa" or new "classical" type of Gandhāran stupa, which appears to include any stupa with a square or rectangular base platform whether or not it possesses one flight of stairs, four flights of stairs, or is without stairs.[76] In Franz's view the Rawak stupa is a special form of the "classical terrace stupa" with a stellate plan. However, the *Dīvyāvadāna* text makes it clear that the usage of four flights of stairs (one on each side of a square, not circular, base) is a major element to consider in the classifica-

[74] Hargreaves (1910-1911), p. 25.

[75] A. Foucher, *La vieille Route de l'Inde de Bactres à Taxila*, 2 vols., Paris, 1942, I, pp. 83-98. Foucher dates the monument to ca. 2nd century A.D.

[76] Franz appears to include all stupas with square terrace platform as "classic terrace stupa" type. Franz (1980), pp. 39-40.

tion of stupas, so it would seem preferable that this should be the defining attribute of a sub-classification of the square/rectangular base stupa rather than its stellate plan, which is a late development or variant evolving within the four staircase, cruciform plan. In other words, it seems useful and natural to make the four stair cruciform plan a major classification with the stellate development only a sub-variant.

The Bhamāla Stupa at Taxila (Figs. 4.23a,b) excavated by Sir John Marshall, though relatively close to the Top-i-Rustam stupa in the plan of its first level platform, places greater emphasis on the equality of size between the angles of the main square and the projections formed at the juncture of the the main square with the four staircases. Furthermore, additional angles appear at the front of the staircases, thus creating in the overall scheme a more elaborate sequence of angles that imparts an effect that is less harsh, plain or Spartan and more harmoniously integrated compared with the Kaniṣka, Top-i-Rustam and Rawak stupas (Fig. 4.23b).

Bhamāla is grouped among the later stupas of Taxila, but perhaps it is not as late as suggested by Marshall, who dates it to the final phases of Taxila, ca. 4th-5th century.[77] Franz cites Bhamāla stupa as an example of the star-shaped plan stupa in the Gandhāra region. However, the lower level platform still retains the essential square core with the four flights of stairs retaining a cruciform rather than a true stellate variant. With greater elaboration of the angles in the Bhamāla stupa than in the Rawak stupa, it is likely that Rawak stupa dates prior to the Bhamāla stupa.

With respect to the stupa at Fayaz-tepe near Termez (Fig. 3.19b), which, as discussed in Chapter 3, underwent additions to the older circular stupa sometime in the Kushana period at the time of renovation and enlargement of the site, Rawak appears much more fully developed. The stairs of the Fayaz-tepe stupa were apparently added to the existent early form circular stupa as a wall encasement apparently including 4 stairways, one on each of the four sides, resulting in a quadrilateral base in one level.

Chaṅkuṇa's stupa of ca. 730's at Parihāsapura near Srinagar, a magnificently large stone stupa with four staircases, possesses a massive first level platform with multiple, equal-sized angles, which probably warrant the designation as star-shaped or

[77] Marshall describes Bhamāla stupa, which had an extant height of over 30 feet, as: "Its plan is cruciform, consisting of a tall square podium with an imposing flight of steps ascending the middle of each side; and the more to increase its dignity, the whole is set on a plinth some 3 ft. in height, which in its outline follows the salient and re-entrant angles of the podium." In dating the structure he notes that the core was composed of heavy limestone blocks in regular courses typical of 4th and 5th century techniques. Coins found within the stupa could not be dated precisely, "but there can be no doubt that they are assignable to the late fourth or fifth century A.D." The minor stupas around the main stupa are characterized by Marshall as "structures of the fourth or fifth century A.D., several of them being similar in design to those at the Dharmarājika, where the date in one case was determined by the presence of coins of Shapur II (309-376 A.D.)." Marshall (1951), I, pp. 391-395.

stellate cruciform plan (Figs. 4.24a and b). The equalization of the angles between the four staircase projections essentially eradicates the major effect of the core square that was maintained in the earlier stupas of Kaniṣka, Top-i-Rustam, Rawak, and Bhamāla and seems to suggest a true rotation of the main square to produce the multiple, equal-sized angles between the staircases. The form of the Chaṅkuṇa stupa is without question more radically developed than Rawak and Bhamāla and represents the design we can probably associate with the period of the 7th-9th century in Kashmir.

The comparative study thus far suggests that the Rawak stupa design is more developed than the major early Kushana period stupa of Kaniṣka, contains some elements in common with the Top-i-Rustam stupa in the first level platform, does not appear to be as elaborated as the Bhamāla stupa at Taxila, and is certainly less developed than Chaṅkuṇa's stupa of ca. 730 in Kashmir. These factors clearly indicate, along with the circumstantial evidences of coins, etc., from the site found by Stein, that Rawak stupa falls stylistically between the 3rd and 7th-8th century (i.e., the Kushana and T'ang periods), but the similarities with the Top-i-Rustam stupa and Rawak's apparent dating earlier than the Bhamāla stupa lends credence to a possible dating ca. 3rd-4th century A.D.

Reliquary stupas provide more detail and amplify the general outlines provided by the monumental stupas for the evolution of the four-staircase cruciform platform plan (catvāri sopānāni/medhī) type of stupa and provide some comparable evidences for the Rawak stupa with its a cruciform first level platform plan, cruciform second level platform plan, circular third level, circular drum and possibly "aṇḍa" type dome. The reliquaries in Figs. 5.19b, 5.53e, and 5.71 are all examples without the four staircases, but have early elements and a design that more closely reflects the stupa type expressed in the *Vinaya Kṣudraka-vastu* of ca. 1st century A.D., notably the vedikā and the kumbha (pot) dome. The extraordinary lime plaster reliquary stupa studded with cut gems from stupa A 11 at Jauliāñ (Taxila) (Fig. 5.71), is relatively similar to the simpler miniature wooden stupas from Lou-lan datable to before ca. 300 A.D. (see Chapter 5).[79] The pair of reliquary stupas from the Eilen-

[78] S. Huntington, *The Art of Ancient India*, New York, 1985, pp. 361-362; R.C. Kak, *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir*, New Delhi, 1933 (1971 reprint), pp. 146-147. Kak notes that the stupa of Cha%n%kuna is completely covered with boulders on top of its base. In the center is a massive block with a 5' deep hole in the center, clearly for the insertion of the yaṣṭi. The base is 128' 2" on each side, square in plan with offsets and a flight of steps on each side. "The steps were flanked by plain rails and side walls which had pilasters in front decorated with carved figures of seated and standing atlantes...The top surface of each of the two plinths is broad and affords adequate space for circumambulation" (p. 147). Some round stones belonging to the drum were found. Apparently the stupa had two terrace platforms similar to Rawak.

[79] Marshall (1951), I, pp. 372-373.

berg collection and now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, (Fig. 4.25a and color Pl. VIII a,b) and those in Figs. 4.25b and c probably represent stupa forms of the 4th century, if not earlier, judging from comparable elements also seen in Chinese miniature stupas from Kansu province from the late 4th century to ca. 430's A.D. These Chinese stupas will be discussed in detail in the sequel to this work, but suffice it to say at this juncture that one in the Tun-huang city museum of ca. late 4th-early 5th century has similar umbrella design as the Eilenberg stupas. The other two bronze stupas have umbrellas of the kind appearing in several Chinese stone stupas dated in the 420's and 430's of the Northern Liang dynasty in Kansu. These represent a clear departure from the type of stupa represented by Figs. 5.19b, 5.53e and 5.71 not only in the usage of the 4 staircases, but also in the pillar-like bracket support of the tier of umbrellas, a feature also known in a number of other reliquary stupas, such as that of Fig. 4.4f. Among the four-staircase reliquary stupas, that in Fig. 4.25c in the Peshawar Museum, most closely conforms to the design of Rawak stupa in regard to the first level platform.

The terracotta miniature stupa in Fig. 4.25d presents an interesting comparison with Rawak stupa in regard to the ensemble of platforms. It shows the two level cruciform plan like Rawak and even has the indication of a narrow circular third level base similar to Rawak. This terracotta stupa is most probably of earlier date than the terracotta stupa plaques found at the site of the stupa courtyard at Harwan in Kashmir (Fig. 4.25e). These latter works reveal a fully developed triple tiered cruciform medhi platform with four staircases, exactly matching the *Dīvyāvadāna* text. They have a prominent circular drum and probably an "aṇḍa" shaped dome, which, in combination with the drum creates a cylindrical shape. The umbrella tiers, which seem to number 13, are supported by a closely spaced series of pillar brackets. The dentals of the rafter beams of each umbrella appears as a series of bead-like dots below each umbrella, much as seen in the miniature schist fragment of the top of a stupa from Khotan (Fig. 4.9).

The Harwan stupa plaques were found during excavation of the rectangular stupa courtyard area at Harwan, which contained a the remains of three platforms like those of the votive stupa plaques of a "medium-sized" stupa facing north and made with the "diaper rubble" method. From under the foundation of the stupa was discovered a copper coin of Toramana, thus suggesting the stupa was built in the 5th century or later.[80] Though it may be difficult to date these votive plaques, they may tentatively be assumed to be 5th century or later. They clearly show a style that is earlier than the more elaborate variety of stupa handsomely represented by the bronze

[80] Kak (1933), pp. 106-107.

stupa of Fig. 4.25f, which clearly dates ca. 8th century from its resemblance to the bronze stupas accompanying 8th century Kashmiri bronze Buddhist image sculptures.

The clay stupas from Tapa Sardar near Ghazni, Afghanistan (Figs. 4.25g,h) represent the full-blown development of the four-staircase cruciform plan into the stellate variation as paralleled in the monumental Chaṅkuṇa stupa at Parihāsapura. Possibly that in Fig. 4.25g may be earlier than the one with image niches in Fig. 4.25h.

The Rawak stupa most closely relates to the reliquary stupas of Figs. 4.25c and d. With regard to the former, the resemblance occurs in the powerful simplicity of the form and comparable square platform base and similar stair elevation. With regard to the latter, the similarity is with the overall design of the platforms. We could infer that the domes of these two reliquary stupas provide a reasonable model for the probable shape of the Rawak stupa dome. Since the former probably dates before the 420's and 430's when the umbrella style appears in dated Chinese miniature stone stupas, it may be thought to date ca. 4th century, a dating which may be reasonable for the style exhibited in the terracotta example too, which is much simpler than that of the Harwan plaques that probably represent a more fully developed version in the 5th-7th century. Thus the reliquary stupas could support a ca. 4th century dating for Rawak, a conclusion which does not contradict that already suggested by our study of the monumental stupas. However, without more precise archaeological studies for Rawak and other stupas, in order to arrive at a more specific dating for Rawak, it is essential to examine the sculptures.

b. *The sculptures*

The quantity and quality of the sculptures adorning the enclosure wall and outer passage wall ensure this site as an extraordinary treasure house of Buddhist art. Such an amount of large figural sculptures has not been found at other early sites on the southern Silk Route in Serindia—only the northern route sites have comparable examples, but these are in even more fragmentary or damaged state. Among the Rawak sculptures are some of the earliest major Buddhist sculptural remains so far known from eastern Central Asia.

Stein recognized at least two different styles among the Rawak sculptures he uncovered and dated them to within the 3rd-7th century period, although, sensing their affiliations with the Gandhāra School, he believed they were relatively early. Other scholars have generally dated the sculptures from the site to the 4th-5th or 5th-6th century, but until Yim Young-ae's recent study, no analysis leading to a more

definitive classification and dating of the sculptures had appeared.[81] Here we present a detailed analysis and classification of the sculptures according to style categories. The sculptures are carefully assessed in their relation to other works from India, Gandhāra, Swat, Central Asia and China in order to move a step further in ascertaining a more precise working chronology and dating for the site.

A close analysis reveals rather complex varieties of styles among the more than 116 surviving sculptures, suggesting not only different hands, but probably separate periods of activity, possibly both of additions and/or repairs. A wide range of materials, aided by some new sculptures from Mathurā, Transoxiana and China, which, taken together with certain well-known works from Gandhāra, Central Asia and China, provide the basis for a more definitive step to be made in formulating a chronology of the sculptures of this important site. The analysis presented here is primarily based on Stein's photos and notes, the remains brought back to the British Museum, the findings of the Trinkler Expedition of 1927-28, documented by G. Gropp from photographs and remains of the expedition kept in the Übersee Museum in Bremen, Germany, some works from the Trinkler expedition now in the Metropolitan Museum of art in New York and those from the Ōtani Mission preserved in the National Museum of Korea.

Stein uncovered 91 individual statues from along the southern sides of both the inside and outside of the SE and SW sides (south quadrant) of the enclosure wall and from the SE and SW portions of the thin wall some nine feet further out from the enclosure wall, called the "outer passage wall". This is only about one quarter of the whole perimeter of the main enclosure wall and included only about a total of 155 feet.

Emil Trinkler uncovered 39 sculptures (his "D" group), 25 of which were still adhering to the wall surface outside the enclosure wall in the western portion of the southwest wall (the western quadrant) (see diagram Fig. 4.26). Spot excavations were made by Trinkler inside the enclosure wall in the west quadrant and outside the enclosure wall on the northwest side, but he noted only that the statues were heavily damaged and no photographs were taken.

Most of the images discovered in both expeditions were large—life size and over

[81] Rowland (1974), p. 126; Whitfield (1985), Vol. 3, Pls. 63-65. The most recent work comes from Yim Young-ae, who classifies the sculptures into two main groups: Group I images, which she views as using Gandhāran sculpture of the most prosperous period as a model, dating between the mid-4th century to early 5th century, and Group II images, which she sees as containing some remains of Gandhāran style and yet are stylized, dating between the early 5th and latter part of the 5th century when Khotan was prosperous. Yim (1993), p. 37. Her study goes into the problems more than previous scholars, but lacks certain refinements and secure evidences for her conclusions, which are nevertheless interestingly relatively close to the ones I worked out in more detail as presented here.

life-size (the latter usually called "colossal" figures)—and nearly all were standing Buddhas. Some smaller than life size images found on the outer part of the enclosure wall between the larger images were all standing Buddhas. All Buddhas appear to have had their left arm down at the side with the left hand grasping the end of the robe. On most statues the right forearm was broken and missing, but it is possible to discern that the right arm was bent at waist level, probably originally with the right hand in the abhayā-mudrā, or possibly the vitarka-mudrā. However, examples from Style VI show Buddhas with the right arm and hand down, presumably either in the vara-mudrā or holding an edge of the robe. A few Bodhisattvas were found, and at the southeastern entrance Stein discovered four guardian figures (the only entrance known by Stein); Trinkler found the remains of one guardian figure (a "dvārapāla", D 25) at the entrance he discovered in the southwest wall. Both Stein and Trinkler affirmed that most images were damaged above the chest or waist; few had their heads in tact, and some heads fell off after excavation. In a few instances, the halos with interesting and elaborate motifs in relief still remained. The sculptures were made from a reddish clay and some retained traces of dark red, light red and/or white paint and/or stucco. Stein summed up his impression as follows:

> "As the work of clearing proceeded I soon realized that the main adornment of the walls both towards the court and outside, consisted throughout of rows of relief statues in stucco over life-size. All the large reliefs represented Buddhas or Bodhisattvas: but from the varying poses, accessories, &c., still recognizable, a number of groups could be distinguished, arranged apparently with some regard to symmetrical disposition. Between the colossal statues at frequent intervals were smaller representations of attendant divinities or saints. In numerous instances the walls were further decorated with elaborate plaques in stucco, forming halos above the heads of figures, or, in some cases, where sufficient space had been allowed, even with complete aureoles in relief around them. Here and there remains of small fresco paintings between the statues could also be traced, but generally the latter were too close together to permit of such decoration, at least on the extant lower portion of the walls. The whole of the relief work had been originally coloured, but the layers of paint had in most cases peeled off except where well-protected in drapery folds, &c. Thus the greatest portions of the stucco images presented themselves in the red ground colour of the clay in which they had been modelled."[82]

i. *Style I*

This, the most prevalent style among those images uncovered by Stein, is probably the oldest style among the images we know from the site. All of the over life-size

[82] Stein (1907), I, p. 486.

(called colossal by Stein) standing Buddhas remaining on the inside of the enclosure wall on the south side of the southwest wall and those on the inside of the southeast wall are fashioned in this style. In Stein's numbering, these are R. 1, 3 (destroyed), 5, 7 (destroyed) 9, 10, 12, 13, 14-21, 23, 24, 25, 26, 29, 30, 31, 33, 34, 38, 40, 41—a total of 28 extant statues. No Bodhisattva images are in this style and neither are any of the Buddha images on the outer side of the enclosure wall or on the thin "outer passage wall". The smaller images placed between the large Style I standing Buddhas belong to a different style classification and probably are later additions.

The Buddha R.1, the first to be cleared by Stein (Fig. 4.27 far right), and the other large Buddhas which adjoin it, (R.3 lost), R.5 (Fig. 4.27), (R.7 lost), R.9 (Figs. 4.28, 4.29) and R.10 (Fig. 4.28), all from along the southern part of the southwest wall, appear to have been executed at the same time by the same artist or group of artists. The remaining Style I large standing Buddhas may have been made by different artists, although the style is still basically consistent with the R.1, 5, 9 and 10 images. The subtle differences between various images of Style I will be discussed below in conjunction with individual examples.

Style I images in general are characterized by a naturalistically formed, regularly proportioned, harmoniously unified, and skillfully modelled form. A sense of gentle movement is created by the slight bend in the right leg and ever-so-slight shift of the body with its major weight on the straight left leg, imparting a calm, settled, relaxed and graceful appearance without tension. The volumes are massive, compact and revealed in their shape with only generalized modelling. The arms are drawn out to a certain degree from the body with the elbow at a slight angle and the hanging left hand turned towards the body but not touching it. The hands and fingers are large, smoothly rounded and gently curved. The abdomen bulges with a swelling mass, but is well integrated into the upper chest and legs by smooth transitions which create a strong unitary cohesion for the form.

Over the torso the drapery fits like a smooth skin, so the body appears as though practically nude. The folds are asymmetrically disposed with widely spaced, rather subtly portrayed, raised rib folds. Between the legs, the folds have an outward extension indicating more relaxed draping, but over part of the thigh and leg these folds seem to fade out, portraying the tight stretch of the cloth over the body. A few rib folds of the undergarment make U-shaped curves over the lower part of the legs and contrast to the vertical pleats between the legs and the strong vertical drapes at the sides where the drapery forms a powerful frame for the figure by falling in a wide plane of rigid vertical pleats along the outer edge of the legs and in stiff, flat diagonal folds over the arms.

Of particular interest is the portrayal of the motif of the drapery hanging from the right arm; it forms a distinctive, deep opening with long parallel hem lines that have a narrow, flat edge with very delicate zigzag detail of the hem. The heavy, powerfully shaped folds contrast with the subtle rib folds over the trunk of the body and with the naturalistic curves of the supple and fleshy body. Such manipulation and contrast connotes a style developing its own mannerisms and going beyond the consistency of the classical period of Gandhāran sculptural portrayal.

This style relates to several important images, which assist in dating the Style I group of sculptures. Two standing Buddha sculptures from the Govindnagar site at Mathurā seem to reasonably indicate a dating for the Style I images between the 3rd and early 5th century. In the stance and unified, rounded aspect of the body and limbs, the Style I images (Fig. 4.29) are similar to the standing Buddha in Fig. 4.30, but are less stocky, massive and powerful. In the subtler shaping of the body the Style I Buddhas resemble the Buddha dated 434 in Fig. 4.31, but retain more of the earlier heavy qualities.[83]

Although the drapery fold lines form different patterns in the Rawak examples, there are also notable similarities in certain aspects of the drapery, especially with the Fig. 4.30 Buddha. Such elements as the scheme of fold lines on the undergarment, the stiff vertical folds at the sides, and, most significantly, the separated long edges of the drapery falling from the right arm are similar in both (Figs. 4.29 and 4.30). These unjoined edges, which form a tunnel effect under the right arm, are similarly narrow and have the flat, squared edge with a border motif (fine zigzag incised line in the Rawak image and a vertical incised line in the Mathurā image). This portrayal is so striking as to be a defining detail which probably closely associates these works in time, and clearly places the Rawak Style I figures prior to the 434 Buddha rather than later. The Mathurā Buddha in Fig. 4.30 is not dated, but it would not date later than the 4th century (it is clearly earlier than the 434 dated Buddha from Govindnagar in Fig. 4.31) nor earlier than the 2nd century, and is probably ca. late 2nd-early 3rd century A.D. The Style I images also appear to predate the developed Gupta sculptural style of the third quarter of the 5th century. Although Rawak Style I images have a unified, subtly modelled body shape related to the 434 Buddha, it has a firmer roundness and sense of tougher rather than more idealized form. This toughness of mass is rather akin to early Gupta style such as

[83] R. C. Sharma, *Buddhist Art of Mathurā*, Delhi, 1984, Fig. 124 and p. 207 for the late Kushana Buddha, placed by Dr. Sharma in the late Kushana phase when there was a resurgence of local over Gandhāran traits. For the 434/435 A.D. Buddha from Govindnagar see *Ibid.*, Fig. 142, and p. 223.

seen in the images at the Udayagiri caves near Vidiśā, dating on the basis of several inscriptions to ca. 402-426 A.D.[84]

Other examples of the right arm drape usually depict the hem as joined or have a curved rather than vertical opening. In early Chinese Buddhist sculpture one can see the curved variation as early as the Fujii Yūrinkan Bodhisattva and the standing Buddha "one of nine" (Fig. 2.32h) and as late as the 443 standing bronze Maitreya Buddha (Fig. 4.46). Even though the curved variation is not exactly the same as the vertical alignment used in the Mathurā and Rawak examples, it nevertheless is probably a relatively contemporaneous mode. The Eastern Great Buddha at Bāmiyān (Fig. 3.71) and the Paitava Great Miracle of Śrāvastī image in Fig. 3.73 both have variants of the open curved draping. The straight-edged form seems more specialized and probably confined to a relatively short period.

The magnificent seated Buddha from D Complex at Kara-tepe near Termez (Fig. 3.16a) affords an especially instructive comparison with the Rawak Style I sculptures. It is more massive in form, but has similar, though less regularized, rib folds, and the "tunnel-like" effect of the drapery falling from the raised right arm. The D Complex images are dated by the excavators to the late 2nd-early 3rd century A.D. (see Chapter 3).

The ribfold type and the linear scheme used in the Style I Rawak Buddhas also have close correspondences to several important works. One comparable example is the Buddha and attendant monks in the niche discovered at Fayaz-tepe near Termez in southern Uzbekistan (Figs. 3.24 and 5.57) of ca. 3rd century. Both have the carefully drawn and gracefully curved riblike lines with wide spacing. The monks are smaller and thinner images, but they show a similar relaxed posture and use of rib-folds in the composition of the garment folds like that of the Rawak Style I Buddhas.

The Rawak Style I garment style and linear patterning also relate closely to the seated stucco Buddhas along the bottom of Stupa A 15 at Jauliāñ Monastery at Taxila (Fig. 4.32a) as well as with the standing Buddhas from the main stupa at Jauliāñ (Fig. 4.32b). These Jauliāñ images are not specifically dated, but have been generally ascribed by Marshall to the later renovation phase at Jauliāñ, ca. 4th-first half of the 5th century.[85]

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[84] There are three inscriptions at the Udayagiri caves, two of Chandragupta II (one dated 402 A.D.), and one of Kumaragupta dated corresponding to A.D. 426. J.C. Harle, *Gupta Sculpture*, Oxford, 1974, p. 9 and Figs. 10-12.

[85] Jauliāñ is a large site with a number of stupas. With regard to Stupa A 15, Marshall notes: "In the stupa A 15 the plinth is faced with large diaper masonry similar to that employed in the older parts of the main stupa and monastery, and it is likely that this is one of the earliest among the small stupas, although it was redecorated at a later age... the decoration consists only of a series of figures of Buddha in dhyāna-mudrā applied to an otherwise perfectly plain background." It also has an inscription

Some elements of the Style I Buddhas appear to relate to sculpture from the region of Asia Minor, such as the sculptures from a sarcophagus in Fig. 4.32c, dated to the 4th century by David Talbot Rice, who associates it with the sarcophagi from Sidamara, Asia Minor, apparently produced from ca. 250 onwards as a local school. The triangular taut shapes of the folds over the left arm of the figure at the right (facing) are similar, though not as emphatic and profuse, as the folds over the arms of the Rawak Style I Buddhas. Also, the general body depiction of the sarcophagus relief is rather close to that of the transformation Buddha in Fig.4.34a. What these similarities suggest is that the style of Rawak probably has some relationship with the artistic modes of the Asia Minor-Constantinople region. Closer study may uncover further parallels that could help to refine the dating of Rawak Style I, but at present even the sculpture of the Asia Minor region has not been systematically studied for a precise chronology.

The images cited above form a compatible stylistic group with the Rawak Style I images, especially those along the southern part of the southwest wall (R.1-R.10 of Style I), suggesting a broad, general dating between ca. 3rd-early 5th century A.D. The link which may help provide a more specific dating for the Style I images can be seen in the images of the Style I variant appearing in the Buddhas R.12 through R.40 and their relation to the Miran wall paintings.

As indicated above, the large Buddha figures of Style I numbering from R.12 to R.41 display a different hand from those discussed as R.1 to R.10 variant in Style I, though they are similar enough to still be considered as part of the Style I group and probably not different in date. The differences are mainly in the tougher body with bolder muscular curves and in stronger and greater elaboration of the drap-

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in Kharoṣṭhī on the plinth on all four sides; most cite the names of bhikṣus as donors. Marshall assigns dates to about the beginning of the 5th century. "The masonry of the square plinth of stupa A 15 is rough diaper, but the round drum above is semi-ashlar, and it seems clear that the stupa was partially rebuilt and at the same time redecorated, perhaps when the neighboring chapels were constructed. In any case, the freshness of the inscriptions on both stupas and of the plaster reliefs to which they appertain leave no doubt that they had not long been executed when they were buried from view, and inasmuch as the latter even cannot be placed earlier than the second half of the fifth century A.D., it follows that the earliest date to which we can assign the inscriptions is about the beginning of the same century." Marshall (1951), I, pp. 372, 374-376. We can note that the presence of Kharoṣṭhī writing on Stupa A 15 could well suggest a dating for the sculptures prior to ca. mid-4th century when Kharoṣṭhī writing seems to have demised.

With regard to the sculptures on the main stupa at Jauliāñ, Marshall dated the original fabric of the main stupa at Jauliāñ from early Kushan times (2nd century A.D.), "but the semi-ashlar repairs as well as the plaster reliefs are some three centuries later when the whole edifice was completely renovated." The two standing stucco Buddha sculptures remaining on the north side of the stupa are both also ascribed by Marshall to the 5th century. *Ibid.*, I, p. 371.

ery, particularly in the depiction of the pleats at the sides (Figs. 4.33, 4.35). Some figures have alternating broken rib folds on the leg (R.12 and 29; Figs. 4.35, 4.39). One (R.26) has a pattern of pulled cloth across the lower right leg and a curved cluster of pleats on the hems below it (Fig. 4.38). This pattern is important to consider as a predecessor of more developed forms seen on sculptures from the northern Silk Route sites of Turfan and Kucha, and is similar to that in the robes of the women in the Fayaz-tepe painting of ca. 2nd-3rd century (Fig. 3.22). This mannered tendency in the fold patterns creates a sense of unnatural movement in the drapery unlike the more conservative and classical manner of portraying the folds on the torso area of the same Style I images. Other variants of Style I display a pronounced diagonal outward movement of the pleats falling at the sides of the body, as in R.29 (Fig. 4.39).

Some images of the Style I variants reveal a stylistic link with the paintings from Miran Shrine M.III of ca. mid-3rd century (Fig. 5.23a). The strong vertical pleats at the sides of the Rawak Style I Buddhas relate to the folds draped over the seat of the larger figure in the Miran painting, though the Miran folds are looser. The prominence of the wide folds and their manner of portrayal is especially close to the portrayal of the side folds in the large standing Buddhas R.12 through R.40 at Rawak (Figs. 4.28, 4.33, 4.35, 4.38, 4.39, 4.42), all of which treat the folds rather freely, boldly and stiffly, yet with considerable tension and prominence. The relation with the Miran work suggests a dating probably no earlier than around mid-3rd century to early 4th century for this Style I variant. Considering all the above factors, Rawak Style I could date between the late 3rd to early 5th century, but more favorably seems to relate to the earlier rather than later end of this spectrum, in which case ca. late 3rd to early half of the 4th century is most reasonable.

The linkage with the Gandhāran stucco images at Jauliāñ main stupa and Stupa A 15, which could well date ca. late 3rd-early 4th century considering its relation with Style I at Rawak, is not surprising, nor is the close connection with the Termez area images, but the relation with the Mathurā image is more unexpected, although perhaps it should not be so. It is likely that they either reflect a common style emanating from a similar source, or that there is some linkage through the school of Taxila or possibly Kashmir, about which we know so little, but which was an important Buddhist center at this time. As pointed out in the introduction to Khotan, historians make a point that the Śakas of Mathurā and those of Khotan may have had some relation.[86]

[86] See above Chapter 4, p. 22 and note 39.

a. *R.11 and R.12: Great Miracle of Śrāvastī Images*

Except on the images of R.11 and R.12, the halos on all the images of Style I are lost (Figs. 4.28, 4.33, 4.35). Presumably the others must have been only head halos, probably round in the early style—as seen in the Jauliāñ examples in Fig. 4.32. The halos of R.11 and R.12 are large, encompassing body halos with multiple small Buddhas—the transformation Buddhas probably representative of the Great Miracle of Śrāvastī. As noted by other scholars, this configuration occurs also in Cave 17 at Kizil, possibly dating in the 5th century, and in the silk hanging scroll of the Representation of Famous Images from Tun-huang, probably of the 9th century, but perhaps replicating an earlier work.[87] A recent work on the Great Miracle of Śrāvastī in Gandhāran Images by Ju-hyung Rhi comes to the conclusion that this form of Great Miracle representation becomes prevalent in the late 3rd to early 4th century A.D.[88]

One, and possibly another, of these small transformation Buddhas, several of which had fallen off when Stein was at the site, are in the British Museum (Fig. 4.34a, Pl. VI).[89] These small Buddha images all hold the garment in their raised left hand and have their right hand in the abhayā-mudrā. The drapery is not portrayed in delicate rib folds like the main Buddha, but is formulated in coarser, more densely packed, parallel folds made by incised grooves and lumpy moulded folds which tend towards schematized patterns. Since there is no indication of any kind to suggest that these halo Buddhas were made at the time different from that of the main image, the most plausible explanation for the existence of these differing styles in the same work is that each is contemporaneous and reflects a diversity of individual style and/or possibly a conscious distinction between the style of large scale images and small ones, a distinction which exists in Chinese Buddhist art of the early 5th century.[90]

These small halo images are of special significance because some retain their heads, round head halo, and hands, thus providing examples of these elements for Style I,

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[87] For the Kizil Cave 17 image see *Kiziru Sekkutsu* キジル石窟 3 vols., in *Chūgoku Sekkutsu*, Tokyo, 1983, Vol. 1, Fig. 55, and Angelea Falco Howard, *The Imagery of the Cosmological Buddha* Leiden, 1986, Fig. 27; For the Tun-huang image see A. Soper, "Representations of Famous Images at Tun-huang," *Artibus Asiae*, XXVII, No. 4, pp. 349-64. Other representations occur in the Kushana period stone sculpture of Gandhāra and Afghanistan: see Kurita (1988 and 1990), I, Figs. 390-393.

[88] Ju-hyung Rhi, *Gandhāran Images of the "Śrāvastī Miracle": An Iconographic Reassessment*, Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1991, pp. 187-188. He dates the Gandhāran and Afghan Miracle of Śrāvastī figures to ca. late 3rd-early 4th century.

[89] Stein (1907), II, Pl. LXXXVI (R xxx.1), which may possibly have been one of the transformation Buddhas since stylistically it is very close to Fig. 4.34a, which is documented by Stein as coming from the R. 12 Buddha's halo.

[90] M. Rhie, "Some aspects of the Relation of 5th century Chinese Buddha Images with Sculpture from N. India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, and Central Asia," *East and West*, n.s. 26, Nos. 3-4, Sept.-Dec. 1976, pp. 460-461.

although one needs to bear in mind the possibility that these elements may have been differently treated in the large images. The head of Fig. 4.34a is of large proportion and massive, solid, rectangular shape closely related to the head from Toprak Kala of ca. 3rd century (Fig. 4.34b) and also to the Fujii Yūrinkan Bodhisattva of ca. late 3rd century (Fig. 2.22). These correspondences add further credence to a possible late 3rd to ca. early 4th century dating for Rawak Style I. The zigzag hem patterns are more reduced and schematic than those used in the Dalverzin-Tepe standing Buddha (Fig. 3.33) of ca. 2nd half of the 2nd-3rd century A.D. and relate more to the even sharper pattern of the Fujii Yūrinkan Bodhisattva, whose delicate eye shape also seems to resemble this Rawak example. The body shape and drapery are not unlike those of the Amarāvatī-Nagarjunakoṇḍa school Buddha sculptures, particularly of the later phase (Fig. 1.42).

The handsome stucco head in Fig. 4.36 in the Metropolitan Museum of Art is said to have come from Rawak. Even though its style could be commensurate with Style I and it could be a 4th century head, its height, being only 7 1/4 inches, seems too small to allow it to have belonged to a colossal Buddha of Style I.

Finally, it is interesting to note that the round, moulded rim of the R.11 and R.12 halos is clearly the motif of the laurel wreath similar to the laurel wreath of classical design common in art of the Roman Empire and in Gandhāran art, as seen in the famous model stupa from Loriyan Tangai (Fig. 4.4e). It is a motif that appears in the halos of both the Style I and Style VI groups at Rawak as well as in the later sculptural remains of halos from Dandan Uilik. It is well known in the wall paintings of Kizil, such as for the painted arches of Cave 38. It also occurs in the arch of the Great Grotto at Taq-i-Bustan in Iran (Fig. 4.37), which probably dates from ca. late 4th or 5th century A.D.[91] The particular style of the rim in the Style I examples accords with sculptural methods of the Niya and Lou-lan woodwork of ca. 3rd cen-

[91] The laurel wreath motif as a part of architectural design appears in the art of Rome (Column of Trajan) and art of the Roman east in such notable monuments as the Triumphal Arch of Galerius (305-311 A.D.) at Salonika (Thessalonika) in northern Greece and the capital of the Roman province of Macedonia and residence of the Tetrarch Galerius (*EWA*, XII, Pl. 198; R.B. Bandinelli, *Rome: The Late Empire*, New York, 1971, Fig. 280).

The site of Taq-i-Bustan was chosen by Ardashir II and his successors as the site to "immortalize the events of their reigns. The rock face contains a relief of the investiture of Ardashir II (379-383). Nearby is a large grotto, attributed to Peroz (457-483) by Erdmann, to Chosroes II (590-628) by Herzfeld." It also contains, however, a small iwan built by Shapur III (383-388). The winged figure and laurel wreath border over the grotto could date from as early as the late 4th, but is perhaps most likely to be 5th century. Nevertheless, it is a major example of the laurel wreath motif used in a monumental setting that can suggest the possible usage of such motifs in a more pervasive way in the art of the area ca. 4th-5th century A.D. See Ghirshman (1962), pp. 190-193.

tury rather than with the moulded forms of the Taq-i-Bustan and Dandan Uilik examples, which are probably the later form.

b. *R.27 and R.28: Guardian Images*

Four guardian images (Lokapālas), two on each side just inside the southeastern entrance gate of the main enclosure wall, were discovered by Stein (Groups R.27 and R.28; Figs. 4.38, 4.39). All four were destroyed above the waist, but fairly well intact below. Each is garbed slightly differently and two of them had the bust of a female figure between their feet. The Earth Goddess usually appears with Vaiśravaṇa, which may be one (or both) of the guardians with the goddess busts. The right guardian of the R.27 group (with goddess) is a slender figure with a long overcoat with fancy overlapping lappets running the length of the front and a fringed lower hem, a small encased daggar hanging from the waist, and high, tight-fitting leather boots (Fig. 4.38). Delicate raised rib folds slant over the sides of each leg. The broken torso of the outer guardian has a smooth, gently rounded frontal expanse with what appears to be double incised lines for the folds.

The guardians of the opposite side, group R.28, both wear boots with a top band, puffy trousers tucked into their boots and an overcoat with broad borders. The coat of the left figure (with goddess) has a triangular design on the lowest border (Fig. 4.39). Incised lines and delicately raised pleats seem to be the main fold technique. These are rare early surviving guardian figures in the art of Central Asia. Trinkler reported a dvārapāla guardian at the southwestern entrance, but there is no photograph of it. If it were a dvārapāla rather than a Lokapāla, then it could be that only the main entrance, possibly the southeastern gate, had the Four Lokapālas and the other entrances had dvārapālas.

The bust of the Earth Goddess from R.27 now in the British Museum (Fig. 4.40) can be grouped stylistically with Style I. The head is round and full with a tight, dense and tough quality. The eyes are open, seed shaped, and relatively small with a prominent rim on both sides. The nose and mouth are damaged, but the mouth seems full and softly modelled. The hair shows interesting incised patterns of loose waves with a regular pattern of parallel incised lines, and the ear lobe is pierced. Overall, the head seems most related to the style of the Buddha head from temple No. 2 at Dalverzin-tepe (Fig. 3.32). Perhaps most interesting is the resemblance to the head of the Zeus image in the bas-relief from Palmyra in Fig. 4.41. The tight face and manner of portraying the hair strands in wavy, flat strips separated by deep grooves suggests comparable stylistic technique. Palmyra fell in 272 A.D. to the Parthians and was never reoccupied. This sculpture from Palmyra is another evidence supporting a late 3rd to early 4th century date for Rawak Style I images. It is,

in fact, not too rash to speculate that artists of the Palmyra region made their way eastward around the late 3rd century, thus possibly bringing the styles of the Roman provinces rapidly to the Central Asian areas, such as Khotan.

c. *Conclusions: Style I*

In conclusion, the images of Style I relate to the images ranging from ca. 3rd-early 5th century, especially from Mathurā, the Transoxiana area, Taxila, Palmyra and Miran. The slightly mannered tendencies and refined elements in the Rawak Style I images probably suggests a date in the late 3rd-early 4th century.

All the figures of Style I come from inside the main enclosure wall and there are no Bodhisattvas in the Style I group. This could mean it is a Hīnayāna configuration, although multiple Buddhas are just as likely in Mahāyāna contexts. The Style I images include four guardians, and two Buddhas with "transformation Buddha" halos, probably representations of the Great Miracle of Śrāvastī, an important episode to Hīnayānists, also popular in Afghanistan at this time and on the northern Silk Route at Kizil. If, as indicated by Chu Shih-hsing's experience in Khotan with obtaining and sending to China the Mahāyāna *Prajñāpāramitā* text over the strong objections of the Hīnayānists, it may be that the Hīnayānists were more influential in Khotan in the late 3rd century. The fact that Rawak is removed from the vicinity of the capital of Khotan could be a factor reflecting the newer and perhaps less powerful Mahāyāna monasteries settling in the outlying areas in the late 3rd-early 4th century. The style of the stupa seems to be associated with Mahāyāna developments and with the *Dīvyāvadāna* text with clear Mahāyāna tendencies. Certainly Mahāyāna was in full flower in Khotan by ca. 400 when Fa-hsien recorded his visit to the area. If the first phase at Rawak stupa occurred in the late 3rd to early 4th century, it would have been at a time when Mahāyāna was perhaps just beginning to become strong in Khotan.

ii. *Style II (Composite Fold Type)*

This style appears in two (or possibly three) large standing Buddha images (R.42, 43, and possibly 44, but it is too damaged to be sure) at the farthest point uncovered by Stein at the east side of the entrance gate on the outside of the main enclosure wall (Fig. 4.43). Although all these images have sustained damage, some portions can be discerned. The body appears to be stylistically between Style I (Fig. 4.29) and Style IV (Figs. 4.49-4.50). It has some grace of tribhaṅga stance like the Style I Buddhas, but there is also a degree of the mannered exaggerations in the form similar to the Style IV Buddhas, though not as pronounced. This factor ap-

pears in the slightly inflated width of the shoulders and in the tendency towards a stronger muscular shape in the legs. However, the Style II Buddhas do not have the constricted waist of the Style IV figures; instead, the mid-section is a little broad and short-waisted.

The drapery is a complex mixture of style elements and must have been interesting and quite lively in its original, undamaged state. It appears thin and adheres to the body, but there are distinctly different fold patterns from other Buddha images at the site. R.42 (Fig. 4.43) has the right shoulder bare in front, but the edge of the saṅghāṭī follows the outer contour of the right arm, a manner that appears in some Chinese Buddhist sculpture of ca. 400, like the scarf around the shoulders in the Asian Art Museum Bodhisattva.[92] As the fold on R.42 pulls under the right arm and draws across the chest to the left shoulder it reveals a wide strip of the undergarment that seems to have vertical incised lines.

The folds are varied and complex on the saṅghāṭī. What appear to be double incised lines curve from the left arm and delineate the cloth at the left side of the body. Rather wide incised folds slant across the right thigh; clusters of folds which look like they are defined by incised lines are used in the bunched cloth falling at the sides. The sense of movement and twist in the edges are similarly treated in the hems and neckfold on the large Dīpaṃkara Buddha probably from Swat (Fig. 4.44 and color Pl. IX) and in the standing Buddhas from Butkara I, Swat in Fig. 4.45. Both Swat works, though not precisely the same, are very similar to the important relief at Butkara recently dated by Faccenna, Gobl and Khan to ca. mid 4th century on the basis of new coin discoveries (Fig. 4.44b),[93] this important relief indicates a dating for the Fig 4.44 and 4.45 Buddhas around that same time.

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[92] M. Rhie (1995), Figs. 11 and 12.

[93] The relief slab Inv. No. 655 is part of the Great Stupa 4 at the center of Butkara I. This stupa passed through five "periods" of rebuilding from the 3rd century B.C. to the 10th century A.D. Period 4 has various "phases" divided as follows and associated with certain coin discoveries: Phase 1 with the coins of Huviṣka and Huviṣka types; Phase 2 with those of Vāsudeva I and his successors; Phases 3 and 4 by the Kidarite King 'G' coin; and Phases 5 and 6 precede the general demise of the stupa (Phase 7), marked by the coin of Xusro II. When removing relief Inv. No. 655 from niche Q1 of Great Stupa 4 in 1991, a coin slipped out of the wall behind the relief slab. Examination of the spot turned up another 43 coins from a cavity; they were not in a reliquary but only deposited in a cavity of the wall. After careful study, it was concluded that these coins were deposited there when the relief was reset, probably following an earthquake that is generally judged on the basis of other archaeological evidences from the site to have hit the Swat valley around the late 4th century A.D. The coins, which were probably a hasty votive deposit at the time of resetting the relief slab during the restoration after the earthquake, include examples from Vima Kaḍphises through Kavad I (Governor under Shapur II with issue no later than 356/360 A.D.): one from Vima Kaḍphises, one from Kaniṣka I, 6 from Huviṣka, 11 from Vāsudeva I, 2 from Kaniṣka II, 21 from Kaniṣka II successors and concurrents, and 2 from Kavad I. The coins are more or less a continuous sequence without radical gaps. Since they terminate at Kavad I

The folds between the legs of R.42 and 43 are grouped in clusters of three or more crescent shaped folds with each cluster separated from the others by a wide or high relief U-shaped fold. The smaller crescents are like shallow ripples accompanying the major deep fold. This patterning is not as wild or strong as in the Style IV folds (Fig. 4.49), but it does connote a tendency towards making imaginative patterning of folds based on the more naturalistic fold depiction used in Style I figures and also seen in the stucco sculpture of Gandhāra. A similar fold grouping occurs in the Chinese bronze standing Maitreya Buddha dated 443 (Fig. 4.46), a factor that strongly indicates a dating for the Rawak Style II examples within reasonable range of that date.

Finally, the curved rhythms of the various fold components in the R.42 and 43 Buddhas contribute a lively linear movement to the images that is also akin to the Swat examples in Figs. 4.44 and 4.45, which also use broken lines over the breast and kneecaps. Indications of such broken lines begin to occur in the Style I Buddhas and become more pronounced in the Style III and IV figures. The Style II images appear to be quite closely associated with the phase of Swat sculpture represented by Figs. 4.44 and 4.45, including resembling the heavy, tough body structure. These comparisons, including the 443 Chinese Maitreya, tentatively suggest a dating for Style II ca. late 4th to early 5th century A.D.

iii. *Style III (Incised Line Type)*

This style occurs on three large surviving images at the west side of the entrance gate on the outer side of the main enclosure wall. They include two large standing Buddhas (R.49, 53) and one large standing Bodhisattva (R. 51) (Fig. 4.47). There may have been another, now destroyed: R.53.

The bodies, full and broad without narrowed waist, are basically frontal and stiff-legged. There may be a hint of tribhaṅga in the right leg of each, but it is mainly

(coins dated by Göbl to ca. 356/360), the date of the Kavad I coins provides a fairly reliable date for the votive donation. If the donation were much later, one would expect other coins of a later, more proximate date since the obvious pattern among the coins is quite consecutive. The relief was clearly carved sometime before it was reset and the coins deposited. Since the style of Relief 655 is not a classical 1st-3rd century Gandhāran style, and in fact is relatively close to the style of the Four Tetrarchs statue that was probably carved in Egypt and installed in Constantinople ca. early 4th century A.D. (Fig. 4.44c), it is likely to be a style no earlier than the early 4th century. Taking all these factors into account, it seems most reasonable that Relief 655 was carved sometime around the middle of the 4th century and was probably reset ca. late 4th century after the earthquake. For the data on the coins and Relief 655, see Domenico Faccenna, Robert Göbl, and Mohammed Ashraf Khan, "A Report on the Recent Discovery of a Deposit of Coins in the Sacred Area of Butkara I (Swat, Pakistan)", *East and West*, Vol. 43, Nos. 1-4, (Dec. 1993), pp. 95-114. The relief in question is published also in Faccenna (1962 and 1964), II,2, Pl. CCIV.

indicated by a change of direction in the drapery fold lines. The right arm of the Bodhisattva is thick and appears stiff, even though it is pulled away to the side and has a bend in the elbow. The hand is large and stiff, quite unlike those of Style I or of Styles IV or VI. The swelling modelling of the abdomen and rounded legs is not as flexible as in the Style I images, but also not as muscular and distorted as in the Style IV figures (Fig. 4.49).

The drapery is distinguished by the almost exclusive usage of incised lines, which are drawn over the form as repetitious, parallel, moderately spaced lines which fill large areas in a uniform manner. On the legs of the Bodhisattva they are mostly U-shaped folds except for the diagonal ones below the slightly bent right knee. The scarf of the same image flares as a flat plane with numerous parallel lines, particularly in the segment at the image's left side. The tiny semicircular scallop patterns of the scarf's hems and the criss-crossed design on the belt and its hanging sash ends alleviate the dryness of the incised linear style. The type of repetitive scallop design and incised technique appear similar to the figures of Group No. 7 on the northern wall of Cave 169 at Ping-ling ssu, datable to ca. 430's. The hip-hugging band or belt with vertical panel hanging between the legs, the stiff body and flaring shape of the scarves are not unlike the representations in bronze Bodhisattvas in China that were popular in the second half of the 5th century, such as the figure dated 498 in Fig. 4.48. The large detached head of the Bodhisattva leaning near the scarf may belong to the image R.51, although it seems too small, so it may belong to the Bodhisattva R. 52 of Style VI.

On the Buddha image R. 49 strong diagonally slanted incised lines alternate with thin incised lines over the legs, and tight small, U-shaped folds between the legs create clear patterns and linear tension enhanced by the tight, nervous border of small wavy hems at the edge of the saṅghāṭī as it falls from the left arm. Such diagonally slanted incised lines occur in the attendant Bodhisattva of Tun-huang Cave 259 of ca. 450's. The small wavy hem patterns are related to those used in the Style VI images. The Buddhas R.73 and 75 may be related to this style, but the photos are not clear enough to determine definitely. Stein notes they have drapery "only marked by shallow outlines."[94] The stylistic indications cited above suggest a dating ca. first half of the 5th century for the Style III images.

iv. *Style IV (String Fold Type)*

This style is a striking and unusual one, occurring on 11 Buddha images found by Stein in one segment on the outer side of the enclosure wall (Buddhas R. 54, 55,

[94] Stein (1907), I, p. 497.

57, 61, 63, 64, 66, 67, 68, and 69) (Figs. 4.49-4.50). The body shape is quite extraordinary with wide and massively rounded shoulders, high and full upper chest tapering dramatically to a slim waist and suddenly widening into full, elliptically curved thighs that contract to a bony kneecap and muscular lower legs spread widely apart. The exaggerated expansion and contraction of form is its peculiar character and this is re-enforced by widely spread arms held in a pretentiously angular position that calls attention to the crooked joints and rather small, stiffly bent but beautifully executed hands. The right arms and hands are missing, but were probably raised in abhayā or vitarka-mudrā; all of the surviving left hands point downwards, holding the hems of the robe, which are closed (not open as in Style I) with refined, sharp, moulded zigzag patterns.

Over this strangely alert, muscular body the drapery clings so tightly to the form that it hardly seems to exist except for the power of its folds, which are equally as extraordinary as the body shape and play an equally important role in the total, rather bizarre, effect. The raised fold used here is slightly less natural than the rib fold of the Style I images, so it is distinguished by calling it a string fold. Here the string folds usually alternate with a thin incised line and cover the surface of the body in almost uniform parallel configuration that nevertheless demarcate clear directional patterns. Over the chest they form a slightly asymmetrical U-shaped scheme, they tightly encircle the whole arm, and run down the thighs and legs with a vertical alignment that breaks and bends only at the knees. Some Style I Buddhas have a less insistent form of the broken fold over the knee cap (R.36). The drapery between the trunk and arms has vertical string lines and falls further behind the body than in the Style I Buddhas, creating sharper relief for the body, similar to the technique of Gupta sculpture (Fig. 4.31). Some of the Buddhas have the right shoulder bare (R.59, 61) and others have both shoulders covered (R.63, 66). In the one example which retains its upper left shoulder a strange wavy pattern of folds lying as a group over the shoulder's edge can be detected (Fig. 4.50). This same motif, which is not common, occurs in the Metropolitan Museum standing bronze Buddha dated 477. The flap of cloth flung over the left shoulder appears alongside the left arm. In some cases it has a flat hem edge, but in the case of the R.54 etc. Buddhas, it forms a triangle hem fold, similar to some seen in early Mai-chi shan Buddhas, such as the seated Buddhas of Caves 74 and 78 probably dating ca. 440's. The open stance of the body and posture of the left arm is seen in some Buddhas in Ping-ling ssu Cave 169 of early 5th century. Most importantly, the style of the body and string rib folds can be related to the main Buddha of Cave 272 at Tun-huang probably dating ca. early 420's. These factors could suggest a dating for the Rawak Style IV images as early as the early 5th century or possibly up to ca. mid-5th century.

In body shape there is not much difference between images of the combed line type (Style VI) and this string fold type (Style IV), so it is likely that the images in these two styles could be made about the same time, but following two different stylistic traditions, both of which can be seen in the stone images of Butkara I in Swat as well, though not treated so radically as at Rawak. Style IV relates most closely to the Mathurā Gupta style images, but it is not so generalized and idealized in body form. The origins of Style IV are ambiguous and at the present Rawak is the major representative of this style among surviving sculptures in Central Asia and greater India. It becomes a somewhat prominent but modified style in some Tun-huang images; it is likely that Tun-huang is receiving the style from Central Asia rather than visa-versa at this period. It is perhaps most interesting to pursue the relation between Rawak Style IV and Mathurā Gupta sculpture from the time of the 434 Mathurā image (Fig. 4.31) and Tun-huang Northern Liang images in Cave 272. They all appear to be roughly contemporary.

Buddhas R.45, 46, and 47 (Fig. 4.51), adjacent to the Buddhas of Style II on the outer main enclosure wall but still to the western side of the entrance gate, can be considered a variant string fold type. Stylistically, they are more mannered than the classical Style I, but less radical than Style IV string fold images discussed above (R.54, 55, 57, 61, 63, 63,66, 67, 68 and 69). They are largely damaged, but appear to have a body similar to the Style II Buddhas with tribhaṅga pose, broad waist and slightly muscular legs. However, the folds appear to be all of the string fold type, though not schematically as complex as in R.54 etc. Buddhas. The folds are displayed in fairly wide, somewhat erratic parallel lines: circular around the arm, vertical on the thigh and U-shaped on the chest and between the legs. The left arm and hand positions appear very close to the R.54 etc. Buddhas, but not so strangely bent. The body form and posture closely resemble the standing Buddha in Fig. 4.45 from Butkara I, Swat. These Buddhas R.45, 46 and 47 appear to be transitional between Style II and the radical Style IV string fold type (R.54 etc., Buddhas), but all are probably around the same general time, though perhaps executed by different artists.

v. *Style V (Small Buddha Figures)*

This style is seen in a number of small Buddha figures found between the large ones of Style IV on the west side of the outer main enclosure wall (R.56, 58, 60, 62) (Figs. 4.49, 4.50). They are a little difficult to discern in the photographs. Stein says they "show a uniformity as though designed as a group." They are raised up on a lotus pedestal about one foot from the ground and measure two feet three inches in height and have a round head halo. Stein notes that all the heads are similar,

but there is variety in dress and pose.[95] He does not mention the fold type; it appears to be delicate incised lines.

The bodies of these images, each graceful with a slight tribhaṅga posture, are well proportioned. The robe fits to the form and flares out considerably at the bottom, so the hem lines are extended. Some have the tight, repetitive wave pattern on the edge of the robe falling from the left arm as seen in Styles III and VI. The rims of the saṅghāṭī and undergarment over the chest in images with the right shoulder bared are raised like those of the Style IV Buddhas. Certainly this style dates contemporaneously or just after Style IV, but not before. The style also bears some resemblance to that of the stone standing Buddha from Shotorak, Afghanistan (Fig. 4.52) and the standing Buddha from Group 9 in Cave 169 at Ping-ling ssu (Fig. 4.53), dating to ca. 430's. If this style is related to the Ping-ling ssu image, then these four small Style V Buddhas can probably be attributed to ca. first half of the 5th century, thereby confirming a similar dating for the larger, Style IV Buddhas with which they alternate.

vi. *Style VI (Combed Line Type)*

This style occurs extensively at Rawak, in more than 30 images uncovered at the site—more than known of the Style I group. Examples were discovered by Stein in his 1901 exploration, and it is the predominant style of the group unearthed by the Trinkler expedition in 1928, which started excavation from the west corner on the exterior of the enclosure wall and went to the middle of the southwest side on the exterior, up to the gate discovered by Trinkler. This style also occurs in a few miscellaneous works found around the west quadrant both inside and outside the enclosure wall. Trinkler's "D" group images, a total of 25 statues located on the exterior southwest enclosure wall according to Gropp's reconstruction based on Trinkler's notes and Bossherd's photographs, were, as far as can be determined, nearly all consistently made in this style (a few may have been in the string fold Style IV, such as D.5).

Among Stein's group, Style VI appears in statues in several different locales mixed in with sculptures of other styles. It occurs in some of the smaller (life-size) images located between the large (colossal) Style I Buddhas on the inner side of the south quadrant of the main enclosure wall (R.2 [Fig. 4.27], 4, 8 [Fig. 4.27, 4.28], and possibly 22, 32, 35, 37 and 39, but these are difficult to make out in Stein's photos), and in several large images at the south corner on the outside of the main enclosure wall (R.70, 71), as well as from the thin "outer passage" wall beyond the enclosure

[95] *Ibid.*, I, p. 497.

wall (Fig. 4.54). The majority are Buddhas, but a few Bodhisattvas appear in this style. The Buddhas are: R. 2, 6(?), 8, 35(?), 72, 74 and some unnumbered outer passage wall images; the Bodhisattvas are: R.4, 22, 32, 39, 50, 52, 65 and outer passage wall R.85 (Fig. 4.42). In Trinkler's group the Buddhas are numbered: D.2, 3, 4, 6(?), 7(?), 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19, 21, 22, 23, and 24; the head of one Bodhisattva (D.28) was found, but the original location on the wall cannot be determined (Fig. 4.73).

A distinguishing feature of this style is the manner of portraying the drapery in folds that are indicated by closely set, parallel, raised, crease-like lines covering the whole surface in repetitive abstract patterns and wave-like clusters. The effect is of a comb-pattern of thin raised lines where the raised lines and spaces between them are nearly equal (Stein called this type the "conventionalized wave pattern"). Rowland has suggested that this style is an attempt to create the famous Udayana type image.[96] The comb patterning is formed on top of the smooth, rounded volume of the trunk and limbs or on the stiff, flat surface of the drapery as it falls between the trunk and arms. The cowl of the Buddha's saṅghāṭī is fashioned as a flat plane of combed lines, and the hems of the garment are a repetitive design of small, tight waves or zigzags.

The body form, distinctly different from the subtly modelled shapes of Style I, emphasizes abstract shape stressing tubular roundness of stiff limbs and, in some images, a rounded abdomen and a highly constricted waist. The conscious distortion of the natural body and drapery folds into a dramatic schematic patterning imparts a tense liveliness while reducing the representation towards imaginative, radical, abstraction. The Bodhisattvas are bejeweled with many necklaces and richly ornamented armbands and belts. Both Buddhas and Bodhisattvas have ornate halos with relief sculpture of seated Buddhas on lotus medallions, fleur-de-lis like floral motifs (possibly vajras) and a distinctive raised spiral border which Stein called a "cloud pattern". The halos of the larger images, even more elaborate, are decorated with festoon loops and double rows of Buddhas (Fig. 4.77). Some of the halos have five small seated Buddhas (R.2, 4 and D.17, 19), in dharmacakra or dhyāna-mudrā. Five Buddhas appear in Chinese Buddhist halos mainly in the 2nd half of the 5th century (Fig. 4.56). A few of the major images in this style are discussed below with regard to certain important and special features.

[96] Rowland (1974), p. 126.

a. Standing Buddha D.2

The standing Buddha D.2, fairly well preserved below the waist, including the oval lotus pedestal base, has the lower right arm hanging downward, probably in the vara-mudrā (Fig. 4.55), the most common right hand gesture of the Style VI images, but possibly simply extended downward like the Buddha from the main stupa at Jauliāñ (Fig. 4.32b).[97] The body form shows straight, thick, tubular legs, clearly emphasized by the unbroken vertical lines of the folds from thigh to hemline down the front face of the leg. Contrasting quite harshly and without transition with this insistent verticality are the U-shaped and hook-like folds between the legs and the wavy vertical lines of the robe between the body proper and the quite widely drawn out right arm. More narrowly spaced parallel lines form tight U-shaped loops in the undergarment over the leg area and flat vertical pleats with a small angular hem line between and to either side of the legs. The most striking similarities are with the standing gilt bronze Buddha dated 471 under the Northern Wei in China (Fig. 4.56).

b. Standing Colossal Buddha D.10

Although ruined above the chest and not excavated below the knees, this over life size (called colossal by Gropp) Buddha torso is a masterwork of the Style VI mode (Fig. 4.57). Massive swelling volumes form the upper chest, abdomen, and thighs, producing the sense of a powerful inner substance and impressive dignity in the image. The close view of the folds in Fig. 4.57 reveal both the delicacy of the technique and imaginative designs of the large wave patterns moving from the left shoulder down the center of the body. In the mode of leaving the right shoulder bare, the statue reveals a section of the undergarment by good fortune still preserved. It has a pattern of checkered squares, each with a central circle, all executed with incised lines. Such patterns appear on a few other remains from the D group, especially

[97] At least one 4th century standing stone Buddha from Mathurā has the right arm down. See Sharma (1984), Fig. 147, as well as Fig. 150, which dates later into the 5th century. It is also possible that the right arm could be hanging down and the hand simply extended down without holding anything or else holding a part of the garment. Such hand positions occur for the right hand in images from the the main stupa at Jauliāñ at Taxila (Fig. 4.32b and Marshall (1951), III, Pl. 106 a) probably of the late 3rd to early 4th century and very close in style to the Style I Buddhas at Rawak, as well as to some small wooden sculptures from the Kucha area of ca. mid 5th century and in some Chinese sculptures from the 2nd half of the 4th century and first half of the 5th century (some small bronze standing Buddha sculptures and some standing Buddhas in Ping-ling ssu Cave 169). It is also seen in the colossal standing Buddha of Cave 18 at Yün-kang of ca. 460-470 period (right arm is down, but the hand is lost). This seems to be a mode current in Indian, Central Asian, and Chinese Buddhist art from at least the 4th century, and to be relatively prevalent in the 5th century.

the small halo Buddhas, and also in some Chinese bronze Buddhas of the second half of the 5th century, notably in the splendid Buddha dated 477 in Fig. 4.58, which also has the similar stiff body shape as the D.10 image, though not the combed line type of drapery folds.[98]

c. Standing Buddhas D.11 and 12

D.11, the larger of these two statues, both well preserved below the waist and each standing on an oval lotus base (Fig. 4.59), has the saṅghāṭī portrayed in a more unusual way with a nearly flat plane of vertically aligned, closely parallel, fine raised folds. The hem line of the saṅghāṭī has a subdued triangular motif spaced at wide intervals, but the hems of the robe under the left hand are quite fantastic, forming an undulating wave of formally repetitive, tiny zigzag pleats, each of which has its own set of crenelated pinch pleats. The undergarment is a flat surface of regular, vertical pinch pleats with notched hem, a kind also seen in the standing Buddha of Group 7 in Cave 169 at Ping-ling ssu of ca. 430's. This statue is one of the rare ones in Style VI to retain the left hand, which has a plump back and stiff, rounded, down-turned fingers. A similar left hand position appears in the "one of nine" Buddhas from ca. fist half of the 4th century in China (Fig. 2.32h).

D.12 is similar to D.2 (Fig. 4.55), but with variations of the sweeping oval patterns on the thighs and between the legs as well as larger triangular hem patterns, features which again demonstrate the considerable ingenuity in the variations within the Style VI group.

d. Standing Buddha Triad D.17-19, Halos, Heads, and Halo Buddhas

These three standing Buddha statues comprise an especially significant group, possibly a triad with the colossal (over life size) Buddha D.18 as the main image flanked by D.17 and D.19, both life size and both with their original heads and halos still intact when photographed by Bossherd (Figs. 4.60, 461).[99] The heads of D.17 and D.19 are now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (Figs. 4.62a and b).

[98] Textile patterns for the undergarment occur as early as the 420 A.D. Amitāyus Buddha in Cave 169 at Ping-ling ssu, and occasionally in Northern Wei bronze images in the second half of the 5th century, the most notable of which is the standing Buddha dated 477 in Fig. 4.58. It also occurs in some wooden Buddhas from the Kucha region: Tokyo National Museum (1991), Nos. 52 and 53, which probably date to the 5th rather than the 7th century as ascribed in the catalogue.

[99] They are both called Vairocana Buddhas by G. Gropp, primarily on the basis of the appearance of 5 seated Buddha statues with dharmacakra-mudrās in the halos of each. Gropp (1974), pp. 226, 228.

The head of Buddha R.6 (Fig. 4.63a) is clearly the same style and similar to the head of D.17 (Fig. 4.62a).

These heads, which are either round or oval, have a striking style: the chins are small, round and pointed, the foreheads broad and dome-like, the nose long and sharply pointed, the eyebrows highly arched, and the eyelids pointed with a pronounced upper eyelid plane that seems to project, readily catching the light. The R.6 head shows the rim of stucco still adhering to the edges of the eye. The eyelid type, a particularly telling feature of this style, is perhaps reflected in some Chinese images, such as the dhyāna-mudrā bronze Buddha in the Nitta collection of ca. 400 and in some images of ca. 480's (Fig. 4.63c), suggesting that it is probably a mode current during the 5th century in Chinese Buddhist art.

The type of eyebrows, composed of a flat raised strip and arched high with a sweeping curve, is known in the Kushana sculpture of Mathurā, but the arched shape is more pronounced than seen in works prior to the 4th century. The noses, quite sensitively modelled, have a sharply indented nostril crease. The mouths have a sensitive curve to both upper and lower lip with a pronounced upward turn and indentation at the ends that imparts a smiling expression. Some have a dimple-like depression below the center of the lower lip. This style mouth may be favorably compared with that of the large Maitreya statue in Cave 275 at Tun-huang, and the forms of the eyebrows, eyes, mouth and face structure are closely similar to the Bodhisattva paintings in the same cave, which probably dates ca. 430's (Fig. 4.76). Looking towards the west, one may make a pertinent comparison with the head of Emperor Constantius II (337-361 A.D.) in the silver dish from a burial vault in Kerch of the late 4th century (Fig. 4.62d). Except for the wide open eyes, the head of the Emperor shows distinct similarities with the Rawak Style VI head, such as that of D.19, especially in the long, sharp nose, sensitively curled mouth, long face with pointed chin and strongly arched eyebrows. Such comparisons suggest that Rawak Style VI could date between the late 4th century and ca. 430's.

The hair of the Style VI heads is usually moulded into finely lined wavy clusters, and the uṣṇīṣa is small, as in Gupta period Buddha sculptures, such as the early Mathurā Buddha dated 434 (Fig. 4.31). In the R.2 Buddha (Fig. 4.63b) the hair waves are clustered around a central swirl of the kind seen in Chinese images of the 2nd half of the 5th century, such as the Buddha dated 471 in Fig. 4.58. This style clearly relates to the Gandhāran mode as seen in the stone Buddha head in Fig. 5.46, which also seems to prefigure the facial style as well. The fine waves of hair in D.19 (Fig. 4.60, 4.61 and 4.62b) are unusual, but very similar to the hair in the 443 Chinese bronze Buddha Maitreya (Fig. 4.46). There is one incised line on the neck, which is moderately tall and slopes outward at the bottom.

The style of the Rawak D group Buddhas may extend over a period of some duration in the 5th century. Though the more naturalistic form is apparent in the early works from Ping-ling ssu, Tun-huang and Chin-t'a ssu from the early 5th century, the crystallized form appears in Chinese sculpture of the 470's and 480's, as, for example, in the head of the Buddha of ca. 480's in Fig. 4.63c. This head style does not appear to have any relation to styles of the 6th century in China.

The halos of both D.17 and D.19 contain five seated Buddhas in teaching mudrā, the right hand covering over the left (Figs. 4.61, 4.64a and b). This mudrā style appears in Kushan stone images from Afghanistan (Fig. 4.65) and in the seated Bodhisattva sculptures in Tun-huang Cave 275 of ca. 430's. All five are cross-ankled in a loose form of vajrāsana, typical of the postures of small Buddhas from the Khotan area. Three vajras alternate with the four lowest Buddhas (Fig. 4.61). The lily-like form of the vajras and their presence in the halos are unusual features in Central Asian art. However, this form is known on early Greek coins and on Indian coins of early 2nd century A.D. (Figs. 4.66b,c).[100] Their significance here is not clear; perhaps they are only a decorative motif, or they may have some specific meaning, especially when combined with five small Buddhas. A rosette and a small spiral flank the vajra above the main Buddha's head and spirals (perhaps rosettes too, but one cannot see) at the side of each of the other two vajras. Larger spirals (Stein's "cloud motifs") surround the outer part of the head halo and streams of zigzag flame, radiance, or other patterns create a peaked canopy-like array on either side of the topmost small seated Buddha. This style halo appears only on Style VI images at Rawak, seen also in D.30 (Fig. 4.66a) and in Stein's images R.2, R.4, R.6, R.39, and R.50 (Figs. 4.70, 4.47).

One of the small seated Buddhas from the halos of both D.17 and D.19 is preserved in the Übersee Museum in Bremen (Figs. 4.64a and b); others from Rawak are in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Tokyo National Museum, and British Museum. The one from D. 17 has one shoulder bare and a strong zigzag hem pattern below the left arm. The folds of the robe are incised, wide, curved, and parallel. The hair is plain with the attenuated, sloping—almost pointed—cranium typical of the Style VI small halo images. The head halo has plain concentric circles and the body halo is rayed at the edges with coarse incised lines. The exam-

[100] There are numerous coins of the Zeus with thunderbolt around the 4th century B.C., but perhaps more pertinent is a coin issued by Nahapāna, a "great satrap" of the Kṣaharāta family of Western Kṣatrapas (Śakas), who ruled mainly in the western Mahārāṣṭra region ca. 105-124 A.D. It shows a diademed bust of the king on the obverse and on the reverse has an arrow (left) and a vajra (right), the latter with a shape similar to the "fleur-de-lis" shape of the Rawak examples (see M. Mitchiner, *Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian Coinage*, Vol. 9, London, 1976, p. 824). I am thankful to Sonya Rhie for pointing out these examples to me.

ple from D.19 is more elaborate and symmetrical. The Buddha wears a robe with both shoulders covered; the zigzag hems fall from both arms and across the front in a strong and rather sharp zigzag pattern. The lower part of the underrobe is seen at the ankles and has a diagonally aligned design of incised squares with a dot in the center of each—a rare example. Repetitive, incised, parallel folds cross over the legs with unbroken continuity. Both the head and body halos are round and use a circle with dot depression as one major motif. Such decor appears as decorative motifs in the wall paintings of the Tun-huang caves by ca. 470's in Cave 254. This as well as other of the small halo Buddhas have flame patterns behind their shoulders, a pervasive feature in 5th century Chinese sculpture and painting, where the flames are usually incorporated into the halo design. The small Buddhas from D.30 (Fig. 4.66a) are portrayed in dhyāna-mudrā and the halos have circular rim with rayed design in the body halo—a kind which is common in some small halo Buddhas from the northern Silk Route (Tumshuk). Two of them have encircling lotus pattern—like medallions. The petals are long with a central groove. Another lotus design with broad shape and double lobes appears as part of the seat of the small Buddhas (Figs. 4.64a and b) as well as in the small Bodhisattva in Fig. 4.78b.

The seated Buddha R.25.iii (Fig. 4.67) found by Stein near the standing Buddha R.25 inside the enclosure wall, is an excellent example of a Buddha in the style of the halo Buddhas, though it is not clear where it was originally placed. It clearly reveals the smoothly rounded volumes and the incised linear technique, which is different from the more moulded folds of the Style I halo Buddha (Fig. 4.34a). It also has a more pronounced triangular shape, muscular upper torso, and smaller proportioning of the head. In shape and technique this image seems similar to some early images from Ping-ling ssu Cave 169 of the late 4th-early 5th century. The single fold of drapery on both sides of the central swag overlapping the feet is a mode seen in some wooden Buddha images from the northern Silk Route of ca. 4th-early 5th century (Khora and Tumshuk) and is more elaborately treated by the 470's in the Tun-huang painting of the seated Buddha in white robe from the back wall of Cave 254.

A figure in the Khotan Museum (Fig. 4.68c) appears to be a transformation Buddha from the halo of a Great Miracle of Śrāvastī representation, possibly the one in Fig. 4.68a, whose location is not revealed in any sources, but which could perhaps be another group from the western or other quadrant inside Rawak stupa court. Fig. 4.68b is another view; all were published by Lim Young-ae in her recent article, but were not identified more than to state they were from Rawak. Stylistically, these small Buddhas are different from the transformation Buddhas of the south quadrant (Fig. 4.34a), and seem to relate to the style of the halo Buddhas of the D.17 and 19 images. The ruffled edge of the saṅghāṭī is similar to depictions appearing

in some Chinese small bronze Buddhas and in some images from Ma-t'i ssu Ch'ien-fo tung Cave 2, both of ca. first half of the 5th century.

Some small clay images from the Ōtani and Trinkler expeditions, probably from Khotan, are very similar and are likely to date around the same time, possibly ca. late 4th to early 5th century (Figs. 4.68d and e). The crossed-ankled Buddha now in the Metropolitan Museum in New York (Fig. 4.68d) is a superb example which clearly relates to the early figures of Cave 169 at Ping-ling ssu, especially some from the south wall probably dating ca. late 4th and early 5th century. Another has a rayed body halo with circular tips—a style related to halos of some wooden images from the northern route in eastern Central Asia and possibly a variation of the Gandhāra/Bāmiyān halos with jewel-like tips at the end of each ray, a style also known in the bronze Buddha dating ca. 400 A.D. from central India in the Nelson Gallery.

Some heads recovered by Stein from Rawak are interesting pieces but cannot be associated with any particular image. Two Buddha heads (R. 70.i and R.72.i) found by Stein in a heap at the outer south corner of the enclosure wall are a little similar in their round shape, short noses and small upturned mouth, and eyes that are thickly lidded and widely opened, arched eyebrows and plain hair (Fig. 4.69a,b). These two heads appear to relate to mid-6th century styles, such as appears in some of the painted panels Stein found near Khotan at Farhad-Beg-yailaki,[101] and so are possibly heads made later for repair. If so, then it would indicate that Rawak continued to be active into the mid-6th century.

e. Bodhisattvas R.4, D.28, R.85

Bodhisattva R.4 is one of the best preserved Bodhisattva figures in Style VI (Fig. 4.70 at the left). It has a long, triangularly shaped upper torso with broad shoulders, pinched waist, and long, straight legs. The drapery has the characteristic wave pattern at the side, U-shaped over the legs, and a rippling hemline down the inner sides of the legs and at the hem of the dhoti. The hem patterns over the left thigh are delicately executed and hardly noticeable in the maze of fine lines created by this drapery style. The jewelry is elaborate and delicate and includes a plaque belt of the kind known in Persian and Kushan portrait sculptures. There is hardly any comparably rich jewelry in images in China before the Northern Chou period.[102] Possibly the 443 A.D. seated contemplative Bodhisattva reveals elements related to the Rawak Bodhisattva style (Fig. 4.71).

[101] For the wooden panel, now in the National Museum, New Delhi, from Farhad-Beg-yailaki, see Williams (1973), Fig. 23 and p. 125.

[102] Although I do not think the Rawak style dates as late as the N. Chou period, it is possible that N. Chou was experiencing new contact with Central Asia and began to be influenced by styles from the Western Regions which may not necessarily be contemporaneous.

The head of R.4 (Fig. 4.72) is one of the most perfect specimens of Style VI with full, long face, characteristic attenuated petal-shaped eyes, and sensitively curved and modelled mouth. It rivals in beauty the Buddha head from Miran M.II (Fig. 5.45), though they have slightly differing forms of the features. It is also possible to see the derivation from a Gandhāra style such as the Buddha head in Fig. 5.46, though again with some differences.

Similar characteristics are revealed clearly in the Bodhisattva head D.28, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Figs. 4.73a,b, Pl. VII). It possesses the curling upper lip with deep indentations above and below and round chin with a curved line below as do the Buddha heads of D.17 and 19. Thickly rimmed large ears have rosette earrings in the lobes, and the hair rims the forehead in stylized spiral curls with a central hole (reminiscent of the drill effect in some late Roman and Byzantine sculpture). Similar swirls occur in the hair of a Haḍḍa stucco head (Fig. 4.74), and is a common motif in the Amarāvatī sculpture of ca. 1st-3rd century A.D. for lion's mane (Fig. 4.75). Curls of this type also are found in some of the female heads from Dalverzin-Tepe of ca. 2nd-3rd century, although they are less stylized and flattened than in the Rawak example. Flat waves of hair fall behind the ears and towards the now missing shoulders, and some hair is pulled up into a triangular topknot with a rosette and bow in front. White undercoating remains along the eyes and in spots elsewhere. The face is long, plump and firmly fashioned. In its various features the face strongly resembles the painted Bodhisattvas of Cave 275 of ca. 430 at Tun-huang (Fig. 4.76), including the curling lips and highly arched eyebrows.

The R.85 Bodhisattva from the outer passage wall, extant only below the hips, is a splendid colossal Bodhisattva in Style VI (Fig. 4.77). Its large body halo has an outer zone of dhyāna-mudrā Buddhas in lotus medallions, semicircular looped pearl-like festoons that look like arches at the inner side of the Buddha medallions, an outer border of the spiral motif and an inner zone of more Buddha medallions. This image and R.71 at the exterior south corner of the main enclosure wall (Fig. 4.54) are important to testify that colossal Bodhisattvas were part of the Rawak statue configurations. Trinkler noted that a similar large image (only lower part remaining) appeared at the exterior of the "south" (mistake for west?) corner of the main enclosure wall (Fig. 4.55, lower left corner). It was flat in the back and, according to Gropp, probably indicates that these images were made away from the site and attached.[103] It is not possible to ascertain at present if these large Bodhisattvas were Maitreya or other Bodhisattvas.

[103] Gropp (1974), p. 221 : "Also on the south corner [this is probably actually the west corner]

Two fragments of small Bodhisattvas (D.38 and R.84.i, Fig. 4.78a,b) reveal that some halos must have included Bodhisattva figures, possibly Maitreya, although none appear in the *in situ* halos. Nevertheless, these two examples are important for revealing the style, particularly the pattern of the headgear with crenelated (or striped) crown ribbons indicated by a series of incised lines. Similar type ribbons appear in Chinese Buddhist art, only known in painting as yet, during the first half of the 5th century (in Tun-huang Caves 275 and at Wen-shu shan). The R.84.i (Fig. 4.78b) Bodhisattva has the cross-ankled pose and jewelry resembling the Maitreya in the Afghan stone base in Fig. 4.65. These are relevant in relation to the cross-ankled Bodhisattva Maitreya images in the Northern Liang stone stupas.

f. Conclusions: Style VI

The Style VI images from both the Stein and Trinkler groups are consistent in style, clearly executed by artists different from those of Styles I-V. The question remains whether the differences are due to stylistic "school" and/or time.

This seems to be one prevailing drapery technique during a late phase of the Gandhāra and Swat schools in particular. Examples of drapery rather similar to the Rawak "combed line" type appear in quite a few sculptures excavated from Butkara I in Swat.[104] The fold type can probably also be generally related to the style of some stucco figures on the Dharmarājika Stupa at Taxila (Fig. 4.79), probably later additions to this early stupa,[105] which reveal a style closely associable with the Relief

... a colossal statue was leaning at an angle. The back of the statue was flat and did not lie directly on the wall. From this it can be concluded that the statues were produced in a work-place, and then secured to the enclosing wall.."

[104] The Butkara I sculptures are in stone and the narrow lines are not precisely the same as the combed line technique of the Rawak Style VI images. Nevertheless, they are a close cousin of this style. Examples include the lamp bearer cited in Chapter 1 (Fig. 1.73) and Faccenna (1962 and 1964), II,2, Pls. CLIV, CCXXXIV, CCXXV, CXCIX, CLXXIX, CXLIV, and Kurita (1988 and 1990), I, P2-IX and P3-I.

[105] The Dharmarājika figures are stylistically close to the Buddha in Relief No. 655 from the Great Stupa 4 at Butkara I, Swat datable to ca. mid-4th century as deduced from a recent discovery of coins (see note 93).

According to Marshall, the last period of repairs carried out on the Dharmarājika date to the 4th or 5th century. Marshall (1951), I, p. 237. If this style dates to ca. mid 4th century or earlier, as suggested by the Butkara I Great Stupa 4 relief in Fig. 4.44b (see above footnote 93), then most likely the sculptures of the Main Stupa and Stupa A 15 at Jauliāñ, both of which were cited earlier as close to the style of the Style I sculptures at Rawak, are earlier than ca. mid-4th century, since the style is more related to the earlier, classical Gandhāran modes than to the style of the Dharmarājika and Butkara Great Stupa 4 relief images that date sometime around the mid-4th century. In this case, the mid-4th century can tentatively be taken as a watershed date between these two major styles.

No. 655 from Great Stupa 4 at Butkara, Swat discussed earlier as an important evidence dating ca. mid-4th century (see footnote 93 and Fig. 4.44b).

Rawak Style VI drapery folds are, however, even more closely related to those of the stone statue of Hārītī from Skarah Dherī, Gandhāra, now in the Chandigarh Museum (Fig. 4.80). This sculpture bears an inscription believed to read Year 399, which, according to the various systems of year interpretations for Kushana inscriptions, could correspond to 87, 249, 270, 277, or 342 A.D.[106] Though executed with very similar "combed line" type folds, they are not so elaborately or manneristically manipulated in varied wave patterns as in the Rawak Style VI images, which suggests that the Rawak examples represent a later evolution of this style.

This distinctive drapery style can be traced through the Parthian world. It is known in some works from Palmyra (Fig. 4.81), which was defunct by 272 A.D., and possibly can be traced further to the classical world of Greece, as indicated by the statue of a charioteer in Fig. 4.82, who is garbed in a finely pleated robe whose multiple fine pleats could have ultimately become translated into the more abstract linear schema of the combed line style found in Palmyrean, Gandhāran, Swat, Rawak, and Chinese sculptures.

The combed line appears in China as early as the Later Han, 2nd century A.D. reliefs (Fig. 2.5b) where the representation is very similar to that found on some of the Begram ivories (Fig. 1.70c), that is, with rather unmodified circular groups or flat areas without the fancied wave patterning. The earliest known Chinese Buddhist examples are small standing Buddha bronzes ca. mid-5th century A.D., such as the standing bronze Buddha in the Museo Nazionale d'Arte Orientale in Rome dated 444. It continues in China as a major fold "type"[107] throughout the 2nd half of the 5th century when it occurs in some important bronze images, including the 471 standing Buddha in Fig. 4.56, and many small ones of more radically abstract style,[108] finally ending in a major, though provincial, school in Shensi and Shansi sculpture during the first half of the 6th century in China.[109] From these examples the combed line style appears to be long-lived, from ca. 2nd century up to about the mid-6th century. Within this stretch of time, the overall features of Rawak Style VI relate most convincingly to Chinese works of ca. 5th century. These factors strongly suggest the most probable date for the Style VI works at Rawak to be ca. late 4th or first half of the 5th century.

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[106] Czuma (1986), p. 232, where he dates it to 277 A.D.; Bachoffer (1929), Vol. II, Pl. 150 right, where he dates it to 87 A.D.

[107] Rhie (1976), Figs. 48, 49.

[108] Matsubara (1966), Pl. 44a,c,d,e dating in the 480's and 490's.

[109] *Ibid.*, Pls. 58, 59, 71, 72, (some of which are Taoist) and dating generally in the 510's-520's.

Inside the enclosure wall Style VI images are so far only known from the south quadrant as images of life size that are clearly additions that had been placed between the large, over life size (colossal) sculptures of Style I. These Style VI images were clearly inserted sometime after the Style I images were installed. Outside the enclosure wall Style VI images occur both in over life size and life size and are found in the area of the south corner of the enclosure wall and on the outer passage wall. They also dominate the D group excavated by Trinkler on the outside of the southwest enclosure wall. Style VI images seem to have been made as major renovation and/or enlargement of the site sometime around late 4th to first half of the 5th century. It is also at that time that the Bodhisattva makes an appearance, possibly indicating a shift to a more pronounced stage of Mahāyāna. At the same time images must have been made for the addition of the thin outer passage wall, which would have made more circumambulatory space and enhanced the greatness of the site.

Judging from the few scant references to Khotan in the Buddhist histories of the time, one could postulate the following. In the late 3rd century, ca. 280, it appears that the Khotan area was dominated by Hīnayāna monasteries, as suggested by Chu Shih-hsing's experiences. However, by the time of Fa- hsien's visit in 401 A.D. Mahāyāna was clearly dominant. This shift must have occurred in the 4th century. Possibly the earliest images, those of Style I, were executed in ca. late 3rd to early 4th century when Khotan seems to have been a flourishing Buddhist center, but one perhaps not openly conducive to Mahāyāna, a factor which may explain the site of Rawak away from the center, if it is Mahāyāna. Sometime in the late 4th or early 5th century, when Mahāyāna had become dominant, Rawak was enlarged and reconditioned and included images of Bodhisattvas and halos with vajras and the five Buddhas.

c. *Painting from Rawak*

Few remains of painting still existed at Rawak when Stein and Trinkler visited the site. Stein noted some paintings, mainly of Buddhas, between the Style I images inside the enclosure wall (Figs. 4.29, 4.33) and Trinkler and Bossherd photographed a seated Buddha with flaming shoulders.[110] On the exterior of the enclosure wall in the west quadrant, when Trinkler was excavating the large statues and one fell off, a painting of a standing guardian figure was disclosed (Figs. 4.83a and 4.83b). The figure wears a belted kaftan with rounded neckline and curved hem sloping to the sides—a style well known during a certain period of Kushan Gandhāran art.[111] Both the neckline and hem have wide, plain bands. Beneath the kaftan is worn baggy

[110] Gropp (1974), Fig. 36 (p. 100).
[111] Rosenfield (1967), Figs. 104, 105, 127.

trousers and boots whose wide cuffs bind the trousers at mid-calf level. The costume is quite similar to that of the Rawak guardian sculpture R.28 (Fig. 4.39). The hat is a pancake shaped cap with ribbon band tied in a crisp bow, puffy flat crown, and some twists (ornament or hair) above. The figure faces three-quarter view, has a thick, truncated shape to the neck (without lines) and unlined hair. Most of the features are formed with the same skillful, solid, even line that characterizes the entire work. The eyes are long, eyebrows swept up at the outer ends, the nose is short and the mouth has a center line but a wash of color for the upper and lower lips. Solid color appears for the neck, waist, and hem bands and for the boots, and it seems to have had a checkered pattern , now faded, on the kaftan. Overall, the firm linear style resembles that of the Toprak Kala paintings of ca. 3rd century (Fig. 3.47c). The work would seem to be early, but it is hard to recreate the circumstances of its placement with the Style VI images, which are ca. late 4th to early 5th century. If this painting was executed at the same time as the Style VI images, then it should be 5th century. However, it is possible it was painted earlier, possibly along with other paintings on the wall, and the Style VI images were made as later additions or replacements of previous, perhaps destroyed sculptures, or as new sculptures added over pre-existing paintings. It is also possible that the painting of the guardian dates from the mid-6th century, although its style seems more archaic and more suited to 4th century painting styles.

d. *Conclusions: Rawak*

With respect to the statues uncovered by Stein and Trinkler, which presumably constitute less than half of the whole site, there are two major, general phases of work at Rawak Stupa. Phase I is synonymous with Style I and includes all the large (over life-size) standing Buddhas and the four guardians (R.27, 28)—all inside the main enclosure wall uncovered by Stein. Phase II includes everything else, namely, the sculptures of Styles II, III, IV, V, and VI: the small sculptures between those of Style I on the interior of the main enclosure wall in the south part of the southwest wall and all of the sculptures on the exterior of the enclosure wall and on the entire "outer passage wall", including all the sculptures uncovered by Trinkler on the outside of the enclosure wall in the western quadrant, and those on the outside of the main enclosure wall and on the "outer passage" wall in the southern quadrant uncovered by Stein. Phase I (Style I) images relate to some Kushana period sculptures from Mathurā, Jauliāñ, Kara-tepe, Dalverzin-tepe, Toprak Kala, and the paintings of Miran of ca. 3rd century. They have a classical regularity and only slight indications of the mannered tendencies seen in varying degrees in the different styles of the Phase II images. They also relate to the style of the early Gupta period in the

tough, full form as seen in the Udayagiri works and presage the elegant, firm body form of the 434 A.D. dated Mathurā Buddha in Fig. 4.31. Elements of this Phase I style also appear in the small standing "one of nine" Buddha in the Tokyo National Museum of first half of the 4th century and also in the standing Buddha of Niche I at Ping-ling ssu, which probably dates mid-4th century (Figs. 2.32h, 3.78a).

Although the images of Phase II display varied styles, they are all fairly closely related, suggesting either a development over a few years or else various artists trained in different schools, or a combination of these two reasons. Stylistic elements from Phase II sculptures begin to appear in the early images of Ping-ling ssu Cave 169 ca. late 4th-early 5th century and in the 443 Maitreya. Features related to Style IV images occur in the 477 Metropolitan Museum Buddha, and many elements of Style VI as it is used in the Rawak images appear prevalently in Chinese Buddhist images of the 2nd half of the 5th century. Because elements associable with Rawak Phase II sculptures begin to appear in China by the late 4th-early 5th century, it is possible to think that Rawak Phase II could be as early as the late 4th to early 5th century. It is of course also possible that Rawak Phase II is later and Ping-ling ssu elements reflect general stylistic trends in Central Asia of which Rawak Phase II may even be a later participant. So at the moment, until some other evidence is available that sheds more light on this complex group, some latitude can be extended to the Phase II group. Probably Phase II images would most reasonably date between ca. 400 and ca. 450 A.D. Phase I would appear to be most reasonably date in the late 3rd to first half of the 4th century.

An interesting question which arises in relation to the Rawak sculptures, but one which cannot be thoroughly investigated here, is the possibility that Rawak Phase I sculptures are an important remains of the developing "early" Gupta style. There are clear stylistic affinities of the Phase I style image with the style of images from the Udayagiri caves in Vidisha, Central India. They have a similar tough yet gracefully naturalistic body. It is not yet the style of perfected, generalized form seen in the 450's-470's classic Gupta sculptures from Mathurā and Sārnāth, but it is a predecessor.

Style I images and the Rawak Stupa itself seem to have a clear link with Taxila (perhaps also with Kashmir, which is the source of much of the Buddhism of Central Asia, but this is difficult to determine with such a lack of Kashmiri evidences) and even relate to the early Gupta style in Central India. The lineages of the images from Phase II, with the exception of Style VI, do not present such a clear case. They have only peripheral relation with the classic high Gupta sculptures of the second half of the 5th century in central India and little relation to the classical Gandhāran styles, though there is some with Swat. With regard to Style VI images, however,

there are clear connections with the sculptures of Gandhāra/Swat, presumably of the 4th-5th century. The fragmented array and variety of the styles of Phase II may reflect the diversity and complexity in Central Asian art in the 4th-5th centuries, which may in turn may account, at least in part, for the great diversity seen in 5th century Chinese Buddhist art. In Central Asia and China there is an explosion of differing artistic styles in the 5th century, a time when both Central Asia and China have reached a point of great momentum in Buddhism and, concurrently, in the production of Buddhist art in all levels of society. Also, such a date presupposes the existence of the stupa, unless the stupa as we now see it was a later addition over a smaller earlier one, but Stein made no such observations from his investigation and it is unlikely a smaller one would have had such a large enclosure wall. Thus we should assume that the stupa dates at least from the time of the Phase I images, that is, ca. late 3rd to first half of the 4th century. From the earlier discussion of the stupa and its stylistic relation between Top-i-Rustam and Bhamāla stupas, and with the various miniature and reliquary stupas, such a date does not appear to be amiss.

5. *Ak-terek and Siyelik*

In mid September, 1906, Stein spent 4 days investigating the area around Ak-terek and Siyelik, east of Khotan and south of Rawak (Map 4.1).[112] A large, but completely damaged stupa remains known as Arka-kuduk Tim was nearby (extant hgt. 16'), made with bricks 19 x 13 x 4 inches, but with some smaller ones 13" square. About 20 Sino-Kharoṣṭhī coins which Stein acquired had been said to have come from the area known as Hanguya Tati just below this stupa site (see Fig. 4.6c for sample coin).[113]

Stein uncovered a Buddhist shrine at Ak-terek with walls of reddish clay and many "relievos" that had become hard like terracotta, apparently from a conflagration that destroyed the site (unlike at Rawak where the clay remained extremely friable and not baked hard like the small pieces at Ak-terek and also at Siyelik). Besides one unmarked Chinese "cash" coin of the Former and Later Han type, he found no other coins within the temple site, which he excavated down to the floor level. The lack of T'ang and later coins at the site despite the fact that many were found in the surrounding area showing continued habitation, led Stein to suspect that the shrine, once destroyed by fire, was left abandoned. The sculpted fragments, made of clay and many retaining bits of gold leaf, included parts of large images (fingers, hair curls, etc.) and haloes, such as cloud scrolls, small Buddhas on circular lotus,

[112] Stein (1921), I, pp. 133-139.

[113] Stein (1907), I, p. 471. Stein could not vouchsafe for the reliability of the find spot information of the Sino-Kharoṣṭhī coins.

and the seated Buddha in Fig. 4.84a. They were, according to Stein, all similar to what he had found at Rawak. He surmised that the passage around the cella of the Buddhist shrine (measuring about 53'on one side with an adjoining passage 5 1/2' wide and an outer wall 3' thick) had originally had sculpted images with larger ones in the cella portion. The shape of this temple is interesting to note as it seems to have some resemblance to the type of temple noted at Airtam near Termez discussed in Chapter 3. The passage surrounding a central cella may be a form derived from the temple structures of the northern Bactrian area.

The handsome Buddha relief in Fig. 4.84a (repaired in the stomach area) with pointed, plain halo, and "no signs on back of any attachment,"[114] has a conical head and small, high uṣṇīṣa that is distinctive of this style. Though it relates to the Style VI group at Rawak, as does the technique of the finely lined closely spaced parallel drapery folds, the more naturalistic qualities of the face—quite comparable with the Rawak image in Fig. 4.68d—and the slightly softer, less schematized folds suggest that it dates a bit earlier, probably close to the relief at Butkara, Swat, dating around the mid-4th century (Fig. 4.44b). The drapery fold technique as well as body structure in the Ak-terek Buddha are also particularly comparable to a seated Buddha image from Mathurā now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (Fig. 4.84b), which appears to be a work transitional between the Kushana and Gupta styles, probably of the 4th century. This excellent Ak-terek fragment probably dates ca. second half of the 4th century, a probable dating for the shrine as well.[115]

Stein noted that the nearby site of Siyelik was very similar to Ak-terek. He found a small shrine with cella 25 x 23 feet with an outer passage 6' 9" wide. In the center of the cella was a base about 9' square that had probably held a large stucco image. About 1/4 mile south of the Siyelik small temple was the base of a stupa with square base 16 1/2' on a side and 3' high and a portion of a square upper level still remaining. An interesting feature, besides the two square levels, was the indication of a flight of stairs 8' wide at the bottom leading up from the south face. About 1/4 mile to the east was a smaller square base stupa whose surviving bottom level was 3' high. Stein remarked that the whole Ak-terek-Siyelik area seemed to warrant further excavation as many sites appeared to exist underground.[116]

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[114] Stein (1921), I, p. 141, where it is described as light red clay 12 x 7 3/4" and 3" thick. Others of a like kind were apparently made from the same mould.

[115] It is dated by M. Cohen to the 5th-6th century in Giès and Cohen (1996), No. 113.

[116] Stein (1921), I, pp. 139-140.

6. *Kara-dong (near Keriya)*

Kara-dong is about 150 miles (Stein) or 190 km as the crow flies (Debaine-Francfort, Idriss, and Wang) north of Keriya, possibly the area known as Wu-mi 扜彌, Chü-mi 拘彌, or Han-mi 汗彌 in Han-Chin times and which is about 390 li east of Khotan and 80 miles west of Niya site (Map 4.1). Both Hedin and Stein knew the site at Kara-dong. Hedin passed by and noted it in 1896 during his journey down the Keriya river. Stein first went in mid March of 1901 (he later visited again in 1908), when he excavated the "quadrangle area", a mud-rampart approximately 236 ft. square with rows of rooms built of timber and plaster. He uncovered the gateway, which was 21 ft. square in two stories. Later, when excavating L.K., a ruined fortress in the Lou-lan area on the western shore of Lob nor, Stein noticed that the gate of L.K. was remarkably similar to that at Kara-dong which he had excavated earlier.[117] Since L.K. had evidences of being in use in the 3rd-4th century, such a comparison offers an interesting comparison for the dating of the Kara-dong quadrangle area. Within the quadrangle area Stein found a few objects: coarse pottery, metal, glass, felt, a comb of sandalwood, 5 Chinese copper coins, worn *wu-chu* coins and others worn out or without legend and a piece of paper (no writing). The lack of any T'ang coins led Stein to think that the site was probably deserted earlier than Dan-dan Uiliq, where he had found T'ang K'ai-yüan era (713-742) coins. He suspected Kara-dong was a site on the communication route between Khotan, Keriya and the Kucha region following the course of the Keriya River.[118]

In the spring of 1993 the Sino-French Archaeological Expedition in Keriya (under the UPR no. 315 in CNRS (France) and the Institute of Archaeology in Xinjiang) cooperated in a joint excavation of the Kara-dong site.[119] This group, which was tracing the course of the Keriya River, found an ancient oasis gone to desert that had been occupied about the 2nd-4th century A.D., a dating affirmed by carbon 14 test (yielding a dating of 183-412 A.D.) with Kara-dong probably the center of it.[120]

In the northern part of the site (not seen by Stein) the Sino-French team found the remains of a temple (KRD 61) with some surviving wall paintings. The temple was square 8.5 m on a side with a central structure inside measuring 2 m on each

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[117] M. Aurel Stein, *Innermost Asia*, 4 vols., Oxford, 1928, I, p. 186. For the Kara-dong gate see Stein (1907), I, Fig. 53 and II, Pl. XXXVIII.

[118] *Ibid*, I, p. 450. For complete coverage on Kara-dong, see pp. 443-469.

[119] First reported in the west by C. Debaine-Francfort, A. Idriss, and B.H. Wang, "Agriculture irriguée et art bouddhique ancien au coeur de Taklamakan" (Karadong, Xinjiang, IIe-IVe siecles), *Arts Asiatiques*, Vol. XLIX, 1994, pp. 34-52.

[120] *Ibid.*, footnote 9 and p. 35.

side. In the center was a mound probably representing the base of a stupa or statue (Figs. 4.85a,b). Some *wu-chu* coins were found.

Paintings survived in tact on the lower portion of the south and west walls (Figs. 4.85c,d) comprising the lower part of 4 (possibly 8) Buddhas, each standing on an oval lotus with a row of down-turned petals (Fig. 4.85b). Fragments of small seated Buddhas each seated on a lotus with circular head and body haloes probably were part of rows (several were found with parts from two registers) of multiple Buddhas (Figs. 4.86, 4.87a-d). In these paintings the pigments (tempera) were black, grey, white, rose, deep red, orange and chestnut. The excavators date the paintings 2nd-4th century—a general dating for the site—and especially note their similarities with Bāmiyān and Kara-tepe. They believe these remains to be among the earliest wall paintings of Central Asia along with those of Miran.[121]

Though little can be seen in the standing Buddha frieze, several pertinent observations on the style shows them to relate to other works of ca. 400 A.D. First, the design of the left vertical edge of the robe of the two corner Buddhas (one with a sharp, scalloped hem edge and the other with a plane of narrow parallel lines) seems to be a more modest design of a mode appearing in a major sculpture at Rawak (Fig. 4.47; Bodhisattva R51). Second, the floral sprays on the background are more delicate than, but nevertheless similar to, the designs used in the early Tun-huang caves (Caves 272 and 275) of ca. second quarter of the 5th century. Third, and the most telling, is the design of the lotus petals. They are executed in swift strokes with a wavy central line. The swift stroke style of petal appears in the paintings of Cave 169 at Ping-ling ssu dated ca. 420 (Fig. 4.88), as well as in the wall paintings of Wen-shu shan Ch'ien-fo tung, probably dating around the same time. The wavy line in the center is rare and unusual, but does appear in the lotus of the standing bronze Bodhisattva in the Asian Art Museum of San Francisco, which I have dated by other means to ca. 400 A.D.; this is definitely not a work of later 5th century or the 6th century and may be an especially important indicator of the relative dating of the Kara-dong motif. This wavy line also appears in some sculptures from Bajaur, northern Pakistan, probably dating around the late 4th or early 5th century.[122]

The fragments of small Buddhas in registers are also a remarkable find. They too reveal a style that can be linked to other works independently dated to around the late 4th or early 5th century, factors that, in conjunction with all the other indications, seem to infer a dating for the Kara-dong paintings to around the second half of the 4th century.

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[121] *Ibid*, p. 48.

[122] Rhie (1995), Fig. 11. For an example probably from Bajaur, see Kurita (1988 and 1990), II, Fig. 191.

The Buddhas sit in a loose crossed legged manner with knees slightly raised and ankles crossed. This is also the typical mode of sitting for the Buddhas of the wall paintings of the Kucha area. The hands are in meditation in Fig. 4.87d with the hands held up on the sides—a fashion first seen in China in the 338 Buddha (Fig. 1.48) and popular in Chinese Buddhas of the late 4th and early 5th century. In Fig. 4.87a the left hand holds the robe with a protruding bent index finger, also a mode often seen in the Kizil wall paintings. The heads are inclined to one side and the head and body haloes are circular—the former typical of Kizil Buddhas, and the latter a style known in the Kara-tepe and Lou-lan Buddhas (Figs. 3.13a and 5.55a,b). The background has the bodhi tree leaf (or lotus petal) shapes and some simple lotus buds. The holes for the seeds are portrayed in the lotus pod, a feature that also appears in the Asian Art Museum bronze Bodhisattva of ca. 400 mentioned above. Double lines appear with frequency to indicate the folds of the Buddha's saṅghāṭī and lower garment. The designs which occur in the borders separating the registers show a wave design and a zigzag ribbon design. The latter occurs in the decor of the stupa painted on the upper south wall of Cave 169 at Ping-ling ssu and probably dating late 4th century.

From the few original works published, the faces appear to be strong, massive, oval shapes. The features are heavy and executed with a firm hand, simplicity of design, and with pronounced curvatures of line. The eyebrows are highly arched, the eyes are large with broad lids and an upward curve, the nose is smooth (not with the bent shape as seen in many Kizil paintings). The mouth is large with a wavy upper lip and semicircular lower lip; the two are divided by a dark, curved line. The neck slopes outward and is very thick at the base, a manner also seen in some of the figures of the wall paintings in the niche of the Eastern Great Buddha (Cave 155) at Bāmiyān (Fig. 3.82). One or two lines seem hastily drawn on the neck. The ears are large and the lobes very long— a feature that can be noted in Tun-huang wall paintings of Buddhas by the third quarter of the 5th century, but rare to see before that time in China. The hair has large curls; the chin is interestingly marked by a mild W shape.

The figural style is distinctly changed from that of the Miran wall paintings of M III and M V with their more western physiognomy. The Kara-dong paintings have smooth contours and a Central Asiatic face, although the manner of portraying the mouth has some resemblance to the technique of the Miran paintings in its brusque manner. Also, the firm, selective line relates to the Rawak guardian painting (Figs. 4.83a,b), though the nose, mouth and eye types are different. Stylistically, however, they may not be far removed, though probably the Kara-dong paintings are more developed. The swift, bold, sketchy manner of the brushwork is very close to that of

the Ping-ling ssu wall paintings in Fig. 4.88, whose date of ca. 420 is one of the most reliable we have for this period.

The stylistically closest comparable works with the Fig. 4.86 Buddha head are the large clay heads from Miran site M XV (Figs. 5.51b,c) with their massive structure and large but elegantly portrayed Central Asian features. The M XV heads can be clearly related to works from Swat and probably date ca. late 4th-early 5th century (see section on Miran in Chapter 5). The Kara-dong paintings have a relation with the Kizil wall paintings, which, however, are still being debated regarding dating. In the sequel to this book, I will discuss Kizil Cave 83 as ca. mid 4th century and Cave 38 as ca. 3rd quarter of the 4th century. It is not difficult to see that the Kara-dong style can be a part of the movements of this general time. Probably the Kara-dong wall paintings reflect a Khotan style of ca. second half of the 4th century, a period when Khotan—like Kucha—was a flourishing Buddhist center, as the testimony of Fa Hsien in 401 makes abundantly clear. What we see in these works is probably a Khotanese regional style with slight differences from that of Kucha, which seems more refined, but generally partaking of the same movement of Central Asian assimilation of the Indo-Gandhāran Buddhist art. This style clearly has an effect on the Buddhist art of China in the late 4th to early 5th century as will be further detailed in the sequel to this book on art of the Sixteen Kingdoms Period.

III. Conclusions: Southern Route (Kashgar to Khotan/Keriya)

The surviving stupas of Kashgar and Rawak offer important materials for understanding the process of development of the stupa in eastern Central Asia, possibly reflecting changes taking place in Buddhist doctrine and practice ca. 1st-3rd century A.D. However, we still do not see evidences that help us to understand the appearance of the Chinese style stupa as seen in the late Later Han tile from Szechwan and as described in the literary accounts of the "temple" of Tse Jung of ca. 194 A.D. discussed in Chapter 1. The Rawak stupa, which may date to the late 3rd or early 4th century, is the most significant remains in Central Asia of the cruciform type with stairs on the four sides.

A few, isolated, rare sculptures from Khotan are tantalizing hints of the importance of the "Khotan school", which clearly relates to the art of western Central Asia, implying a major source in the Bactrian area, and in turn is an important source for Shan-shan and Chinese Buddhist art. The small western objects, probably dating in the 1st-2nd century A.D., are evidences of trade on the Silk Road. The two bronze Buddha heads (and possibly the small Bodhisattva), distinctive for their refined

and delicate style, probably date ca. mid 2nd-ca. mid 3rd period, with a distinct possibility of dating in the 2nd half of the 2nd century A.D., which would suggest that Buddhism in Khotan was relatively developed by that time. Certainly Buddhist establishments were quite developed in the northern Bactrian (Termez) region by the mid-2nd century (Airtam and Dalverzin-tepe) and the stupas at Kashgar suggest strong Buddhist presence there in the 2nd-3rd century. Khotan may well have participated in the Buddhist movement eastward at that time, and Buddhist establishments may have been rather well established in Khotan by 200 A.D. The two bronze Buddha heads from the Ōtani expedition are the earliest remains from this important school of Buddhist art, and possibly the earliest major Buddhist sculptures from Serindia. Rawak stupa offers the largest and most important group of sculptures to remain from eastern Central Asia from a slightly later period, probably, as discussed in detail above, dating in its earliest phase ca. late 3rd to early 4th century and in its main later phase from ca. late 4th to first half of the 5th century (there may have been some occasional replacements and repair work in the 6th century). This site bears witness to the flourishing of Buddhism in Khotan which is suggested by the few known written evidences—those concerning the Chinese monk Chu Shih-hsing in Khotan and the Khotanese monks in China in second half of the 3rd century and the first-hand account of Khotan Buddhism by Fa-hsien in ca. 401 A.D.

Textile finds at Shampula offer a range of stunning fragments with western motifs that may date as early as ca. 1st century A.D. (the head of a man and the centaur) and also bears witness to the imported Chinese warp-faced compound tabby silk popular in the Later Han, Three Kingdoms and Western Chin periods.

In painting, the few samples from Rawak and the new finds from Kara-dong provide rare glimpses of the post Miran M III and M V styles of ca. mid 3rd century. The Rawak guardian, probably earlier than Kara-dong, may represent a style ca. late 3rd-early 4th century while the Kara-dong paintings appear to date ca. 400, and are a major new source for the study of painting in Kizil and in early 5th century cave paintings in China. These Rawak and Kara-dong paintings, though few, nevertheless provide some modicum of understanding of the developments in painting at the southern route sites for these early periods.

CHAPTER FIVE

EASTERN CENTRAL ASIA

THE KINGDOM OF SHAN-SHAN: NIYA TO LOU-LAN

I. Introduction: The Shan-shan Kingdom

Historical data regarding the Shan-shan kingdom is extremely limited and disparate. What little emerges from the Chinese dynastic histories and other Chinese written records has been amplified by the translation and interpretation of the Chinese and Kharoṣṭhī documents and inscriptions discovered in this century at the ancient sites in the Tarim Basin area, mostly from Niya, Lou-lan, Endere, and Miran in the Shan-shan kingdom region, but also at other sites including Khotan and the Kucha region (with a script of modified Kharoṣṭhī). The first Kharoṣṭhī document was found by Sven Hedin at Lou-lan in early March, 1901, but it was Aurel Stein who uncovered the most number of both Kharoṣṭhī and Chinese documents during his expeditions to Central Asia in 1901, 1906-7, 1913-14 and 1930. The Ōtani expedition (1902, 1909-1910) recovered some Kharoṣṭhī and Chinese documents; most of the Kharoṣṭhī ones have been secretly kept in the Ryūkoku University in Tokyo and not yet analyzed. The famous letter of Li Po 李柏 in Chinese to the king of Karashahr was discovered by Tachibana at the L.A. site in March-April 1909. In 1928 Bergman, a member of the joint Chinese and Swedish Northwest Investigation Team, found a piece of silk with Kharoṣṭhī writing on the edge from a tomb near Lou-lan. In recent years further discoveries both of documents and of silk with Kharoṣṭhī writing have been made by the Chinese Archaeological and Investigation Teams in Sinkiang Province, some of which provide important new data.

Studies of the Kharoṣṭhī and Chinese documents and inscriptions since the 1920's have led to breakthroughs as well as to some hotly debated theories that various scholars have put forth, beginning with E. J. Rapson in 1929 with publication of five Shan-shan kings from deciphered Kharoṣṭhī documents discovered by Stein. Over thirty-five years later, in 1965, John Brough offered several important conclusions gained through linguistic analysis and a new theory concerning the relation of the Shan-shan kingdom with the Kushana empire. His work stirred the world of Central Asian studies and re-activated interest in the study of Shan-shan history and in the painstaking process of re-examining and deciphering of the Kharoṣṭhī documents.

During the 1970's K. Enoki and K. Nagasawa, Japanese scholars of Chinese history, sharpened the debate surrounding the chronology of Rapson's five Shan-shan kings and attempted to correlate the data of the Kharoṣṭhī documents with evidences from Chinese historical source materials. In 1979 the Chinese scholar Ma Yung determined that the Shan-shan king Vaṣmana was the Yüan Meng of the *Chin-shu* records, thus making an important linkage with Chinese history. From the late 1980's to the present, several Chinese scholars, notably Hsia Nai, Wang Kuo-wei, Lin Mei-ts'un, Meng Fan-jen, Hou Ts'an and others, have delved into the problems and offered significant new assessments and hypotheses based on re-examination of the documents and on some newly discovered documents and materials from Lou-lan L.A. and from tomb sites in the Shan-shan region discovered by the Archaeological Investigation Teams of Sinkiang Province. Though many problems and questions still remain, in the aggregate, a sketchy picture of the history of Shan-shan is emerging for the early centuries and will be summarized below.

A. *Early History (The Han Dynasty Period in China: 206 B.C.-220 A.D.)*

A kingdom known to the Chinese as Lou-lan first appears in Chinese official documents with the report of Chang Ch'ien 張騫. This and other accounts are recorded in the Western Regions (Hsi-yü 西域) section of the *Han-shu* (Former Han History) and in the *Shih-chi.*[1]

> The original name [of the Shan-shan kingdom] was Lou-lan 樓蘭. The king's seat of government is at Wu-ni ch'eng 扜泥城. From the Yüan Kuan (Jade Gate, see Fig. 1) it is 1,600 li (about 500 miles) and 6,100 li (about 3,000 miles) from Ch'ang-an. There are 1,570 households and 14,100 persons, and an army of 2,912 men. They have [various] officials: a Fu-kuo hou, Ch'üeh-hu hou, Shan-shan tu wei, Chi chü-shih tu wei, left and right chu-ch'ü, one Chi Chü-shih chün and two interpreters-in-chief. To the Northwest it is a distance of 1,785 li (about 595 miles) to the seat of the Protector General (Hsi-yü tu-hu 西域都護), and 1,365 li (about 455 miles) to [Mo] Shan kuo (墨)山國 (kingdom of Ink Mountain, thought to be in the Turfan or Korla area) and 1,890 li (about 630

[1] Pan Ku, *Han-shu*, chüan 61 (Memoir on Chang Ch'ien and Li Kuang-li) and 96a and b (The Western Regions), Shanghai: Chung-hua shu-chü ch'u-pan-she, 1962 (1975 printing), Vol. 9, pp. 2687-2705 for chüan 61, and Vol. 12, pp. 3871-3932 for chüan 96a and b. These chapters have all been fully translated into English with notes by A.F.P. Hulsewé, *China in Central Asia*, Leiden, 1979. Ssu-ma Ch'ien (ca. 90 B.C.), *Shih-chi*, chüan 123 (Memoir on Ta-yüan). However, Hulsewé observes that chüan 123 may well be a later interpolation possibly based on the material in chapter 61 of the *Han-shu*. Hulsewé (1979), introduction, pp. 3-39. Concerning Chang Ch'ien, whose report only mentions Lou-lan as a small kingdom, Hulsewé notes that Chang Ch'ien clearly did not actually pass through Lou-lan. *Ibid.*, p. 77, note 49.

miles) continuing northwest to Chü-shih 車師 (Chiao-ho 交河, just west of present-day Turfan).[2]

The account continues, indicating that the land was poor and the people were nomadic. At some period, no doubt prior to 77 B.C., walled cities (ch'eng 城) were established.

> ...The land is sandy and salty with few cultivated fields.....The people accompany their herds of animals, following the water and grass. They have asses, horses and many camels...
> ...Many times Han officials (envoys) have said that this country has walled cities (ch'eng-i 城邑), [but] the army is weak and easy to attack...
> ...Shan-shan is located on the Han communication route (thoroughfare); to the west is Ch'ieh-mo 且末 720 li (about 240 miles).[3]

The statements concerning the nomadic life of the early people are supported by recent discoveries of artifacts and 100 or so tombs about 3,800 years old along the northern banks of the Kuruk Darya (The Peacock River; Chinese: K'ung-ch'iao ho 孔雀河) and the Iron Plate River (Chinese: T'ieh-pan ho 鐵板河), a branch of the Peacock River that empties into the northern end of Lob nor (Map 5.1).[4] The establishment of walled cities (ch'eng) was a major accomplishment, and would appear to mark a stronger and perhaps more settled phase of the kingdom. The region of the Lou-lan/Shan-shan kingdom has a number of remains of old walled cities, including L.E., L.A. and L.K. near Lob nor, and old Miran and Charklik along the Shan-shan River. It is especially interesting that the site L.E. discovered by Stein in 1914 about 19 miles northeast of L.A. was constructed by the same method as the walls of the Tun-huang "limes" built during the time of Han Wu-ti around the end of the 2nd century B.C. Stein makes pointed note of the fact that this sturdy construction (a technique he attributes to the Chinese) of alternating rows of tamped earth with thick rows of well-fastened racines (sticks) was very effective in allowing

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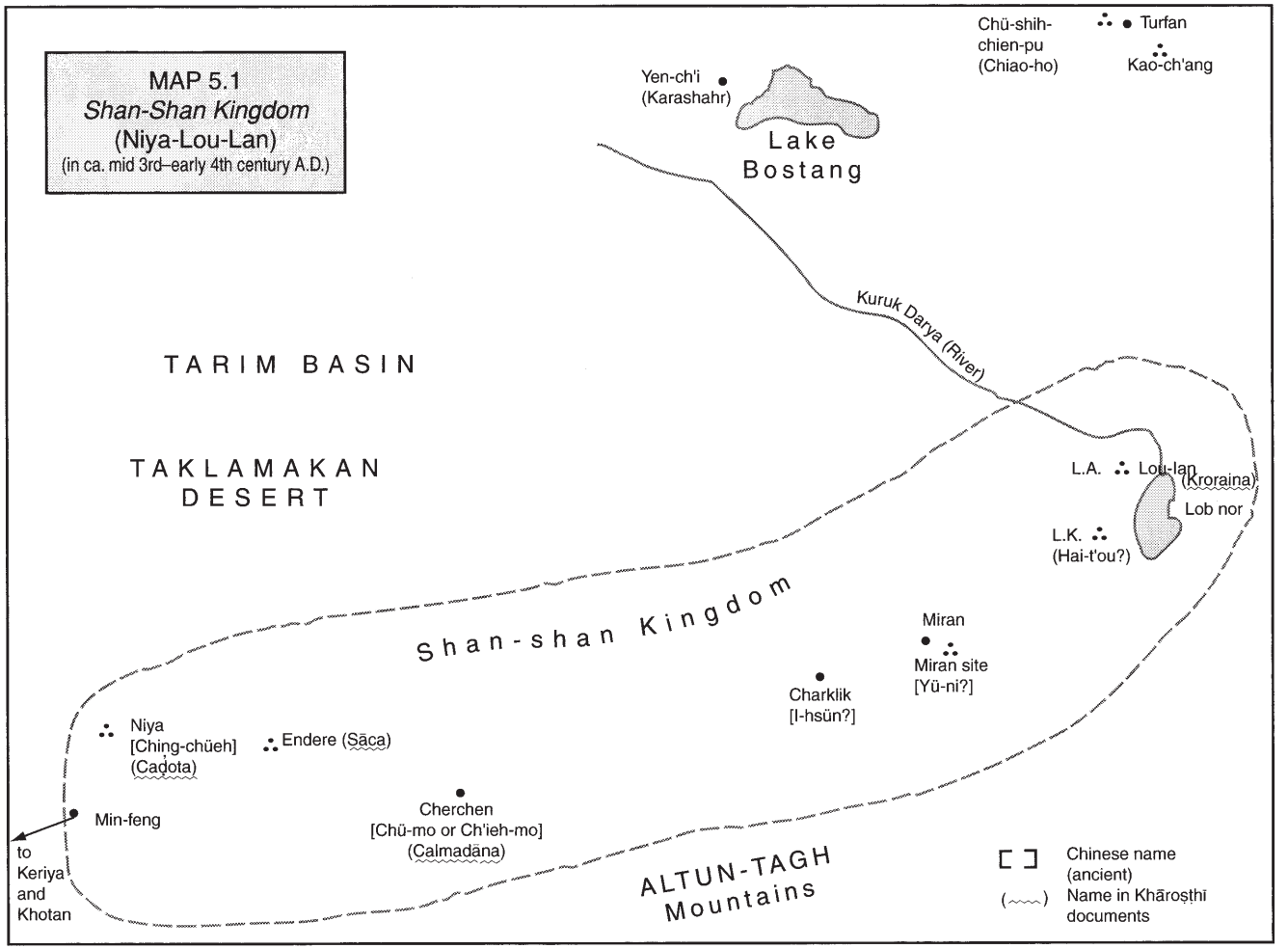
[2] *Han-shu,* chüan 96a [Chung-hua shu-chü edition, Vol. 12, pp. 3875-3876]; Hulsewé (1979), pp. 81-84. In footnotes 78-83 Hulsewé discusses these various officials, mostly probably held by non-Chinese, but bestowed by the Chinese.

[3] *Han-shu,* chüan 96a [Chung-hua shu-chü edition, Vol. 12, pp. 3876, 3879]. Regarding the translation of ch'eng-i 城邑, Hulsewé (1979), p. 86, note 95 observes that ch'eng-i (walled cities) probably refers to a general term, not to be split up into "walled towns" and "unwalled settlements", the latter a meaning he claims was lost for the character "i" by Han times. The "Han communication route"—clearly denoting the main road (thoroughfare)—has been shown by Stein, Wang Kuo-wei and others to have been, in Han times, the route from Tun-huang (the Jade Gate) to Lou-lan; from thence it divided into northern and southern directions, rather than dividing from the Jade Gate as in later times.

[4] Lin, Mei-ts'un 林梅村, "Lou-lan kuo shih t'u k'ao" 楼兰国始都考 (On the First Capital of the Lou-lan Kingdom), *Wen-wu,* 1995, No. 6, p. 81.


MAP 5.1
Shan-Shan Kingdom
(Niya-Lou-Lan)
(in ca. mid 3rd–early 4th century A.D.)
Chü-shih-chien-pu (Chiao-ho)
Turfan
Kao-ch'ang
Yen-ch'i (Karashahr)
Lake Bostang
Kuruk Darya (River)
TARIM BASIN
TAKLAMAKAN DESERT
L.A. Lou-lan (Kroraina)
Lob nor
L.K. (Hai-t'ou?)
Shan-shan Kingdom
Miran
Miran site [Yü-ni?]
Charklik [I-hsün?]
Niya [Ching-chüeh] (Cadota)
Endere (Sāca)
Min-feng
to Keriya and Khotan
Cherchen [Chü-mo or Ch'ieh-mo] (Calmadāna)
ALTUN-TAGH Mountains
Chinese name (ancient)
Name in Khāroṣṭhī documents

the walls to survive the ravages of the eroding winds.[5] The Chinese name of the country, i.e., Lou-lan, was probably a Chinese adaptation of the native language name, Kroraina [variously spelled Krora'iṃna, Krorayina, etc.), which may also have been at one point the name of the capital or major city, probably one of the walled cities.[6]

The *Han-shu* account continues its discourse on Lou-lan/Shan-shan, by noting that after Han Wu-ti's initial expansion to the west, there were about 10 missions per year to the Western Regions and the "Han envoys were in sight of each other along the routes"—a hyperbolic allusion to the frequency of travel and communication.[7] However, the *Han-shu* also makes clear that there was considerable harassment from the Hsiung-nu, whose "eyes and ears" were provided by Lou-lan. In attempting to make the route more secure, Han forcefully controlled Lou-lan and instituted a "line of government posts and defenses stretching as far as the Yü-men barrier". Conflicts did not abate and finally the king of Lou-lan was "arrested" and taken to the Chinese capital where he convinced Emperor Wu-ti of his precarious position as a small state between Han and the Hsiung-nu. Han subsequently employed the king to keep a watch on the Hsiung-nu and extracted a "hostage son", an action subsequently followed by the Hsiung-nu as well.[8] This set the stage for the crisis of succession that occurred following the Lou-lan king's death in 92 B.C., eventually culminating in the notorious murder of the next, Hsiung-nu installed, king by a Chinese official sent from Han in 77 B.C. (Yüan-feng 元鳳 4th year).[9] After arriving with gifts and partaking of festivities during which the Lou-lan king became drunk, the Han official, Fu Chieh-tzu 傅介子 took the king aside and Fu's guards stabbed the king to death.

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[5] Stein (1928), I, pp. 259-263. The site L.E. may be one of the earliest of the Lou-lan walled cities. According to Stein, neither L.A. or L.K. are as sturdily constructed as L.E. Recently, Lin Mei-ts'un has argued that L.E. is the site of the Lou-lan capital prior to 77 B.C. (see below note 13). Stein assumes that the Chinese constructed the L.E. site as a fort for protection of military, travellers, envoys, etc. (presumably Chinese) on the communication route between Tun-huang and Lou-lan. There may be some problem in reconciling Lin's view of L.E. as capital of Lou-lan with Stein's view that L.E. was constructed by the Chinese.

[6] Lin Mei-ts'un (1995), p. 79; and Lin Mei-ts'un 林梅村, "Kung-yüan pai-nien Lo-ma shang-t'uan ti Chung-kuo chih hsing" 公元100年罗马商团的中国之行 (Roman Commercial Group Coming to China around 100 A.D.), *Chung-kuo she-hui k'o-hsüeh* 中国社会科学, 1991, No. 4, pp. 79-81 where Lin discusses the correspondences between the Greek name *Khaurana* noted in Ptolemy (VI, 15.3), the Kharosthi name *Krora'ina*, the Sogdian *Krur'n*, and the Khotanese *Raurana*, as all referring to what in Chinese is called Lou-lan. For Stein on Kroraina, see Stein (1921), I, pp. 414-416. Also, Meng Fan-jen 孟凡人, *Lou-lan hsin shih* 樓蘭新史, [no publication place cited], 1990, pp. 18-22.

[7] Hulsewé (1979), p. 85 and note 92.

[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 86-88.

[9] The events leading up to this crisis are explained in detail in the *Han-shu*, chüan 96a [Chung-hua shu-chü edition, Vol. 12, pp. 3876-3878]. Also see Hulsewé (1979), pp. 85-90.

> [Fu] Chieh-tzu subsequently cut off the head of king Ch'ang 嘗 [or An 安] Kuei 歸 and quickly sent it to the gate tower (ch'üeh 闕) where it was suspended below the northern gate tower (pei ch'üeh 北闕). Chieh-tzu was conferred the title of I-yang hou 義陽侯. Then Wei-t'u-ch'i 尉屠耆 was established as king and the name of the kingdom was changed to be Shan-shan. An official seal was carved and a palace woman bestowed as a wife [to the king].[10]

The biography of Fu Chieh-tzu in the *Han shu* confirms this event, though the information is more abbreviated:

> Fu Chieh-tzu, inspector of the stables at the P'ing-lo Palace 平樂監, murdered and cut off the head of Lou-lan King An Kuei 安歸. [He] hung it [the head] from the northern gate tower (pei ch'üeh 北闕) in order to make known the fault [of the king] and not to cause trouble among the people.[11]

The new king, Wei-t'u-ch'i 尉屠耆, the hostage son who had been under Chinese control, then asked Han to support him and to set up an agricultural colony at I-hsün:

> "For a long time I have been in Han. Now I am returning home deserted and weak at a time when sons of the former king are alive, and I fear that I may be killed by them. There is a town [called] I-hsün ch'eng 伊循城 in the state, whose land is fertile. I would be grateful if Han could send one leader (chiang 將) to set up an agricultural colony (t'un-t'ien 屯田) there and accumulate a store of field-crops, so that I would be able to rely on the support of Han prestige." Thereupon Han sent one major (ssu-ma 司馬) and forty officers (li-shih 吏士) and others to colonize I-hsün, in order to maintain a peaceful situation. At a later time the office of commandant (tu-wei 都尉) was established instead; the foundation of an official post at I-hsün started at this juncture.[12]

Exact location of the capital of the Lou-lan kingdom prior to 77 B.C. and of the capital of the Shan-shan kingdom after 77 B.C. is vigorously debated and is still not definitely known. Most recently Lin Mei-ts'un has discussed the possibility that the walled city site of L.E. on the north bank of Lob nor is the capital of Lou-lan kingdom prior to 77 B.C. Previously some scholars, such as K. Enoki, considered L.A., the walled city site on the northwestern bank of Lob nor discovered by Hedin and investigated by Stein, to be the site of the capital. With regard to the capital of the Shan-shan kingdom, that is, after 77 B.C., many scholars agree that it was I-hsün, located along the Shan-shan river, either at the Miran or Charklik area. However,

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[10] *Han-shu,* chüan 96a [Chung-hua shu-chü edition, Vol. 12, p. 3878]; Hulsewé (1979), pp. 90-91, where he translates the passage as follows: "... sent his head by mounted messenger service to the palace, where it was suspended at the Northern Tower..."

[11] Lin Mei-ts'un (1995), p. 84, from the *Han-shu,* biography of Fu Chieh-tzu.

[12] This translation is from Hulsewé (1979), pp. 91-92; *Han- shu,* chüan 96a [Chung-hua shu-chü edition, Vol. 12, p. 3878].

the issue of exact identification of the capital/capitals is still a debated one.[13]

[13] For a discussion of the thorny issue of the identification and location of the capital or capitals (i.e., the capital of the "Lou-lan kingdom"—pre-77 B.C.—and the capital of the "Shan-shan kingdom"—after 77 B.C., whose capital may or may not have been in the same location as that of the Lou-lan kingdom), see Hulsewé (1979), footnote 77, pp. 81-82, which summarizes various views prior to 1979.

Briefly, Chinese historical documents call the pre-77 B.C. capital of the Lou-lan kingdom as Wu-ni (also translated as Chü-mi; according to Hulsewé the more probable correct reading of the characters is Han-ni). Some scholars, including K. Enoki, accepted the site discovered by Hedin at the northwest of Lob nor and later designated by Stein as L.A. as the pre-77 B.C. capital of Lou-lan. However, according to Hulsewé, Feng Ch'eng-chün suggests that the territory of Lou-lan extended far to the north, up to the area of Hami and Pidjan, and that the pre-77 B.C. capital, i.e., Wu-ni, was along the Shan-shan River at present-day Charklik. Other Chinese scholars, such as Wang Kuo-wei 王國維, also place the capital on the Shan-shan River. The historian of Central Asia, Ma Yung 馬雍, in his major 1979 article "Hsin-chiang so ch'u ch'ia-lu wen-shu ti tuan-tai wen-ti" 新疆所出佉卢文书的断代问题 (The Problem of Dating the Kharoṣṭhī documents Excavated from Sinkiang—Also Discussion of Lou-lan Site and Shan-shan chün during the Wei-Chin Period), *Wen-shih* 文史, 1979, No. 7, pp. 73-95 examines the evidences and rationale concerning this problem and makes certain conclusions based on his new assessments regarding the problem and identification of Shan-shan chün. His arguments are complex and interwoven with other peculiar problems of this regions, but in general he concludes as follows:

1) There is no reason to believe that up to the time of Ts'ao Wei, Western Chin and Former Liang there was another capital other than Wu-ni, the only one cited in all the Chinese historical texts as the capital (wang ch'ih 王治 "king's place of governing" , i.e., the ch'ing-ch'eng 京城 or Kh. "mahamata nagara"). He identifies the Wu-ni site as near present day Charklik ("in the neighborhood of Jo-ch'iang hsien 若羌縣") and not in the region northwest of Lob nor.

2) Furthermore, he reasons that the evidence is insufficient to prove that the capital was in Lou-lan ch'eng (northwest of Lob nor). For this he re-examines Kh. doc. 678, the prime evidence cited by proponents of Lou-lan ch'eng as the capital, and finds the more logical conclusion to be that Lou-lan ch'eng is not the capital (see details on pp. 91-92).

3) Finally, he demonstrates why the capital is not Lou-lan ch'eng, but is rather a "t'un t'ien" 屯田 (military agricultural colony or "agricultural militia"), and convincingly reasons that it is Shan-shan chün rather than the king's seat (for the problem of Shan-shan chün and the Shan-shan chün wei seal, see text below, and note 41). According to Ma Yung, a Chinese established chün cannot be the capital of the Shan-shan kingdom—a Chinese chün and the Shan-shan king's capital are two separate entities, and he reinforces his conclusions with pointing out that such a conclusion more reasonably explains the relatively small number of Kharoṣṭhī documents found at Lou-lan L.A. site. Furthermore, he states that otherwise there is no way to understand the meaning and usage of the Shan-shan chün-wei seal.

Most recently a new opinion about the location of the capital of the Lou-lan kingdom has been put forth by Lin Mei-ts'un (1995), pp. 79-84. He argues that it is not the L.A. site northwest of Lob nor, but is rather the old walled city to the north of Lob nor discovered and designated by Stein as L.E., located about 19 miles (24 km) northeast from L.A. (see Figs. 5.52e and f and Lou-lan section text below). The arguments are complicated, but offer an intriguing if not yet completely convincing assessment, which seems, especially with regard to some points, to be at variance with, or at best with questionable explanations for, the evidences of Stein's investigation.

According to Lin, carbon 14 testing from L.A. city yields a result indicating it is not earlier than Eastern Han, therefore it did not exist at the time of the old capital of Lou-lan. The L.E. site, located at the delta area of the Iron Plate River (a branch of the Peacock River) was on the main east-west communications route in the Han period and followed the north bank of the Peacock River. Remains of the Western Han dynasty beacon towers have been found from Tun-huang, along the northern shore of Lob nor and on the

During the Later (Eastern) Han Dynasty (25-220 A.D.) the historical situation of the Shan-shan kingdom is murky. During the period of Pan Ch'ao's 班超 conquest and governance of eastern Central Asia (the "Western Regions") in ca. 80-104 A.D. it can be assumed that Shan-shan was under vigorous Han control, which slackened in the period after Pan Chao's death in 104 and the re-assertion of Han power in eastern Central Asia under the leadership of his son Pan Yung 班勇. In 119 A.D. Pan Yung petitioned the Han imperial court for forces to secure the Turfan area. In 123 A.D. he received 500 troops for this purpose, and according to the Chinese records, was stationed at "Lou-lan", from where he ultimately attacked and secured Turfan in 124 A.D. In the writings of both Pan Ch'ao and Pan Yung there is no mention of either the usage of Kharoṣṭhī script or the presence of Buddhism in Shan-shan.

After the records left by Fan Yeh 范曄, who collected materials on the Western Regions up to 175 A.D., there is a haitus of Chinese historical records concerning the Western Regions from ca. 175 until 222 A.D. under the Ts'ao Wei 曹魏 of the Three Kingdoms. The *Hou-Han shu* records the aggression of the Khotan king An Kuo 安國 in Hsi-p'ing 熹平 4th year (175 A.D.) against Chü-mi 拘彌 (the Chira-Keriya tract), killing the king and many people. The wu-chi chiao-wei 戊己校尉 and the hsi-yü

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northern bank of the Peacock River up to Lun-t'ai hsien 輪臺縣, thus the location of L.E. suitably fits with the historical records and beacon tower remains. Further, L.E. city has two gates, one in the south and one in the north. Among the ruins of walled cities in the Lob nor region, L.E. is the only one known to have a gate in the north wall (the city gates of L.A. are on the east and west sides and the single gate at L.K. is in the southern part of the east wall). It is stated in the *Han-shu* that the head of the Lou-lan kingdom's king killed in 77 B.C. by Fu Chieh-tzu was hung from the northern gate tower (see translation in text above). Although the citation does not specify which city, it may be a reasonable possibility to have been the capital city of the Lou-lan kingdom (although Hulsewé does not translate it so; see above, note 11). Furthermore, according to Lin, the L.E. site had no Buddhist architecture, so it was presumably mainly a pre-Buddhist city. He cites the ancient jade piece found by Stein from a tomb at L.F. (site of tombs 2 1/2 miles northeast of L.E.) as suggesting that this tomb site may have been that of the early kings of Lou-lan. In short, Lin sees L.E. as being the old, pre-Buddhist capital of Lou-lan, virtually abandoned by the time L.A. was flourishing in the 3rd century A.D. With regard to the Chinese documents found by Stein at L.E., including two with dates: 266 and 267 A.D. (L.E. 1,2), Lin says they may have just been discarded there even though the site may not have been a functioning city at the time—a point that seems a bit unresolved. Furthermore, Lin concludes that L.A. is a later city than L.E., suggesting that L.A. was first active in the Eastern Han period, but expanded in the 3rd century A.D. during the period of the Ts'ao Wei and Western Chin.

With regard to opinions concerning the capital of the Shan-shan kingdom (after 77 B.C.), some take it to be I-hsün, probably present-day Miran. Stein (1921), I, pp. 343-344, discusses his reasons for taking the capital of Shan-shan kingdom as present-day Charklik. Chinese scholars such as Ma Yung and Meng Fan-jen do not to accept L.A. as the capital of either the Lou-lan or Shan-shan kingdoms, but rather take the capital of these two kingdoms to have been located along the Shan-shan river and not in the L.A. area at all.

ch'ang-shih 西域長史 (the two main Han military offices in the Western Regions) intervened, recovered the area and set up the hostage son Ting Hsing 定興 as the Chü-mi king.[14] Because of the apparent lack of further records after 175 A.D. in the Chinese historical records concerning the Western Regions, it is surmised by some that after A.D. 175 the Han military forces and officials protecting and managing the Western Regions were withdrawn. It is well known that during the period of emperors Huan (r. 147-167) and Ling (r. 168-189) luxury goods obtained via the Silk Road were much desired in the capital at Loyang, and during this period foreign Buddhists came to China and began translations (see Chapter 1). This implies that the Silk Routes were open and functioning during much of the period of emperors Huan and Ling, presumably at least up until about 175 A.D. However, from ca. 185 there was sufficient trouble in the Kansu corridor to suggest a probable lack of free flowing or flourishing commerce by that time. In 185 the imperial court debated whether or not to send troops to quell the disturbances in Liang chou (Kansu), the main artery of the Silk Road into China. With the decision not to defend Liang chou, the further disintegration of China into the hands of local warlords, and the drastic deterioration of the political situation in northern China after the Yellow Turban Rebellion in 184 A.D., it is probable that Chinese influence or control of eastern Central Asia was lacking. For these reasons, for a period of about three and a half decades, from ca. 185 until the early Three Kingdoms period when the Ts'ao family controlled northwest China under the dynasty known as the Wei (the Ts'ao Wei, 220-265 A.D., see Chapter 2), the Shan-shan kingdom probably experienced virtual independence from Chinese control or domination.

[14] Fan Yeh collected some historical materials on the Western Regions after Pan Yung, primarily on the history of Shu-le (Kashgar) up to the period of Emperor Ling's Chien-ning 建寧 3rd year (170 A.D.) and on Khotan history up to Chia-p'ing 嘉平 4th year (175 A.D.). The incident of the Khotan king's attack on Chü-mi appears in the *Hou-Han shu*, chüan 87; also see Lin Mei-ts'un 林梅村, "Ch'ia-lu wen shih-tai Shan-shan wang-ch'ao ti shih-hsi yen-chiu" 佉卢文时代鄯善王朝的世系研究 (Genealogical Investigation and Study of Shan-shan Dynasty during the Kharosthi Period), *Hsi-yü yen-chiu*, 1991, No. 1, p. 46. Lin suggests that since the *Hou-Han shu* is silent regarding any further Han military activity in the Western Regions after 175 A.D., Han control may have ceased in Sinkiang. Lin Mei-ts'un 林梅村, "Ch'ia-lu wen-shu chi Han ch'ia er t'i ch'ien so chi Yü-t'ien ta wang k'ao" 佉卢文书及汉佉二体钱所记于阗大王考 (Investigation of Kharoṣṭhī Documents and Sino-Kharoṣṭhī Coins of the Great King of Khotan), *Wen-wu*, 1987, No. 2, pp. 41-42. Meng Fan-jen, however, reasons for probable Han control in the Western Regions until approximately 184-185. Citing passages in the *Tzu-chih t'ung-chien* 資治通鑒 by Ssu-ma Kuang, chüan 57 and 58, he suggests continued Han activity in the Western Regions up to approximately 184-185, the period of the Yellow Turban Rebellion. However, from the time of the Liang-chou rebellions in Kansu he suggests it is virtually impossible for Han to be controlling the Western Regions from this time on. Meng Fan-jen (1991), pp. 29-30.

B. *Period of the Kharoṣṭhī Documents (Three Kingdoms, Western Chin, and Former Liang in China: 220- 376 A.D.)*

1. *Chinese Sources*

Though sparse, some references in the Chinese historical records indicate a relation between the state of Wei (usually distinguished as Ts'ao Wei 曹魏) of the Three Kingdoms (220-265) and Shan-shan, though the exact nature of the relation is not clear and still open to speculation by scholars. In the *San-kuo chih* (Record of the Three Kingdoms), Wen-ti chi 文帝紀, it is recorded that in Huang-ch'u 黃初 3rd year (222 A.D.)

> in the second month, the kings of Shan-shan, Kucha, and Yü-t'ien [Khotan] each sent an emissary offering gifts. The emperor [of Wei] said "'The wild tribes of the West all come to submit' and 'the Ti 氐 of the Chiang 羌 came to acknowledge the king'; the *Book of Odes* and the *Canon of History* praised them for this. Recently, the Western Regions foreign tribes (wai-i 外夷) also came to the frontiers offering tribute and submission, and their envoys were rewarded." After that the Western Regions subsequently opened up, and the wu-chi chiao-wei 戊己校尉 office was established.[15]

Most scholars interpret this passage to mean that the Western Region's barbarians paid tribute to Ts'ao Wei and after that the Western Regions was opened up and the official Chinese military position of wu-chi chiao-wei (controlling the military-agricultural units in the Western Regions) was established. Further evidence for the wu-chi chiao-wei office under Ts'ao Wei appears in the *San-kuo chih, Wei-shu,* chüan 16, regarding Ts'ang Tz'u, the popular governor (t'ai-shou 太守) of Tun-huang from 227 until his death in 233. Here the wu-chi chiao-wei office is directly mentioned along with the office of "ch'ang-li 長吏" (thought to be an error for "ch'ang-shih 長史"):

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[15] Ch'en Shou, *San-kuo chih,* chüan 2 [Chung-hua shu-chü edition, 1975, Vol. I, p. 79]. The imperial statement opens with two quotes from the classics which pointedly imply the wisdom of the barbarian's submission to China. For the first quote see James Legge, *The Chinese Classics,* III, *The Shoo King* (Book of Documents [Canon of History]), p. 127, from the Tribute of Yu. The same four characters (hsi-jung chi hsü) are translated "...the wild tribes of the West all coming to submit to Yu's arrangements." The second quote is a shortened allusion derived from a longer passage in *Ibid.*, IV, *The She King* (Book of Poetry [Book of Odes]), No. 305, p. 644: "Formerly, in the time of T'ang the successful, Even from the Keang [Chiang] of Te [Ti], They dared not but come with their offerings; [Their chiefs] dared not but come to seek acknowledgment;—Such is the regular rule of Shang." I am especially grateful to Prof. Daniel Gardner of the History Department at Smith College for his knowledgeable suggestions regarding the translation of this *San-kuo chih* passage and for informing me about the quotes from the *Book of Odes* and the *Canon of History.*

> after several years [he; i.e., Ts'ang Tz'u] died in office. The officials and the people grieved like [he] was their dead relative. They painted his picture, considering it to be his image. When the Western Regions various barbarians heard about the death of Tz'u, they all assembled at the seat of jurisdiction of the wu-chi chiao-wei and ch'ang-li 長吏 (probably error for ch'ang shih 長史) manifesting sympathy. Some slashed their face with knives showing extreme (blood) sincerity. [They] also established an ancestral hall (tz'u 祠), and from a distance all paid homage (tz'u 祠) to him.[16]

Whether of not the "ch'ang-shih" in this case refers to the hsi-yü ch'ang-shih or not is a matter of debate. There is apparently no other historical records which shed further light on this problem for the Ts'ao Wei period. However, the clear establishment of the wu-chi chiao-wei would seem to be clear indication that Ts'ao Wei had considerable presence in the Western Regions, probably in the Shan-shan and/or Turfan areas from as early as 222 A.D. Because this excerpt also describes Ts'ang Tz'u's successes in the governing of Tun-huang (which had not had a governor for twenty years prior during the dark years at the collapse of the Han Dynasty) and his popularity with the people of the Western Regions, who clearly mourned him to excess at his death, some think that Tun-huang may have had an influential relation with the Western Regions at that time, possibly even to the extent of controlling Shan-shan.[18]

Sources from the period of the Western Chin (265-317) indicate that at least the early part of this period was a time of Chinese power and influence in the Shan-shan region. The most convincing evidence comes from the Chinese documents found from the Shan-shan area, mostly by Stein from Lou-lan L.A. site.

These Chinese documents, which number over 700, are written mostly on wooden slips (mu chien 木簡) but some are written on paper and cloth. The bulk of the Chinese documents were found at Lou-lan, with fewer from Niya.[19] Sixty-one are dated as follows:

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[16] See biography of Ts'ang Tz'u in *San-kuo chih*, Wei-shu 魏書, chüan 16 [Chung-hua shu-chü edition, Vol. 2, pp. 512-513].

[17] Wang Kuo-wei and later Hou Ts'an have suggested that ch'ang-li 長吏 is an error for ch'ang-shih 長史, the office guarding the military-agricultural affairs in the Western Regions. Hou Ts'an appears to take this as the hsi-yü ch'ang-shih. Hou Ts'an (1988), p. 41.

[18] Meng Fan-jen (1991), p. 30. Nagasawa suggested Ts'ao-Wei engaged in the Western Regions in order to gain the victories that ultimately led to the Western Chin. Lin Mei-ts'un (1991 b), p. 47.

[19] Hou Ts'an 侯灿, "Lou-lan hsin fa-hsien mu chien chih wen-shu k'ao-shih" 楼兰新发现木简纸文书考释 (A Study and Transcription of the Inscribed Wooden Slips and Written Papers Newly Discovered in Lou-lan), *Wen wu*, 1988, No. 7, p. 41 cites 576 Chinese documents found at Lou-lan (412 wooden slips [mu chien] and 164 paper: 155 found by Stein in 1901 (125 wooden slips, 35 paper documents); 219 found by Stein in 1906 (173 wooden slips, 46 paper documents); 44 found by the Ōtani expedition in 1909-10 [Tachibana] (5 wooden slips, 39 paper documents); 93 found by Stein in 1914 (51 wooden slips, 42 paper documents);

Number of Docmts	Western Date	Chinese Date
	Ts'ao Wei (220-265)	
(1)	252 A.D.Chia-p'ing 嘉平 (however, this has another date 264 A.D., so the later date should be taken)	4th year
(1)	263 Ching-yüan 景元	4th year
(1)	264 " "	5th "
(1)	264 Hsien-hsi 咸熙	1st "
(3)	265 " "	2nd"
(3)	266 " "	3rd "
(1)	" "	
	Western Chin (265-317)	
(4)	266 T'ai-shih 泰始	2nd year
(3)	267 " "	3rd "
(8)	268 " "	4th "
(10)	269 " "	5th "
(6)	270 " "	6th "
(4)	" "	
(2)	310 Yung-chia 永嘉	4th year
(2)	312 " "	6th "
	Former Liang (313 or 324-376)	
(1)	324 letter of Li Po to king of Karashahr	
(1)	330 Chien-hsing 建興 calculated to be 330 A.D. of an outdated Western Chin nien-hao	18th ycar

65 found by the Chinese in April, 1980 (63 wooden slips and 2 paper documents, all found in the 3-room "official building" at L.A.).

Lin Mei-ts'un 林梅村, *Lou-lan Niya ch'u-t'u wen-shu* 楼兰尼雅出土文书 (Lou-lan and Niya Excavated Documents), Beijing, 1985, pp. 27-89 lists a total of 728 Chinese documents (670 from Lou-lan and 58 from Niya). Also see Chavannes (1907), pp. 521-542. (Hou Ts'an notes there may be many more uncatalogued Chinese documents from Central Asia—much of it Lou-lan material—not yet published or studied).

Most of the Chinese documents are official in nature; they reveal Chinese presence and certain official control of the area. Almost 2/3 of the dated Chinese documents—35 of the 61—belong to the T'ai-shih 泰始 period (265-274 A.D.) of Western Chin, with most falling between 265-270 A.D., an indication that this was the period of greatest activity and control. The distribution of the documents also indicates an expansion and distribution from the Lou-lan area to Niya. Niya seems never to have been more than an outpost compared with the status of Lou-lan L.A. in regard to Chinese control.

Hou Ts'an claims in his study of the Chinese documents discovered at Lou-lan in 1980 that Chinese control of Shan-shan was considerably stronger during the Ts'ao Wei and Western Chin than has been generally surmised. He argues this on the basis mainly of the existence of both the ch'ang-shih 長史 and tu-tu 都督 office in Lou-lan. The main duty of the ch'ang-shih was control of guarding military and agricultural affairs; that of the tu-tu was to manage and control the several armies of the Western Regions. Although both Later Han and the Former Liang had established the position of hsi-yü ch'ang-shih 西域長史 (for example, Pan Yung held such a position), the official histories are silent on the matter of the tu-tu (and not entirely clear on the matter of the ch'ang-shih, see above) for the Ts'ao Wei and Western Chin period. However, Chinese documents 209, 751, 752 and T:001, all from Lou-lan, clearly show the existence of these two separate official positions at Lou-lan, thus revealing, in Hou Ts'an's view, that Ts'ao Wei and Western Chin had considerable interest in control and management of the Western Regions.[20] This may be the case for the T'ai-shih period of Western Chin, but is more difficult to assert for the Ts'ao Wei period. Hou Ts'an suggests, as had Nagasawa earlier (see note 18), that Ts'ao Wei may have in its later years used control of Shan-shan as a factor in its strategy for conquest of China, which was in fact later achieved, first in 265 by defeat of Shu Han and finally by 280 with defeat of Wu (see Chapter 2).

Also at issue in judging the status and even the date (see below) of the Shan-shan rulers vis-à-vis the Western Chin is the record in the *Chin-shu* stating that the king of Shan-shan sent his son (or sons) as "hostage" in service to the Western Chin, a long-practiced way in which China extracted loyalty from kingdoms of the Western Regions. In T'ai-k'ang 太康 4th year (283 A.D.):

> 8th month, Shan-shan kingdom sent a son (or sons) to serve [the emperor], and [he was] granted the noble title of Kuei-i hou 歸義侯.[21]

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[20] Hou Ts'an (1988), pp. 41-43.

[21] *Chin-shu*, chüan 3 [Chung-hua shu-chü edition, Vol. I, pp. 74-75].

Data concerning the Former Liang, the state in Kansu province (Liang-chou) with its capital at Ku-ts'ang (present-day Wu-wei), is not plentiful and there is disagreement regarding its founding date, but it did have consequential contact with Shan-shan. At the end of the Western Chin, Kansu was governed by the Chang 張 family, then loyal to Western Chin. With the collapse of the Western Chin in 317 A.D., this family became virtually independent rulers of most of Kansu, despite continued pronouncements of loyalty to the name of Western Chin. Later, however, despite an effort to ally with the Eastern Chin, the Chang family established what is known as the Former Liang dynasty, generally dated from 313 in the reign of Chang Kuei 張軌 or from 324 in the reign of Chang Chün 張駿. The Former Liang was defeated in 376 by Fu Chien 苻堅 of Former Ch'in 前秦.

From the biography of Chang Kuei 張軌 in the *Chin-shu*, there is mention of Shan-shan in regard to Former Liang's conquest of part of Central Asia:

> ... From the time that [Chang] Kuei (張)軌 [r. 313-314] controlled Liang chou 涼州 [i.e., most of Kansu province] the world (t'ien-hsia) was in chaos; every place he governed was embattled and the army was without a peaceful year. Coming to [the time of Chang] Chün 駿 [r. 324-345], within his boundaries he brought peace. Then [Chang Chün] sent his general Yang Hsüan 楊宣 to lead a multitude across the desert to subjugate Kucha and Shan-shan. Thereupon the Western Regions completely submitted. The Shan-shan king Yüan Meng offered a woman called Beauty (Mei-jen 美人) and [Chang Chün] made the Pin Hsia Kuan (lodge) 賓遐觀 [to serve as a residence] for her. Yen-chi 焉耆 Chien-pu 前部 and the king of Yü-t'ien 于寘 also sent envoys bearing local commodities. [They] obtained the jade seal at Ho [-hsi] 河(西); the inscription reads: "Hold the 10,000 countries established forever."[22]

According to the analysis of Ma Yung, noted historian of Central Asia, the Former Liang must have attacked Shan-shan in 335 A.D., after Former Liang established Kao-ch'ang chün in the Turfan area around 327 A.D.[23]. According to the *Wei-shu*

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[22] *Ibid.*, chüan 86, biography of Chang Kuei 張軌, (Chung-hua shu-chü edition, Vol. VII, p. 2237). I am grateful to Prof. Daniel Gardner of the Smith College History Department for his helpful suggestions in the translation of this passage.

[23] Using Chinese historical references Ma Yung has co-ordinated various statements from several different Chinese historical sources. From chüan 86 of the *Chin-shu*, he assembled and worked out the order of the following pertinent passages:

1) Li Po 李柏, Western Regions Chang-shih 西域長史 under Former Liang Chang Chün 張駿 (r. 324-345) attacked General Chao Chen 趙貞 in Kao Ch'ang 高昌 (Turfan), but was defeated;

2) Chang Chün [successfully] attacked Chao Chen and established Kao-ch'ang chün (at the same time Chang Chün gained land south of the Yellow River due to a rebellion in Ch'ang-an);

3) Yang Hsüan 楊宣, general under Chang Chün, attacked Kucha and Shan-shan. The Shan-shan king offers him the woman named Beauty (Mei-jen; possibly a daughter; Hurvitz translates as "beautiful women"

魏書, the Former Liang established three offices in the Western Regions, creating its "tripod power", namely, 1) the hsi-yü ch'ang-shih at Hai-t'ou 海頭, 2) the wu-chi chiao-wei at Kao-ch'ang 高昌, and 3) the Yü-men ta-hu-chün 玉門大護軍 at Yü-men (near Tun-huang).[24] It is thought that Hai-t'ou could be the L.K. site on the western shores of Lob nor, south of Lou-lan L.A. (see below).

From the Shan-shan Chinese documents there are currently only four that are certainly dated from the 4th century. Two are dated corresponding to 312. Another, the famous document of the ch'ang-shih Li Po 長史李柏 to the king of Yen-ch'i (Karashahr) and found by Tachibana in 1910, can be dated to 324.[25] The fourth and latest probably dates corresponding to 330. The 330 document is from Lou-lan and used an old Western Chin nien-hao (regnal date), indicating a lack of communication regarding the changes occurring in China proper, a factor strongly indicative to some of the probable isolated circumstances of the Lou-lan Chinese colony from China at that time.[26]

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in Tsukamoto (1985), II, p. 934; also see translation of this passage in text above), and the Western Regions surrendered.

4) Kingdoms of the Western Regions sent various rare objects, such as peacocks, elephants, etc., 200 items.

5) The western part of [Liang] chou has three chün 郡 and Sha chou 沙州 [Tun-huang] is established.

These various and disparate references from the *Chin-shu* can be used to establish at least one relatively certain date: the time of Chang Kuei attacking Chao Chen and establishing Kao-ch'ang chün. Ma Yung establishes that the time is after Chang Kuei lost land south of the Yellow River and then regained it at the "beginning of the Hsien-ho era" (咸和初). However, the book *Yü-ti chih* 輿地志 (extract from the *Ch'u-hsüeh chi* 初學記 chüan 8, chou/chün section 州郡部, Lung-yu-tao 陇右道 No. 6 entry) says: "Chin Hsien-ho second year (327) Kao-ch'ang chün was established." From these two evidences, it is clear that the attack of Yang Hsüan on Shan-shan, which was after Kao-ch'ang chün was established, must have been after 327. Finally, the *Tzu-chih t'ung-chien* 資治通鑒 mentions the attack of Yang Hsüan on Shan-shan to be during the year of Hsien-kang first year (335 A.D.), a date which is not contradicted by the above data. Therefore, according to Ma Yung, Yüan Meng can be reasonably linked to 335 A.D. Ma Yung (1979), p. 85.

[24] *Wei-shu* 魏書, biography of Chang Chün 張駿; Hou Ts'an (1988), p. 42.

[25] The circumstances surrounding Mr. Tachibana's finding of the letter written by the ch'ang-shih 長史, Li Po 李柏, to the king of Yen-ch'i (Karashahr), datable to 324, were never clearly established and have caused some variations in speculation regarding the locale of this document. According to Stein, Mr. Tachibana related to him verbally in the autumn of 1910 that he had found the letter earlier that same year between the crevices of a brick wall at Lou-lan site L.A.II.iv. Stein (1921), I, pp. 377, 409, note 13 on p. 409; Chinese text and translation in III, pp. 1329-1330. This letter would seem to indicate that Lou-lan was still a viable site at that time. (There has also been some debate whether Mr. Tachibana discovered the letter at L.K. For this problem see Hou Ts'an 侯灿, "Li Po wen-shu ch'u-t'u yü LK shuo" 李柏文書出土于 LK 说 (Regarding the Letter of Li Po from LK), *Hsin-chiang she-hui k'o-hsüeh* 新疆社会科学, 1984, No. 3).

[26] Stein Chinese document No. 886, a wooden slip found at L.A.1 recording the payment of money to a barbarian, is dated Chien-hsing 建興 18th year. Chien-hsing is a Western Chin nien-hao with first year in 313. However, the period ended in 316 (Chien-hsing 4th year), so the 18th year on the document is 16 years out of date. If calculated, the date would be 330 A.D. Chavannes and Stein both suggest that this out-of-date nien-hao may be symptomatic of the isolation of Lou-lan from China proper during this period. Stein (1921), I, p. 408.

Chinese coins found by Stein at the whole Lou-lan area are all early issue (*wu-chu* coinage of the Former and Later Han), which, however, continued in circulation in Central Asia up to the T'ang period (618-906). However, and significantly, he found none of T'ang date.[27] From the evidences he knew, Stein concluded that the Lou-lan site flourished during 265-270 A.D. under Emperor Wu of Western Chin, declined by the early 4th century, and was probably abandoned altogether after ca. 330.

2. *The Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions*

The Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions (mostly documents) found in the area of the Shan-shan kingdom appear to be primarily coincident with the Chinese periods of the Three Kingdoms (possibly including the late part of Later Han, but this is not yet certainly established), the Western Chin and most of the Former Liang (in Kansu). That is, a minimum extent of approximately 100-some years from ca. 2nd quarter of the 3rd century A.D. (or possibly a little earlier) to ca. mid or possibly 3rd quarter of the 4th century A.D.[28]

Around 800 inscriptions written in Kharoṣṭhī script have been found so far in sites of the entire Tarim Basin area. Most of the inscriptions are in the form of documents written on rectangular or triangular wedge shaped wooden tablets (mu tu 木牘), some of which are double (tablet with under board and cover) and sealed with clay seals (Figs. 5.5a,b,c). A few inscriptions also appear on pieces of cloth (including silk), and on paper, or leather. Of these, 778 were recovered from Stein's four expeditions to Central Asia (1901, 1906-7, 1913-14 and 1930). Two were found by Hedin, the Ōtani expedition found 14, Bergman found one on silk, and the Chinese Archaeological Team of Sinkiang Province found one wooden tablet and one silk inscription from Loulan in 1979/1980. According to Ma Yung, since the Chinese People's Republic more than 100 such documents have been collected from Sinkiang and Tun-huang and are now kept in the Museum of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region and in the Kansu Provincial Museum.[29] At present it seems

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[27] "In the course of my explorations of 1906 and of 1914 I recovered an aggregate of over five hundred copper coins from the whole Lou-lan area. Yet among this great array of coins there is not a single piece showing a type later than those issued during Han times and down to the Western Chin dynasty." *Ibid.*, I, p. 426.

[28] Varying opinions on the datable limits of the Kharoṣṭhī documents from Shan-shan range from: ca. 235/36 to ca. 321 (Brough); 256-341/343 (K. Enoki); 203-288/290 (Nagasawa); 247-324 (Ma Yung); Eastern Han after 175-359 (Lin Mei-ts'un). These dates depend, however, on different criteria: on whether only the documents of the original 5 Shan-shan kings are used, or whether the 7 kings are used, and whether or not the speculative dating based on the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions on silk are used.

[29] Ma Yung (1979), p. 82.

impossible to determine if all of them have been catalogued; certainly not all have been published with photographs.

The Tarim Basin Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions come primarily from sites under the Shan-shan kingdom (Niya, Endere, Cherchen, Miran, Lou-lan), and in fact assist in defining the general geographic limits of the kingdom. Most were found at Niya, much fewer at Lou-lan (which had more Chinese documents), and only a few from Endere, including the one containing the name of a Khotanese king (Kh. 661), which also contained several characters of Brāhmī script (see Endere section below). Most renowned is Niya site V.xv where Stein found 186 pieces with Kharoṣṭhī writing, nine of which had regnal years of kings. Since these documents from Niya V.xv were mixed with 50 documents in Chinese, one with a clear date corresponding to 269 A.D. (Chien-heng 5th year),[30] it has generally been used as a benchmark date to indicate the general dating to around the same time of the Kharoṣṭhī documents found together with it. However, the time range of the documents from Niya V.xv clearly is more extensive, since examples with dates of the kings Aṃgvaka 23rd year to Vaṣmana 11th year indicate activity up to around 335 A.D. (see discussion of kings and regnal years below). A few Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions also come from Khotan (notably the famous Dutreuil de Rhins manuscript of the *Dharmapada* written on birch bark) and from the Kucha region, the latter having, however, different characteristics with an altered form of Kharoṣṭhī. Kharoṣṭhī writing has also been found on some silk fragments discovered by Stein at Miran and from tombs in the Lou-lan area discovered by Stein (at L.C.), Bergman (near Lou-lan), and the Chinese (at L.C. tomb MB2, and at Niya tomb 59MNM001). Two short Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions remain on the wall paintings of Miran shrine M V (see Miran section below). Coins with Chinese on one side and Kharoṣṭhī on the other side have been found at Khotan. These so-called bi-lingual Sino-Kharoṣṭhī coins have been quite thoroughly studied, most recently by Lin Mei-ts'un, who dates them to ca. 175-220 period and sees them as representing a transition phase in Kharoṣṭhī script.[31]

Kharoṣṭhī is one of the two main early scripts in India along with Brāhmī. Related to Aramaic, its origins appear to have been in the Archaemenid territory of Iran from where it came to be the script used in northwestern India, around the

[30] Stein (1907), II, Pl. CXII for the 269 dated Chinese document.

[31] The bi-lingual Sino-Kharoṣṭhī coins from Khotan have been extensively studied by various scholars. Hsia Nai dated them to range from the time of Pan Ch'ao in the Later Han to the 3rd century. Ma Yung refines and adjusts the date to ca. mid 2nd century to 4th century. Enoki Kazuo dates them to the Warring States Period: Enoki Kazuo 榎一雄, "On the So-called Sino-Kharosthi Coins", *East and West*, Vol. 15, Nos. 3-3 4 (Sept.-Dec. 1965), pp. 231-276. Most recently this issue has been addressed by J. Cribb (1984-85), who dates them from ca. early 1st century A.D.-ca. before 132 A.D., and by Lin Mei-ts'un (1987), pp. 40-43, who dates them to between 175-220 A.D. See above Chapter 4, note 32 for a summary of their reasons.

Indus Valley area, from ca. 3rd century B.C.[32] Unlike Brāhmī, which is written from left to right, Kharoṣṭhī is written from right to left and was used for the form of Prākrit language then current in northwest India, sometimes called Gāndhārī. Sometimes in the past scholars have also referred to the Kharoṣṭhī script as Bactrian. Most of the known Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions from India come from the Gandhāran area, though some have been found in Mathurā, the Kashmir area and in eastern Afghanistan. Most of the known inscriptions from these areas concern donations to Buddhist monasteries. The finding of the birchbark manuscript of the *Dharmapada* written in Kharoṣṭhī by the Dutreuil de Rhins Mission in 1892 near Khotan and two Kharoṣṭhī Buddhist inscriptions in China (on a stone slab from Loyang and on a bronze seated Buddha image from near Ch'ang-an) have provided rare but significant indications of the usage of Kharoṣṭhī in a Buddhist context in these areas—even as far as China.[33]

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[32] S. Konow, *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions*, Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. II, Part I, Calcutta, 1929, pp. xiii-xv.

[33] J. Giès and M. Cohen, *Sérinde, Terre de Bouddha*, Paris, 1995, No. 53 for the Dutreuil de Rhins manuscript, where it is dated 2nd (?) century A.D., now in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

J. Brough in "A Kharoṣṭhī Inscription from China", *BSOAS*, XXIV: part 3, 1961, pp. 517-530 presents the first major study on a Kharoṣṭhī inscription on three stone fragments said to have been found near Loyang and brought to Peking around 1925 or 26 (See Fig. 1.1b above). In his study he determined that these fragments, none of which can be fitted together, were the "kerb encircling a well". The Kharoṣṭhī writing, clearly legible and "entirely genuine" was apparently written around the entire circumference. It starts with a date and records the dedication for a Buddhist vihāra: "In the year ... [fif]teenth 15; this vihāra... ... to the Saṅgha of the four quarters ... may it be for the honouring of all." The complete date is lacking, but may have included year, month and day. Brough states that the person who wrote the inscription was trained in the tradition of the script and was thoroughly familiar with it. On the basis of the form of the letters, he dates it to between the Khotan *Dharmapada* and the Niya Kharoṣṭhī documents, though "in points of detail it is closer to the Niya document writing." He considers it to be "paleographically consistent with a date towards the end of the second century A.D. or early in the third century"; i.e., in the Later Han "when Loyang is known to have been an important center of translation activity, and when some at least of the texts translated belonged to schools whose cannonical writings were in Prākrit. An earlier date than this appears to me to be frankly impossible ... while a date even as late as the fourth century cannot be said to be disproved, although it seems on the whole unlikely."

This inscription seems to indicate that a considerable group of persons able to read Kharoṣṭhī (otherwise there is no reason to make the inscirption in Kharoṣṭhī) may have been responsible for making this donation and supporting a "Saṅgha of the four quarters" in the Loyang area at a time when, as noted in Chapter 1 and with the Harvard flame-shouldered Buddha, there seem to have been a considerable number of Yüeh-chih, Sogdians and Parthians in Loyang, especially in the latter half of the 2nd century A.D. Also, since the writing is closest to that of the Niya documents in Brough's view, the scribe/engraver may have been from the Shan-shan kingdom area.

A small bronze seated Buddha statue with a one line inscrpiton in Kharoṣṭhī on the bottom was unearthed in Shih-fo-ssu village, Huang-liang, Ch'ang-an county in Shansi and is now in the Sian Museum according to Lin Mei-ts'un. The inscrption is translated by Prof. Lin as "This Buddha was presented (or made) by Cittaka Sattva; may it be in the honouring of the scion of Marega, Pustaka Vidyarama." He notes that the form of spelling the word "Buddha" is different from that used in Kushana and in Khotan Kharoṣṭhī

The major finds of this century, mainly in the Shan-shan kingdom area, have opened up a whole new area of study and fostered realization of the importance of Kharoṣṭhī in eastern Central Asia, where it was apparently used from about the 2nd century A.D., if not earlier, until about the mid 4th century A.D. (or slightly later).

From the Shan-shan Kharoṣṭhī documents, which are mainly official in nature, including king's orders, contracts, accounting, messages, and affairs of the Buddhist sangha, there have emerged the names of Shan-shan kings (see below) as well as place names, which so far have been identified as follows:

Within the Shan-shan kingdom territory:

Kroraina (variously spelled Krora'imna, Krorayina) is probably Lou-lan
Calmadāna: is Cherchen (Chü-mo or Ch'ieh-mo)
Sāca: is perhaps Endere
Caḍota: is Ching-chüeh and is probably Niya (according to Rapson, Stein, Ma Yung and Lin Mei-ts'un)
Nina: is Niya (according to Brough, who notes that it is Nina in Khotanese and Hsüan-tsang's Nei-nan)

Within the Khotan territory:

Khema: (probably Phema of Khotan area) between Niya and Khotan
Khotaṃna: is Khotan[34]

At present it is not possible to determine if any of the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions, and more especially the Kharoṣṭhī wooden documents, from the Shan-shan kingdom belong to the Han period, but there is a body of opinion that sees the examples of Kharoṣṭhī written on silk as possibly dating from the late Later (Eastern) Han period. The reasoning for this opinion hinges on linguistic factors and on the dating of the silk,

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inscriptions and he thinks it is native to the Shan-shan kingdom documents. Apparently Marega, a common name in Middle Indo-Iranian languages, is the name of a famous Yüeh-chih family and occurs in several other known inscirptions: year 31 of Huviṣka at Surkh Kotal, year 51 of Huviṣka in the Wardak Vase, and documents from Niya and Lou-lan Nos. 431, 432 and 756. He also belives that this inscirption is similar to the Loyang well inscription noted above, which he thinks was made by Yüeh-chih immigrants in Loyang. With regard to this Buddha statue, he believes it was made by the Yüeh-chih immigrants in the Ch'ang-an area. In this respect he notes the prevalence of Yüeh-chih immigrants in Ch'ang-an during the Western Chin period (265-317), supported by the finding of three official seals with the inscirption "1,000 household head of the Yüeh-chih people of the Chin dynasty" on two of them and "Chief of the Yüeh-chih tribe of the Chin Dynasty" on the third. Also, a stone tablet dating 362 A.D. speaks of governing the Yüeh-chih, Sogdian and other minority tribes in Feng-hsing prefecture in the northern suburbs of Ch'ang-an. Lin Mei-ts'un, "A Kharoṣṭhī Inscription from Ch'ang-an" in Li and Chiang (1991), pp. 119-131.

These two Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions found in Loyang and Ch'ang-an certainly provide interesting data that again may suggest the importance of the foreign community during the earliest stages of Buddhism in China.

[34] E. J. Rapson, "Kings and Regnal Years", in *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions Discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in Chinese Turkestan*, Part III, Oxford, 1929, p. 325; Brough (1965), pp. 592-593.

which is a special, finely woven, patterned, warp-faced compound tabby commonly considered to be a product of the Later (Eastern) Han. However, Meng Fan-jen has recently challenged this assessment of the dating of this silk, citing evidences that the popular period for this patterned silk is in fact the Ts'ao Wei-Western Chin period (i.e., 220-317 A.D.).[35] On the other hand, in assessing the Kharoṣṭhī inscription on the edge of a piece of warp-faced compound tabby discovered in 1980 from a tomb in Lou-lan (L.C. site, tomb MB2) by the Archaeological Team of Lou-lan, Lin Mei-ts'un suggests a late Later Han dating (before 188 A.D.) for this example, primarily, it would seem, on the basis of carbon 14 dating (see note 193 below).

According to Lin, the usage of the syllable "sa" (without line under the "s") is earlier than the syllable "s̲a" (with line under the "s"), the latter type being the form seen in the Wardak vase inscription of year 51 of the Kushana dynasty[36] and the

[35] Meng Fan-jen (1991), pp. 32 where he argues that this kind of silk found with the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions is similar in type and pattern with the silk found by Stein at L.C. 1, 3 and 4 (at Lou-lan) and from the Chinese excavations at L.C. in MB2 (same as L.C. 3), all thought by the excavators and most scholars so far to be silk from the Later (Eastern) Han, particularly the period of Emperors Huan and Ling. However, Meng suggests they are all probably later, i.e., the same period as the paper documents found at these sites (Wei/Chin period) and in Niya's tomb 59MNM001. In Meng Fan-jen 孟凡人, "Lun Niya 59MNM001 hao mu ti shih-tai" 論尼雅 59 MNM001 号墓的时代(On the Age of Tomb No. 59MNM001 Found at Niya), *Hsi-yü yen chiu*, 1992, No. 4, pp. 51-52, Meng more specifically goes into the problem of dating the Niya silk from tomb 59MNM001. This tomb, excavated in 1959 by the Hsin-chiang Archaeological Group, was located 2 km NW of Niya site on the bank of the Kan Ho 干河 River. Inside were a man and a woman with various items (see below note 73). The clothes were of high quality silk (see Figs. 5.8 and 5.9). Meng notes that the silk was similar to that discovered at Palmyra with rhombus and "2-eared lacquer cup" design in 7-colored silk. In the Chin period this design was used for official clothing according to the book of regulations. Also, references indicate that the purple color silk, which appears in this silk, was used a little later than the Eastern Han period. Furthermore, the textile technique for this complex weave needs more than a simple weaving machine. The Niya silk is more than 5,000 strands. Pictures of Han weaving machines do not have the complex machine needed for this quantity; machines capable of handling this were developed in the Wei/Chin period. Writing of the Ts'ao Wei period records weaving machines of 50-60 tsung and 50-60 footpeddles (at most 120 peddles), which were therefore capable of producing this kind of woven silk pattern. For these, as well as other reasons Meng dates this silk to the Ts'ao Wei/Western Chin (i.e., the Wei/Chin) period.

[36] The Wardak vase (from Wardak, about 30 miles west of Kabul), now in the British Museum, is a bronze vase nearly 10" high with four lines of Kharoṣṭhī letters of the later Kushana type. The inscription mentions Huviṣka and was a donation to the Mahāsaṃghika monastery. It is dated Year 51 (approximately 179 A.D.) Konow (1929), pp. 165-170. The particular type of "sa" letter used in the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions on Chinese silk appears in the earliest Kushan example in this Wardak vase. He reasons that the introduction of Kharoṣṭhī into the Tarim Basin area must not be earlier than the date of the Wardak vase inscription (which at the latest is ca. 179 A.D.). Although Lin does not see the final conclusion for this problem of the dating of the silk, he tends to accept the late Eastern Han dating. Lin thinks Lou-lan Kharoṣṭhī writing on the silk must be as early as the time of Emperors Huan and Ling in the Eastern Han and cannot be later than 188 A.D. Lin Mei-ts'un 林梅村, "Lou-lan hsin fa-hsien ti Tung-Han ch'ia-lu wen k'ao-shih"

kind used in the earliest of the Kharoṣṭhī documents found at Niya and Lou-lan. This would seem to imply that the Shan-shan Kharoṣṭhī would not be earlier than the Wardak vase inscription, but that date itself is the subject of controversy since there is no agreement on the correlation of the Kushana dynasty dates and western dates. The issue surrounding the earliest date for the appearance of Kharoṣṭhī writing in Shan-shan still awaits confirming evidence or further clarification of the dating of this form of silk. With the new technology of dating fabrics by cyclotron analysis, it may be possible in the future to date these fabrics to within a relatively close period of accuracy (apparently as close as several years of accuracy, unlike the carbon 14 dating of wood products) that may help in determining some of the outstanding problems of dating the Kharoṣṭhī script in Shan-shan.

The problem of the latest date for the Kharoṣṭhī documents and inscriptions is addressed in some detail by Lin Mei-ts'un, who argues that the latest dated document is that of year 5 of the king Sulica, whom he reasons ruled after Yüan Meng (Vaṣmana) and speculates must have ruled sometime between 336-382, possibly ca. 336-ca. 359 as a working hypothesis (for further discussion of the dates of the Shan-shan kings, see the following section). If this is accurate, then Kharoṣṭhī script continued in the Shan-shan kingdom region up until ca. mid or third quarter of the 4th century, a little later than generally assumed. It is thought that Kharoṣṭhī was finally supplanted by Brāhmī in eastern Central Asia by ca. 400, and it appears that this assessment may hold. Clearly the process of the decline and disappearance of Kharoṣṭhī and of the rise and flourishing of the usage of Brāhmī was an overlapping and protracted one, as examples of Brāhmī are known in eastern Central Asia from at least the late 3rd century. Possibly the usage of Brāhmī may have some connection with the establishment of Mahāyāna Buddhism in Central Asia centered in the Khotan area (see discussion of the Kh. doc. 661 in the Endere section below).

3. *The Shan-shan Kings: Regnal Years and Chronology*

E.J. Rapson first presented the names of five Shan-shan kings, which he deciphered from the Kharoṣṭhī documents discovered by Stein. Mainly reasoning on the sequence of names of a hereditary official office (a clerk's office, Chinese: shu-li 書吏), which was held from grandfather to father to son, in combination with a few dates and king's names, he was able to surmise that the order and minimum length of reign of each were as follows:

楼兰新发现的东汉佉卢文考释 (Study of Eastern Han Kharoṣṭhī Documents Newly Discovered at Lou-lan), *Wen wu*, 1988, No. 8, pp. 69-70.

Pepiya (dates range 3-8 years)
Tajaka (only one date of 3rd year)
Aṃgvaka (variously spelled Aṃgoka, Aṃkvaga, Aṃguvaka, Aṃgvoka; dates range 5-38 years)
Mahiri (dates range 4-28 years)
Vaṣmana (dates range 3-11 years).[37]

Rapson also acknowledged the possibility that Tajaka could well be prior to Pepiya. Each king had a distinct reign period, each beginning with the year 1, different from the cumulatively consecutive system of 100 years used in the Kushana dynasty after King Kaniṣka. Neither Rapson's nor any subsequent study has yet been able to establish an absolutely certain chronology for all the kings or to obtain the actual length of each king's reign. Thus, the information still remains largely in the realm of reasoned conjecture, though considerable efforts have been made in recent years to unravel the complexities from available evidences.

In 1965, John Brough of Cambridge University published a major article which made significant advance in the study, especially concerning the identification and interpretation of several words in the king's titles.[38] First, his determination of the early usage of the word "maharaja" (related to the Kushan king's usage) and its later transformation to "maharaya" allowed him to ascertain that the king Tajaka preceded Pepiya, since the title in the document dated year 3 of Tajaka used the linguistically earlier form "maharaja" while the documents of all the other, and presumably later, kings used "maharaya".[39]

Secondly, Brough identified the term *jitumgha* (or jiṭugha), as a transcription of the Chinese title shih-chung 侍中, a title "known to have been conferred by the Chinese on foreign rulers".[40] At the same time the overall title of the king becomes less flowery than the earlier titles, changing from titles such as "maharaya rayatirayasa mahamtasa jayamtasa dharmiyasa scadharmasthidasa mahan'ava maharaya Aṃkvaga devaputrasa" (Kh. 579 document of the 9th year of Aṃgvaka)—titles clearly based on flowery Kushana titles—to the more abbreviated "mahanu'ava maharaya jiṭugha Aṃguvaka devaputra" in Kh. 571 and 590 documents dated in the 17th year of Aṃgvaka. Furthermore, these two documents of the 17th year (and later ones as

[37] Rapson (1929), pp. 323-324. Rapson used the official position of a scribe or clerk (same as the Chinese position shu-li 書吏), which, from the documents was ascertained to be hereditary, as names of grandfather, father and son were found. This became the basis for ascertaining the order of certain kings. Also see C.C. Das Gupta, *The Development of Kharoṣṭhī Script*, Calcutta, 1958, pp. 203-207 for summary of the reasoning.

[38] Brough (1965), pp. 582-612.

[39] *Ibid.*, pp. 594.

[40] *Ibid.*, pp. 600-601; Chavannes (1907), p. 537; according to Ma Yung (1979), p. 84, [Ts'ao] Wei and [Western] Chin all gave the shih-chung title to various Western Region's kings.

well) are accompanied by a Chinese seal with the characters Shan-shan chün-wei 鄯善郡尉, meaning, in Brough's translation, "The (Chinese) High Commissioner for Shan-shan".[41] These changes, deemed politically significant by Brough, also continued in the titles of all the later kings from the time of Aṃgvaka 17th year onwards, thus pointing to the date of Aṃgvaka 17th year as a major turning point, apparently indicating a degree of submission to China, "even if the kings of Shan-shan themselves continued to use it as if it were a title of honour."[42] Brough reasons that this domination by China would probably begin around the early Western Chin in ca. 265. After further searches for confirming dates, he suggests the most probable date for the important 17th year of Amgvaka is probably around 263. He also conjectures that calculation for the first year of Mahiri could then fall in 283, the year of sending hostages (i.e., "sending the son in service"), a possibly significant matching, according to Brough.[43]

Brough also put forth an interesting, if so far generally unaccepted, hypothesis that the Shan-shan kingdom appears to have had a phase in which the Kushans ruled the kingdom. This phase, in Brough's estimation, would have been prior to the period of the Shan-shan kings now known from the Kharoṣṭhī documents. Also, it was probably short, but long enough to have the Prākrit language and Kharoṣṭhī writing instated for governmental usage in the kingdom. He speculates that this may have occurred sometime after ca. mid 2nd century to the end of Han when Chinese presence in the Western Regions was weak or non-existent. By the time of Tajaka and other Shan-shan kings known from the Kharoṣṭhī documents, Shan-shan appears to be independent. Though the rulers continue to use Kushana style epithets, the king's names themselves are not Kushan, nor are they Iranian, in Brough's view. The five kings identified by Rapson and accepted by Brough ruled, in Brough's calculation, altogether over a period of roughly 100 years from ca. 235/36 to ca. 321 A.D.[44] In sum, he offers the following outline of events: 1) a period of Kushan possession of Shan-shan (not necessarily large influxes of Kushan people, but also not merely Kushan "influence"), probably for a short time, but long enough for Prākrit language and Kharoṣṭhī script to be established for usage in governing; 2) then at some point

[41] *Ibid.*, pp. 597-598. Brough must be given credit for calling attention to this important seal and correcting the mistaken reading published by Stein. Brough also observed a problem lurking in the chün wei seal issue (in footnote 27, p. 591) for it ..." appears also to contradict the assertion in modern dictionaries (*Tz'u hai*, p. 1347; *Tz'u yüan*, p. 1493)—which do not give the source—that Shan-shan became a chün under the Sui dynasty. Presumably the evidence from the ground is to be taken as more trustworthy. But this problem I must leave to specialists in Chinese history."

[42] *Ibid.*, pp. 600-601.

[43] *Ibid.*, pp. 602-604.

[44] *Ibid.*, p. 604.

native rulers took over; 3) around the time of the 17th year of Aṃgvaka, the royal title changed significantly with the introduction of a Chinese title of shih-chung (jiṭuṃgha) indicating a degree of submission to China; 4) thereafter the titles remained the same for Aṃgvaka and his two known successors. The document dated year 17 of Aṃgvaka, which he speculates is around 265 or more specifically 263 A.D., thus provides a definite divide. This further suggests to Brough that the country was independent before ca. year 17 of Aṃgvaka. Thereafter, Shan-shan had a relation with the Western Chin, as the Niya and Lou-lan documents reveal, that was apparently strongest during the period ca. 265-270 A.D.[45]

Brough's theory that the Shan-shan kingdom was ruled briefly by Kushans sometime in the second half of the 2nd century A.D. has recently been sharply attacked by Meng Fan-jen, who, reasoning from the Chinese historical situation and references, sees no opportunity for any governing Kushan presence in Shan-shan during the ca. 175-222 period,[46] though evidences for both arguments are admittedly weak and mostly circumstantial, primarily due to the lack of written records in the Chinese histories concerning the Western Regions for this period. In 1979 Ma Yung presented an major study with new and significant results regarding the issues of the dates of the Shan-shan kings.[47] He reasoned that the Shan-shan king known as Yüan Meng 元孟 in the *Chin-shu* (see translated excerpt above and note 23) is the same as the king Vaṣmana of the Kharoṣṭhī documents, thus rather certainly establishing one relatively stable point in the lineage to relate to known historical events from the Chinese histories. By linking various events and passages in the Chinese historical writings, Ma Yung reasonably established that Yüan Meng is the Shan-shan king ruling at the time of Former Liang's attack on Shan-shan in 335 A.D. and that Vaṣmana's (i.e., Yüan Meng's) first year could consequently be around 324 A.D. (since the Kharoṣṭhī documents record dates up to Vaṣmana 11th year). From this he calculated that Mahiri's first year would then be no later than 296, and that Aṃgvaka's first year could be ca. 276 (i.e., 296 minus 36), although he emphasized that these are estimates and do not account for possible longer king's reigns than we now know from the available dated documents. Furthermore, Ma Yung estimated that the important 17th year of Aṃgvaka could not be later than 276 A.D., but could possibly be earlier, and was most probably during the T'ai-shih period (265-274).[48]

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[45] *Ibid.*, pp. 598-599.

[46] Meng Fan-jen (1991), pp. 29-33.

[47] Ma Yung (1979), pp. 73-95.

[48] The date of the Former Liang attack on Shan-shan by the general Yang Hsüan is 335 A.D., as discussed by Ma Yung (see above note 23). According to the reasoning of Ma Yung (and followed by Lin Mei-ts'un and Meng Fan-jen) the Shan-shan king Vaṣmana of the Kharoṣṭhī documents is equated with

Further clarification of the king's reign dates and Aṃgvaka 17th year is offered by Ma Yung through a different approach: the analysis of the problem of the Shan-shan chün and Shan-shan chün-wei seal.[49] Briefly, the problem is addressed by Ma Yung as follows. Two Kharoṣṭhī wooden tablets from Niya with the date Aṃgvaka 17th year (Kh. 571, 590) were sealed with a clay seal bearing the Chinese letters Shan-shan chün wei 鄯善郡尉 (see note 41 above, for Brough's correct reading of the seal and initial raising of the issue). Another, undated, Kharoṣṭhī wooden document from the same site also has this seal (Kh. 640), as do other examples. In Ma Yung's investigation of these seals, he notes that according to the Chinese histories the earliest chün for Shan-shan is stated as being established in late Sui (Ta-yeh 大業 5th year), a factor noted by Brough and that had led some to believe that the Kharoṣṭhī documents must be 7th century (an idea later dispelled by Nagasawa mainly on grounds of Hsüan-tsang's evidence of desertion of the area).[50] Nevertheless, up to 1979 the issue of Shan-shan chün had not been reconciled with the clearly 3rd-4th century dating of the Kharoṣṭhī documents. From the Western Chin documents found at Lou-lan, Ma Yung was able to show that during the Western Chin T'ai-shih period

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Yüan Meng (by various reasons, including the phonetic correspondence and the fact that he is latest king in the original list of 5 kings). Among the Kharoṣṭhī documents of Vaṣmana, the 11th year is the latest date. Neither this nor any other Vaṣmana documents mention the Former Liang attack, so Ma Yung reasons that the attack probably took place after the 11th year, since such a momentous event would probably have been noted in the documents. Therefore, Vaṣmana's 11th year is probably before 335, so his first year could then be calculated around 324 A.D. Consequently, Mahiri's first year could be calculated as 324 minus 28 (Mahiri's minimum known reign years); that is, Mahiri's first year could not be later than 296 A.D. Aṃgvaka's reign is at least 36 years and Aṃgvaka's 17th year could not be later than 276, although it could possibly be a little earlier, most probably during the T'ai-shih period (265-274). Ma Yung (1979), p. 86.

Lin Mei-ts'un generally follows Ma Yung's argument, but makes some adjustments, including the reordering—as Brough had previously suggested (Brough (1965), p. 594)—of Pepiya and Tajaka so that Tajaka precedes Pepiya (Ma Yung had followed Rapson's original order). Specifically, Lin notes that: 1) the Tajaka 3rd year document uses maharaja (the term used earlier than maharaya used in the documents of Pepiya and later kings); 2) a linguistic study shows that the date is probably near A.D. 220; 3) counting backwards from the 324 date of Yüan Meng established by Ma Yung, i.e., 324-30-38-8-22 + 3, suggests that the Tajaka 3rd year document could date 229 A.D.—although this does not allow for possible longer reign periods for the intervening kings. Furthermore, also counting backwards from 324, Aṃgvaka would have begun to use the title shih-chung (jiṭuṃgha) around A.D. 273 (324-30-38 [taken by Lin as the minimum number of years for Aṃgvaka] + 17) in Western Chin's T'ai-shih period (265-274), a period to which most (about 2/3) of the Wei-Chin period Chinese documents discovered in Shan-shan belong. This timing seems plausible to Lin, since the title shih-chung reflects Chinese pressure on Shan-shan and would help to explain Western Ch'in's control on Shan-shan in the T'ai-shih period. Lin Mei-ts'un (1991 b), pp. 47-48.

[49] This complicated argument appears on pp. 86-89 of Ma Yung (1979).

[50] Also, a 5th century date for the Niya Kharoṣṭhī documents has been suggested by some on the basis of a N. Wei citation of the Shan-shan king and the existence of a corvée tax according to chün and hsien. *Ibid.*, p. 86.

(265-274) a chün 郡 was already established in Lou-lan and that the chün's governing center was Lou-lan ch'eng 樓蘭城.[51] At present this designation does not appear in historical writings, but only on the clay seals, such as those of Aṃgvaka 17th year, which, according to Ma Yung's above estimation working backwards from Vaṣmana, would be in the T'ai-shih period.

He then investigates whether or not Shan-shan chün may have been established earlier than Western Chin's T'ai-shih period, i.e., in Ts'ao Wei. It is known from historical records, such as the *San-kuo chih*, that at the end of Chia-p'ing 5th year (253 A.D.), many new chün and hsien were established and many were abolished; also, some were soon disbanded, and others re-established on the old system. However, the record is not clear on specific times involved nor on what happened during the last 10 years of Ts'ao Wei. But, the case of I-wu hsien (near Hami, see Map 4.1) presents an especially informative example. Apparently, Ts'ao Wei established I-wu hsien and then Western Chin established I-wu tu-wei 伊吾都尉. Investigating further, Ma Yung found that the I-wu hsien of the Ts'ao Wei period was probably not in the domain of Tun-huang, but that later it came into the domain of Tun-huang chün. Originally, then, I-wu must have belonged to another chün, which Ma Yung suspects must have been Shan-shan chün, which may have been established in the later years of Ts'ao Wei. At that time I-wu, he suspects, must have belonged to Shan-shan chün and then later was brought into Tun-huang chün. The possible reason for this change is explained by Ma Yung in the following way. After the T'ai-shih period the Hsien-pi expanded towards the west, towards Kao-ch'ang, Lou-lan and I-wu and also into the Ho-hsi corridor of Kansu, which totally fell under Hsien-pi attacks. At that time Shan-shan chün was probably abandoned by Western Chin and I-wu hsien was put inside the domain of Tun-huang chün.[52]

With regard to the Kharoṣṭhī wooden documents and the Shan-shan chün-wei seal Ma Yung offers the following explanation. First it is important to realize that the Kharoṣṭhī wooden documents are documents of the Shan-shan kingdom and not of the Shan-shan chün, which is a Chinese designation and shows Chinese governing. He notes that even the seal is not used according to the same method as

[51] Ma Yung reached this conclusion by analyzing the Western Chin documents from Lou-lan, especially wooden slip No. 44 (Wang Kuo-wei 王國維 and Lo Chen-yu 羅振玉, *Liu sha chui chien* 流沙墜簡 (Desert Slips), 3 vols., Beijing, 1993, III, p. 9, I, pp. 5, 11), which show the usage of the terms "chün" 君, "ch'ang-shih" 長史, "fu chün" 府君 (which must refer to the chün t'ai- shou 君太守), and "t'u-yu" 督郵 (a governing position during Han-Chin period). Each chün was divided into 2 pu 部 and each pu had one "t'u-yu" official. According to Ma Yung, the system in Western Chin was the same as that of Han. Though the term "t'u-yu" does not appear in the chün government book of Chin, it does appear in a book about governing the Western Regions. For the detailed argument, see Ma Yung (1979), p. 87.

[52] *Ibid.*, pp. 88-89.

the Chinese official seal, although the tablet form is derived from the Chinese Han dynasty style tablet. In this situation, the Shan-shan kingdom king, though he listened to the Shan-shan chün t'ai-shou 鄯善郡太守 (governor of Shan-shan chün), was independent and not under the control of the Shan-shan chün t'ai-shou. Therefore, any Shan-shan kingdom document would not need to add a cover with the official seal of Shan-shan chün. The Shan-shan chün-wei is subject to the t'ai-shou, who is responsible for military affairs within the chün. The three documents from Niya (Kh. 571, 590 and 640) are all contracts for land or other transactions, and have no relation to the Shan-shan chün-wei's official functioning. Therefore it cannot be the case that the Shan-shan chün-wei governor himself used this seal in this way. This, then, is a difficult situation to understand.

Ma Yung suggests that the chün may have been abolished by the time the seal was actually used for these documents, so it was a useless thing left around and simply used as a fancy seal, like the other seals of flowers or Greek gods (see for example Fig. 5.5 a,b). That is, the seal was not used in these cases with its authentic original official function, but instead was merely used as a fancy sealing device. Though at first it was an official seal, later it was not. So then, up to T'ai-shih 6th year (270), the last major date of Western Chin documents, Shan-shan chün existed; but from T'ai-shih 6th year Western Chin dynasty documents suddenly stop. Later there are a few (as well as a few Former Liang documents), but they are very few and disparate. Since Aṃgvaka 17th year uses the Shan-shan chün-wei seal, and his 17th year was estimated to be in the T'ai-shih period, Ma Yung goes a step further and calculates that Aṃgvaka 17th year cannot be as early as T'ai-shih 6th year, so it must be T'ai-shih 7th-10th year (between A.D. 271-274). From this he further refines Aṃgvaka's dating: Aṃgvaka's first year must be between 255-258 and his reign cannot be more than 41 years (thus the disputed regnal year reading in Kh 418 cannot be 46th year but must be 36th year reading) and Kh 676 with Aṃgvaka 38th year is the maximum number of years stated in the documents, but his reign could last at least 38-41 years.[53]

Further results from the above reasoning make the assumption of the shih-chung (jiṭuṃgha) title in Aṃgvaka 17th year to be after the abolishment of the Shan-shan chün. This may appear strange and contradictory, but Ma Yung argues that abolishment of the chün does not mean that Western Chin gave up the Western Regions, not does it mean that the Shan-shan king rebelled against Western Chin. More likely, the reason is because the Hsien-pi were moving in a large scale into this region and

[53] The conclusions of Ma Yung are laid out in *Ibid.*, pp. 89-90. On p. 94, he notes that Shan-shan chün is thus established earlier than Kao-ch'ang chün, hitherto considered the oldest chün in the Sinkiang region, a distinction now probably owed to Shan-shan.

the maintaining of a chün is a heavy administrative responsibility. It therefore became inconvenient, and so was abolished. At the same time, in order to add strength to the Western Region connection, Western Chin gave the Shan-shan king the official shih-chung title to let him be more effective in his fight to resist the Hsien-pi, the perennial enemies of China at this time (see Chapter 1).

During the Hsien-ning 咸寧 era (275-280) the Hsien-pi rebellion was severe and at this time Shan-shan was not able to make a connection with the center of China. But in T'ai-kang 1st year (280) Liang-chou (Kansu) was regained from the Hsien-pi and the Western Regions re-opened. Because of this during the T'ai-kang period (280-289) the various countries of the Western Regions one after another sent emissaries, gifts and sons-in-service. Thus Aṃgvaka in T'ai-kang 4th year (283) 8th month sent his son Yüan Ying 元英 in service (therefore a year that was different from Aṃgvaka's first year or from the year he accepted the shih-chung, factors which Ma Yung had discounted as being necessary or even traditional reasons for the acceptance of a shih-chung title—arguments used by some other scholars). This action, according to Ma Yung, was probably related to the ending of the warfare in Liang chou.[54] Ma Yung's final assessment of the regnal years for Aṃgvaka, Mahiri and Vaṣmana are then as follows:

Aṃgvaka:	255-258	to	293-296
Mahiri:	292-295	"	320-323
Vaṣmana:	321-324	"	???

Since Ma Yung's 1979 article, a Kharoṣṭhī wooden double tablet document that was found in 1981 at Niya (specific site unknown and undocumented), was noticed by Lin Mei-ts'un when he visited the local museum in Min-feng in 1986. In studying this document, Lin discovered the name of another Shan-shan king, namely, Sulica. According to Lin's detailed analysis of this document, Sulica is probably the latest of the Shan-shan kings of the Kharoṣṭhī documents, following Vaṣmana.[55] In

[54] *Ibid.*, p. 91.

[55] Lin Mei-ts'un takes the seventh Shan-shan king to be Sulica (Chinese: Shu-li-she 疏梨闍). The name appears on only one tablet—a wooden rectangular clay sealed double tablet with Kharoṣṭhī inscription found in the desert of Niya site in 1981 (uncatalogued, unnumbered and exact find spot unknown) by a Mr. Li Shui-hua of the Min-feng hsien Information Committee. This tablet was seen by Lin in the summer of 1986 at the museum of the cultural office of the Khotan area where it had been moved from the Min-feng hsien cultural hall. Lin deciphered the inscription and analyzed the text, which is a contract for divorce. Two lines at the beginning of the document have "samvatsare 4 1 [i.e., 4 + 1] mahanu'ava maharaya jiṭuṃgha sulica devaputrasa mase 4 divase 10 3 [i.e., 10 + 3]". According to Lin the meaning is "only splendid, virtuous great country's king shih-chung, Sulica, Son of Heaven's reign 5th year, 4th month, 13th day." A Shan-shan official title and a number of names in this document occur in previously discovered documents of the Shan-shan kingdom, including the shu-li who wrote this document, sufficient

re-examining all the materials, Lin Mei-ts'un in 1991 refined and revised the sequence and length of reigns of the Shan-shan kings known from Kharoṣṭhī documents, providing further evidences affirming that Tajaka preceded Pepiya and presenting the theory that probably another king, Toṃgraka (mentioned in Kh. 549 from Niya), preceded Tajaka.[56] He put forth the sequence of 7 Shan-shan kings and their reign periods as follows:

Toṃgraka (estimating by averages to around 22 years)
Tajaka (at least 3 years, but probably more, average 22 years)
Pepiya (8 years)
Aṃgvaka(38 years)
Mahiri (more than 28 years, probably at least 30 years)
Vaṣmana [Yüan Meng] (11 years, but probably more)
Sulica (5 years, but probably 23 years).

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evidence in Lin's view to determine that this is a document of the Shan-shan kingdom and records the name of a Shan-shan king. Lin suggests that Sulica's maximum reign period may not be limited to five years and through analysis of the document in conjunction with the evidences known from Chinese historical sources, concludes that "his reign period must be after that of Shan-shan king Yüan Meng and before the active period of Shan-shan king Hsiu-mi-t'o, so he reasons that Sulica's reign period must be between Former Liang Cheng-hsing 23rd year (336 A.D.) and Former Ch'in Cheng-yüan 18th year (382 A.D.). He surmises that Shu-li-she and Hsiu-mi-t'o must go together in this period 336-382 A.D. Since at present no further material is available to determine the reigns of these two kings in detail, for the time being Lin divides the time evenly, making Sulica approximately ca. 336-359." See Lin Mei-ts'un 林梅村, "Hsin-chiang Niya fa-hsien ti Ch'ia-lu wen ch'i-yüeh k'ao-shih" 新疆尼雅发现的佉卢文契约考释 *K'ao-ku hsüeh-pao,* 1989, No. 1, pp. 132-135; Lin Mei-ts'un (1991 b), pp. 43 and 45.

[56] Kharoṣṭhī document No. 549, a rectangular wooden under-tablet discovered by Stein in 1906-07 at Niya (N.xxiv.viii; Stein (1921), p. 259) and transliterated in Boyer, Rapson and Senart (1920, 1927 and 1929), II, pp. 201-202 is the only known document with the name of a king Toṃgraka. Neither this document nor this king's name were mentioned in Rapson's discussion of the Shan-shan kings. In F.W. Thomas, "Some Notes on the Kharoṣṭhī Documents from Chinese Turkestan", *Acta Orientalia,* 1934, Vol. XIII, Pars I, p. 49, note 1, Thomas writes: "The king Toṃgraka of No. 549, not included among the 6 [5 Shan-shan kings and one Khotan king] mentioned by Prof. Rapson (p. 323), was still earlier [than Pepiya and Tajaka], as proved by the mention of Mogata, a contemporary of Amgoka; but he may have been king of Tsing-tsue [Ching-chüeh; i.e., Caḍota] only." Although Thomas does not lay out any proof, he at least brought out the position of Toṃgraka. Recently, Lin Mei-ts'un has delved further into the problem. He refutes the suggestion that Toṃgraka may have only been the king of Ching-chüeh on various counts: 1) after the 2nd century A.D. Ching-chüeh was annexed by Shan-shan and was afterwards never independent as clearly recorded in the *Hou-Han shu*; 2) in the Kharoṣṭhī documents the highest official for Ching-chüeh is "cojhbo" (head of a chou 州), not a "raya" (king). So Lin assumes Toṃgraka is a Shan-shan king. Kh. doc. No. 549 is a contract document; although the name of the shu-li (clerk) is lost, there are the names of three witnesses. Using these names, which also appear in other Kharoṣṭhī documents, Lin was able to determine the most reasonable position for this document is prior to Tajaka. Lin interprets the phrase (toṃgraka maharayasa avanamoni) to mean that the land was in the hsien (prefecture) of great king Toṃgraka. Lin Mei-ts'un (1991 b), p. 42. Lin does not, however, resolve the problem of the term maharayasa, which is presumably later than the usage of raja, used in Tagaka's title.

In total, the years add up to around 154 years under Lin's reckoning. He reasons that Aṃgvaka 17th year is around 273, a date different from Brough (265), Enoki (283) and Nagasawa (230), but consistent with Ma Yung.[57]

Though there is insufficient evidence to resolve the difficult issues regarding the exact reign periods of the Shan-shan kings or the time and cause of the appearance and disappearance of Kharoṣṭhī writing in Shan-shan, it is clear that Chinese influence was a factor in Shan-shan at least from ca. 263-270, and possibly from as early as ca. 222 under the Ts'ao Wei.

C. *Shan-shan from the Late 4th Century-early 6th Century (Contemporaneous with the Former Ch'in, Northern Liang and Northern Wei)*

During the reign of Fu Chien 苻堅 (r. 357-384) Liang-chou (Kansu) came under the control of the Former Ch'in (前秦 with its capital in Ch'ang-an). Following his defeat of the Former Liang in 376, Fu Chien encouraged former refugees from Ch'ang-an who had fled to Kansu to escape the perils at the end of the Western Chin to return to Ch'ang-an. Many were Buddhists and families of high status, and they had a major impact on the culture of Chang-an during the latter part of Fu Chien's period. Fu Chien also extended his power into Central Asia, notably with

[57] In brief summary, there are five main opinions on the issue of the date of Aṃgvaka 17th year (the year of the appearance of the new title jiṭuṃgha [shih-chung 侍中]). 1) Brough took the date ca. A.D. 263, the time when the Shan-shan king could plausibly start to show submission or subordination to Western Chin. He thought it was the king Mahiri who probably sent the hostage son (considered an escalation to assumption of the title jiṭuṃgha) in 283 to W. Chin, therefore Brough took 283 as the first year of Mahiri. 2) Enoki took 283 as the date for Aṃgvaka 17th year. He saw a contradiction in Brough's reasoning, for according to Brough's way of deciding the years, Aṃgvaka's last year would be Ta-chung 3rd year (282). Aṃgvaka's reign period is at least 36 years, so the 17th year would be 263 (282-36 + 17), which is Ts'ao Wei Ching-yüan 景元 4th year. The Chin dynasty was not yet established, so how could Aṃgvaka call himself "subordinate to Chin"? Enoki thinks the assumption of the jiṭuṃgha title and the sending of the hostage son in 283 are related and that Aṃgvaka 17th year is 283. 3) Nagasawa cites the year 230, thinking that Brough and Enoki lack evidence. He asserts that the title jiṭuṃgha must have been given by Ts'ao Wei and that Ts'ao Wei already controlled the Lou-lan area prior to the Western Chin period, judging by the documents discovered there by Stein. He further suggests that Ts'ao Wei purposely engaged in the Western Regions in order to gain victory for establishing Western Chin. He cites other cases as precedent and speculates that Ts'ao Wei gave the Western Region's kings a similar title, and that Aṃgvaka 17th year corresponds to T'ai-ho 4th year (230 A.D.). 4) For Ma Yung's detailed reasoning concerning Aṃgvaka 17th year, which he places 273-276, see text above; 5) Lin Mei-ts'un notes that the title shih-chung was originally a Han dynasty official title for the king's palace guards. From the Han dynasty, various kings of the Western Regions engaged in sending sons to serve as hostages and to show loyalty. Some were kept in residence in the capital serving the emperor and having the title of shih-chung. Ts'ao Wei also apparently used this system. Working from the more certain date of Yüan Meng discovered by Ma Yung, Lin shows the impossibility of Nagasawa's date and suggests a date for Aṃgvaka 17th year as ca. 273 A.D. Lin Mei-ts'un (1991 b), pp. 47-48.

Shan-shan and Chü-shih-ch'ien-pu 車師前部 (Turfan). A record in the *Shih-liu-kuo ch'un-ch'iu* (Spring and Autumn Annals of the Sixteen Kingdoms) notes that in Chien-yüan 建元 17th year (381) the "kings of Shan-shan and Chü-shih-ch'ien-pu came to court" (i.e., paid their respects at Fu Chien's court in Ch'ang-an).[58] In the 18th year (382) the Chü-shih-ch'ien-pu king came to Ch'ang-an with his State Preceptor, Kumārabhadra, and presented a large "foreign" (according to Hurvitz, probably Sanskrit) book—the text of the *Pañcaviṃś ati-Prajñāpāramitā*, which was eagerly utilized by the famous Chinese Buddhist monk Tao-an, who was in Ch'ang-an at that time.[59] In 383, Fu Chien sent his general Lü Kuang 呂光 on a military mission to Central Asia in order to pacify the Western Regions. A passage in chüan 114 of the *Chin-shu* records Fu Chien's words to Lü Kuang and the name of the current Shan-shan king:

> ... The following year (i.e., 383 A.D.) Lü Kuang issued forth from Ch'ang-an; [Fu] Chien escorted him from the Chien-chang palace 建章宮 [in Ch'ang-an] where he [Fu Chien] told [Lü] Kuang: "The Western barbarians are wild and uncultivated—countries without proper ceremonies and morals. As for the way of subjugating them, when they submit, pardon them, manifesting the central kingdom's imposing might; [as for the way of] leading them, do so with the law of kingly transformation; and do not exhaust your weaponry, nor weaken the troops, nor excessively spoil or plunder." [Fu Chien then] appointed the Shan-shan king Hsiu-mi-t'o 休密馱 [to be] the Shih-ch'ih-chieh 使持節, the San-ch'i ch'ang-shih 散騎常侍, the governor of the various military affairs of the Western Regions, and the Ning-hsi chiang-chün 寧西將軍 general; [and he appointed] Mi-t'ien 彌眞, the king of Chü-shih-chien-pu 車師前部 [Chiao-ho 交河 located just west of Turfan, see map 5.1], Shih shih chieh 使持節, the Ping-hsi chiang-chün 平西將軍 general, and Western Regions tu hu 西域都護, to lead their country's armies to pave the way for [Lü] Kuang [i.e., to be as armies in advance of Lü Kuang].[60]

From this record we learn the name of the Shan-shan king, Hsiu-mi-t'o 休密馱, and that he was active around 383. More than likely he was the Shan-shan king at the court of Fu Chien in the 381 record noted above. From the *Ch'u-san-tsang chi-chi* biography of Kumārajīva, famous Buddhist monk of Kucha whom Lü Kuang later captured at Kucha and took with him back to Kansu, Lü Kuang's attack on Kucha occurred in Chien-yüan 19th year (383 A.D.).[61] A short passage in the *Chin-shu*, chüan 95, notes that at the end of Fu Chien's period (ca. 384) "at the end of the year the

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[58] Tsukamoto (1985), II, p. 738, quote from the *Shih-liu kuo ch'un-ch'iu* 十六國春秋.

[59] Tsukamoto (1985), II, p. 735 and *Ch'u san-tsang chi-chi* 出三藏記集, chüan 8, in *Daizōkyō*, Vol. 55, p. 52b.

[60] *Chin-shu*, chüan 114 (Chung-hua shu-chü edition, Vol. IX, pp. 2914-2915); and *Ibid.*, chüan 122, biography of Lü Kuang (Chung-hua shu-chü edition, Vol. X, pp. 3053-3064, especially p. 3059). I am thankful to Prof. Daniel Gardner of the Smith college History Department for his helpful suggestions on this translation.

[61] *Ch'u san-tsang chi-chi*, chüan 14, in *Daizōkyō*, Vol. 55, p. 100c.

Shan-shan and [Chü-shih-] ch'ien-pu kings had an audience with Fu Chien. [When] returning home to the west, the Shan-shan king died at Ku-ts'ang" (Wu-wei in Kansu).[62] These sources would seem to indicate that the Shan-shan king Hsiu-mi-t'o (phonetically Sumitra in Sanskrit, according to Lin Mei-ts'un) was active at least from around 381 and died in Ku-ts'ang at the end of 384. Lin Mei-ts'un reasons that the Shan-shan king Sulica must be after Yüan Meng and before Hsiu-mi-t'o and roughly divides the period from 335 to 382 between Sulica and Hsiu-mi-t'o.[63]

The Chinese Buddhist monk Fa-hsien 法顯 on his journey to India came to Shan-shan from Tun-huang in the 3rd month of 399 after traveling 1,500 li in 17 days (about 25 miles per day) from Tun-huang, then under the Western Liang. He noted that its king was Buddhist and that there were 4,000 monks following the Hīnayāna and reading Indian texts, so Buddhism was still flourishing in at least some part of the kingdom at that time. It is not clear to which site Fa-hsien traveled in Shan-shan, more than likely the capital, but it would seem that Lou-lan was not the site, since it was probably not operative at that time.[64]

In 442 A.D. Shan-shan was attacked by the Northern Liang 北史 from Kansu, who were fleeing the pursuing Northern Wei army, which had already conquered Liang-chou (central Kansu) in 439 and advanced on Tun-huang in 442, driving the hapless Northern Liang before them. Northern Liang was not successful in defeating Shan-shan, and fled to Kao-ch'ang (just east of Turfan), which it conquered in 444-445. In 445 the Northern Wei conquered Shan-shan. These events are briefly detailed in the *Pei-shih* 北史:

> At the beginning of the T'ai-yen 太延 era (435-439 A.D.) [the king of Shan-shan] for the first time sent his younger brother Su Yen-ch'i to serve [the N. Wei emperor]. At the time of [Emperor] T'ai Wu-[ti] pacifying Liang-chou, Chü-ch'ü Mu-chien's 沮渠牧犍

[62] Probably Hsiu-mi-t'o. *Chin-shu*, chüan 95 (Chung-hua shu-chü, Vol. VIII, p. 2498).

[63] Lin Mei-ts'un (1991 b), p. 45.

[64] There are several theories put forward as to why Fa-hsien went northwest to Karashahr and then southwest across the Taklamakan Desert to Khotan rather than using the southern route from Shan-shan to go to Khotan. One suggests that Fa-hsien purposely went to Karashahr in order to seek support for his journey to Khotan, which he may not have received at Shan-shan, at least in adequate amount to take him all the way to Khotan. Why he then crossed the difficult stretch of desert from Karashahr to Khotan is puzzling. Some suggest he wished to arrive in Khotan by a certain time.

Stein had no doubt that Fa-hsien came to the Miran-Charklik area in his visit to Shan-shan. He finds such a conclusion to be consistent with a 17-day journey and the distance of 1,500 li given by Fa-hsien in his account. He cites the actual marching distance, which he measured with a cyclometer, to be 380 miles between Charklik and Tun-huang, or 332 miles between Miran and Tun-huang. Also, Fa-hsien's 15 day trip to Wu-i (probably Yen-chi, i.e., Karashahr), which is 280 miles from Charklik, seems reasonable to Stein as the then current postal route between Charklik and Karashahr was 14 stages. Stein (1921), p. 324. For Fa-hsien's text, see Legge (1965 reprint), pp. 12-15 and Beal (1869), pp. 5-6.

younger brother Wu Hui 無諱 went to protect Tun-huang. Wu Hui later plotted to cross the desert. He sent his younger brother [Chü-ch'ü] An Chou (沮渠)安周 to attack Shan-shan. [Shan-shan] King Pi Lung 比龍 was fearful and wanted to surrender. Just at that time a [Northern] Wei emissary was returning from India and Chi-p'in; they all met together at Shan-shan. [The emissary] persuaded Pi Lung to resist [An Chou]. They thereupon joined in battle. An Chou was not able to win, [so] he withdrew to safety to the eastern city (tung ch'eng 東城). Later, Pi Lung was fearful and leading [his] people fled west in haste to Ch'ieh-mo 且末. His eldest son then had to deal with An Chou. [After this, a Northern Wei emissary was dispatched to the Western Regions and passed through this country]. The Shan-shan people robbed him violently and ordered him not to pass through. T'ai-Wu 太武 [Emperor of Wei] ordered the San-ch'i ch'ang-shih 散騎常侍, Duke Ch'eng of Chou 成周公, and Wan Tu-kuei 萬度歸 that they mount the post horses and dispatch the Liang-chou troops to attack them [Shan-shan]. Tu-kuei went to Tun-huang, and, leaving behind the baggage, with a light cavalry of 5,000 men crossed the desert and reached the border [of Shan-shan]. At that time the Shan-shan people dispersed into the fields. Tu-kuei ordered both the officers and underlings (li 吏 and tsu 卒) [that they] must not plunder. The [Shan-shan] frontier guards were grateful for that, and seeing [Tu-kuei's] flag, they all prostrated themselves in submission. The [Shan-shan] king Chen-ta 眞達, with hands bound in back, came out and submitted. Tu-kuei unbound him, and leaving behind an army as guard, went with Chen-ta to the capital. [Emperor] T'ai-wu was greatly pleased and richly rewarded him.[65]

When the Northern Wei envoy Sung Yün 宋雲 passed through Shan-shan in ca. 518 A.D. he merely noted the presence of a military officer with a body of troops employed to subjugate the "Western Turks". He makes no mention of Buddhism or Buddhist related works.[66]

1. *Concluding Remarks*

Remains of Buddhist stupas and other objects have been found in many of the major Shan-shan sites, including Lou-lan L.A., L.C., L.M. and environs around Lob nor, Miran, Cherchen, Endere and Niya, with the most surviving from Miran. From the Kharoṣṭhī documents, primarily document No. 489, it appears that the controlling Buddhist headquarters for the Buddhist establishments within the Shan-shan kingdom was at Lou-lan (Kroraina), i.e., the L.A. site, at least in ca. 3rd century.[67] Ac-

[65] The history of Pei-Liang and Pei-Wei in Shan-shan appears in the *Pei-shih*, chüan 97: Hsi-yü chuan (section on the Western Regions); also see Kumagai Nobuo 熊谷宣夫, "Miran daisan oyobi daigo koshi shōrai no hekiga" ミイラン第三及び第五古址將來の壁畫 (The Old Remains of Wall Paintings from M III and M V at Miran), *Bijutsu Kenkyū*, No. 179, July, 1955, pp. 201-202. I am appreciative of the help given by Prof. Daniel Gardner of the Smith College History Department in this translation of this passage.

[66] For Sung Yün see *Ibid.*, p. 203; Beal (1869), p. 177.

[67] For a translation of Kharoṣṭhī Document No. 489 from Niya (N.xxiii.i.II; Stein (1921), I, p. 255) see Burrows (1940), p. 95.

cording to Brough, the presence of Buddhism is amply attested in the Kharoṣṭhī documents. Many persons are designated as Buddhist monks (śramaṇa and śramaṇera [novice]) and the Buddhist saṅgha is frequently mentioned. Also a small number of Buddhist verses appear in Gāndhārī Buddhist Sanskrit.[68] Certainly the art from the Shan-shan kingdom discussed below shows unmistakably close ties with Kushan art and the presence of imported Chinese objects, particularly silks, mirrors and lacquer ware in addition to paper, which was discovered in China ca. 140 A.D. and appears in examples from the Shan-shan kingdom in the more developed form, are clear testimony to the trade and relation with the central kingdom area. In fact, the Shan-shan Chinese documents are a major source of knowledge concerning Chinese paper during the transition from the usage of bamboo slips to paper in Chinese official affairs.

As detailed above, the Chinese records dated between 265-270 A.D. during the reign of Wu-ti of Western Chin, clearly indicate a peak of active Chinese presence during that time at the "Lou-lan military colony", as called by Stein, north of Lob nor and indicate an apparent slackening of activity in the Lou-lan area after that time.

Although many of the Kharoṣṭhī documents have been deciphered, as yet they provide only spare information concerning the political history of Shan-shan. However, with the painstaking work of scholars, in conjunction with the Chinese historical records, a history is emerging with the names of possibly seven kings of Shan-shan who probably ruled from around the late Later Han or early Three Kingdoms period during the 3rd and into the mid or third quarter of the 4th century. Whether or not the Kushans were actually rulers for a time as suggested by Brough has yet to be determined, but clearly there is some impelling reason for the usage of Kharoṣṭhī in the Shan-shan kingdom for over 100 years. Whether or not it has some relation to Buddhism is not yet possible to say, but certainly the influence of Gandhāran Buddhist art in the art of the Shan-shan kingdom is considerable, as will be evidenced below. Many questions await further research, but the discoveries of Stein and others and the scholarship of this century are starting to shed some light on Shan-shan and its intriguingly interesting relation with China and as a major player in the history of Central Asia and Central Asian Buddhism and Buddhist art.

[68] Brough (1965), p. 606.

II. Sites and Their Art Remains

The major sites with remains of art pertinent to this study include primarily Niya, Miran and Lou-lan, but there are a few remains from Endere, Cherchen, Charklik and in the Lou-lan vicinity, as reported mainly by Stein and more recently by Chinese archaeological investigation teams of Sinkiang province. All of these sites would benefit from further archaeological investigation; nevertheless, the aggregate of evidences from the early explorations along with recent studies arising mainly from the analysis of the historical documents and some new objects found from recent investigations of tomb sites by the Chinese can take us a step closer to unraveling the nature of the art of the Shan-shan kingdom region along the Southern and old Central Route in eastern Central Asia.

A. *Niya, Endere, Cherchen, and Charklik*

Stein arrived on January 18, 1901 at the ancient site of Niya (presently in Min-feng hsien 民豐縣), then known to the local people as the "old town" on the Niya River, approximately 55 miles north of the modern town of Niya Bazaar, about 4 days march from Keriya and 8 days march from Dandan Uilik.[69] Although his remarks conjure up the loneliness and desolation of the site at first discovery—... "little to be seen...but the mighty snow-covered wall of the outer Kun-lun range to the south and the high dunes of the desert northward"—at this site Stein made some of the most valuable discoveries for the history and art of Central Asia. From his two trips to the site (1901 and 1906), he investigated about 40 individual sites within an area about seven miles north-south and two miles east-west. One stupa ruin was found, but most sites comprised the remains of ancient dwellings originally sturdily made and still retaining some wooden framework (Fig. 5.1a).

From the rooms and debris piles, especially from sites N I, II, III, IV, V, and XV, were uncovered hundreds of records, mainly official in nature, some written in Chinese and others in Kharoṣṭhī (see section above). The now famous cache of Kharoṣṭhī and Chinese documents from N.V.xv yielded the Chinese document with a clear

[69] Stein (1907), I, pp. 310-11. Stein believed this site to be the Nijang of Hsüan-tsang. According to Brough (1965), p. 593, in Kharoṣṭhī Niya is Nina and it was Hsüan-tsang's Nei-nan. In the Kharoṣṭhī documents discovered at Lou-lan about 300 miles eastward, Niya was called Caḍota and seems to be the Chinese Ching-chüeh (*Ibid.*, p. 591 and see text above, section on the Kharoṣṭhī Documents period). Between Niya and Khotan there was a place called Khema in the Kharoṣṭhī documents. It appears to have been part of the kingdom to the east and sometimes part of the kingdom to the west, but in the 3rd century A.D. it appears to have been outside the limits of the Shan-shan kingdom (*Ibid.*, p. 593).

date corresponding to 269 A.D. during the reign of Wu-ti of Western Chin. Reasoning from the condition of the find spot of this dated document as well as all his observations of the site and his later finds at Endere and Lou-lan, both also early sites, Stein dated the abandonment of the Niya site to ca. end of the 3rd century A.D., possibly due not only to withdrawal of Western Chin influence, but also to either shrinkage or change in course of the one river serving the area.[70] Unlike Endere, the site appears never again re-used. The 1981 find at Niya of the Sulica 5th year Kharoṣṭhī document probably dating around the mid 4th century A.D. (see above note 55) suggests that the site seems to have continued at least to this time, a half century longer than surmised by Stein.

Some documents in Chinese resembling permits or papers of passage attest to customs control over travelers and indicate the existence of fairly numerous foreign travelers, mostly Yüeh-chih (Indo-Scythians or Kushans). These provide valuable evidence documenting the situation around the third quarter of the 3rd century A.D. and reveal not only the important role of the Yüeh-chih in travel (and probably trade), but also that customs control in this area was in the hands of the Chinese. This circumstance would seem to be supported by evidences from China indicating that there were many foreigners, especially Yüeh-chih, in Ch'ang-an in the 3rd century, probably engaged in international trade across the Silk Routes. It also confirms the control of the eastern part of the southern route—at least as far as Niya—by the Western Chin during the early part of the period of Emperor Wu-ti (r. 265-289). Some documents also mention Tun-huang and seem to indicate that it had some important military status and power in the 3rd century. It is also around this time that the Chinese Buddhist monk Chu Shih-hsing traveled to Khotan from China and the famous Tun-huang Yüeh-chih monk Dharmarakṣa was traveling in Central Asia prior to going to the Ch'ang-an regions (sometime after 269). Chu Shih-hsing is known to have sent a copy of the 25,000 *Prajñāpāramitā* text back to China, where it finally arrived in Loyang in 282 A.D.[71]

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[70] Stein writes: "...we are led to conclude that the end of the third century of our era must have seen the site abandoned to the drifting sand of the desert. Whether this abandonment was indirectly connected with the political and economic changes which undoubtedly accompanied the withdrawal of Chinese authority, or was due solely to natural causes affecting irrigation and therefore cultivation, is a question regarding which the available evidences would scarcely justify the expression of a definite opinion at present." *Ibid.*, I, p. 373. He notes also that he found no objects later than the terminal date expressed above. *Ibid.*, p. 381. In the Kharoṣṭhī double wooden tablet discovered in 1981 at Niya and dated the 5th year of king Sulica (probably sometime around the mid-4th century—see above note 55), the third and fourth lines of writing state "At the time when the river water dried up, Kampila abandoned his wife Ui...", suggesting either the time of autumn or winter when the Niya river was dry, or possibly, as suggested by Lin Mei-ts'un, a period of drought. Lin Mei-ts'un (1989), pp. 122-123, 135.

[71] Tsukamoto (1985), I, pp. 110, 234; Zürcher (1959), I, pp. 61-63.

From Kharoṣṭhī document No. 489, found at Lou-lan, it appears that Niya was under the administrative governance of the Lou-lan Buddhist group. The document deals with lack of respect by younger monks to the elder monks and reiterates the authority of the elder monks in the community. In this document the town (Niya site) is called Caḍota.[72] During the time of these documents, i.e., roughly third quarter of the 3rd century A.D., Niya was clearly part of the Shan-shan kingdom. Not only does this document affirm the internal relation with Lou-lan, but, as noted by Stein, also much of the art found at Niya bears considerable similarity with the art from other Shan-shan kingdom sites, particularly Lou-lan.

In addition to the documents, Stein found seals with classical, local and Chinese figures, woodwork with carved relief, coins of the wu-chu type, bits of textiles, green glass, etc., all of exceptional interest because of their relatively early date, probably pre-500. In 1959 the Sinkiang Archaeological Group found 40 more Kharoṣṭhī documents and discovered two burial sites about 2 km northwest of the old Niya site. One (59MNM 002) was not well preserved, but the other (59MNM 001), a well preserved tomb containing a male and female, yielded a rich harvest of materials, including magnificent silks and a painted cotton batik, which will be further discussed below.[73]

1. *The Stupa at Niya*

Stein discovered the remains of one, relatively small stupa (Fig. 5.1 b,c,d) with extant height 20' 6" with square base in three receding levels, the lower two levels nearly equal in height. The lowest level was 19' 6" on a side and 6' high; the middle level 13' 6" on a side and 6' 6" high; and the small top level was 8' 6" on a side and just 1' high. A cyclindrically shaped dome rising directly from the small top level of

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[72] Burrows (1940), p. 95.

[73] Tomb 59 MNM 001 near Niya contains a male and female, probably man and wife, buried in a single wooden coffin with legs. The tomb was found on the sloping bank of the Kan 干 river 2 km northwest of old Niya site. Within were high quality clothing of silk, a magnificent man's silk coat (Fig. 5.9a), small pieces of paper (the only scraps of paper found so far in the Niya area), woolen cloth carpet fragment, figured woven woolen cloth with design of figures, animals and grapes, ceramic vessel, toilet basket, combs, bronze mirror, mould for a seal, wooden implements, bow, arrow and quiver, etc. Many are reproduced in Hsin-chiang Wei-wu-erh tzu-chih ch'ü po-wu-kuan 新疆维吾尔自治区博物馆 (Museum of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region), *Hsin-chiang ch'u-t'u wen-wu* 新疆出土文物 (Cultural Relics Unearthed in Sinkiang), Beijing, 1975, Figs. 24-38. This tomb has been dated by its excavators to ca. 1st-early 2nd century A.D.; however, further examination of the materials has led to other assessments dating it to the late Eastern Han. Most recently, Meng-Fan-jen in a long article on this tomb dated the tomb to ca. early 4th to before mid-4th century A.D. His analysis includes study of the dating of the bronze mirror, the warp-faced compound tabby silk and the cotton batik all to ca. 3rd century or early 4th century A.D. Meng Fan-jen (1992), pp. 50-62.

the base had a surviving height of about 7' and was 6' 6" in diameter. The sun-dried bricks of its masonry at the base were 22 x 17 x 4 inches; the dome bricks were slightly smaller in width. Through the "treasure seeker's" cuttings into the inner part of the base, Stein could determine that the stupa was constructed with an inner core around which the bases were added. This manner of construction was not the result of later additions, as at Kurghan Tim near Kashgar, but was part of the original structure, as Stein made certain to determine. A foot square hole in the center probably held a wooden mast.[74]

The sequence of square bases with cylindrical type dome (see Fig. 5.1e for conjectural appearance) links the Niya stupa with other early Central Asian stupas at Endere and Lou-lan, as we shall see below, all in the country of Shan-shan and all probably dating prior to ca. 300 A.D. The square base or platform type, in this case with two levels (without stairs) also interestingly relates the Niya stupa to the Tegurman and Mauri Tim stupas near Kashgar (Figs. 4.1, 4.2a,b, 4.3d,e) and even with the stupa drawing from Kara-tepe (Fig. 4.4g). Among these, the cylindrical shape of the dome, ties it most closely with the Tegurman stupa (Fig. 4.1), which, however, only has a single square base. The double level base of the Niya stupa could be a transitional style between the single base Tegurman and triple base Mauri Tim and Kara-tepe stupas. In the overall general proportioning of the bases and stupa as a whole, the Niya stupa is perhaps most akin to the Gandhāran bronze stupa in Fig. 4.4f, which clearly dates before the 4th century. In relation to the stupas of the Northern Route sites, the high square base with cylindrical dome appears in monumental form at Subashi, near Kucha, possibly dating from the 4th-5th century. Because of the apparent demise of Niya ca. mid-4th century, the Niya stupa affords an excellent example of a Shan-shan kingdom stupa (more than likely pre-300 A.D.) with a style related to the early forms of Gandhāra as represented by the reliquary stupa in Fig. 4.4f and possibly transitional in style/type between the Tegurman and Mauri Tim stupas of the Kashgar area. A small wooden stupa found by Stein at N.v shows similar proportioning in the area above the square base, i.e., the drum/dome unit (Fig. 5.1 f). It may provide us with a simple model of how the larger Niya stupa may have been fashioned, with a moulding separating the drum from the dome, which is slightly extended rather than perfectly hemisperical, perhaps similar to the larger stupa at Airtam of ca. mid-2nd century a.D. (Fig. 3.7b)

[74] Stein (1907), I, p. 339.

2. *Art from Niya*

The surviving objects from Niya comprise largely domestic and tomb items, some of which show clear stylistic links with Kushana art while others are obviously imports from China. The majority of the carved wood work appears to have been locally made from the native poplar.

a. *Woodwork*

Woodwork from Niya consists primarily of structural parts of architecture, such as beams, jambs, lintels, pillars and balustrades, as well as items of furniture, such as chairs or tables. Most pieces are decorated with low relief carving or with paint. Decorative designs include various floral forms (lotus, rosettes, acanthus), corinthian type capitals, fanciful beasts, architectural motifs, geometric designs, and the pūrṇaghaṭa. The large, handsome double bracket (from N XXVI. iii.1) in Fig. 5.2a-c, carved on three sides and now a dark brown in color, is representative of the spirited style of Niya woodwork. Front and back of the bracket are both divided into three equal sections separated by a vertical sawtooth zigzag and bounded on the lower side by a simple dentil design. The central panel depicts the pūrṇaghaṭa (overflowing vase)—a motif of Indian origination—with long stemmed leaves and fruit (possibly the pomegranate) flowing out of a small vase in animated curves and filling virtually the whole panel (Fig. 5.2b). Flanking it on both sides is a fantastic griffin-lion-dragon-like creature: some with wings and tails and some without (Fig. 5.2c). The toothy animals are sprightly and charming with crossed hind feet and leaping forefeet as though either running pell-mell or stretched out in a reclining posture. A creature of similar design also appears on a small wooden plaque from Niya (Fig. 5.2d). This creature is not a typical Chinese style dragon, but seems to be a local interpretation of classical Scythian animal motifs, perhaps invested with a slight touch of the East Asian dragon. The posture as well as the winged feature related to remains of Scythian art as seen in Fig. 5.2e, but the motif is also well known in the pre-Kaniṣka period Buddhist art of Mathurā (Fig. 5.2g) as well as Kushana period Gandhāra (Figs. 3.73, 5.2f). The underside of the Niya bracket has two squares at each end, each bearing a different geometric and floral design revealing subtle distinctions rather than formal repetition.[75] This lintel, massive in size and finely decorated, is undoubtedly among the finest and most impressive remains of woodwork in all of Central Asian art.

The carvings of this lintel were noted in Chapter 1 for resemblances to the vase

[75] Stein (1921), IV, Pl. XVIII, N,XXVI.iii.1 for the undersurface.

of lotus flowers in the Harvard Buddha sculpture and to the dragon and tiger on the P'eng-shan ceramic money tree base, both of the late Later Han period (Figs. 1.44, 1.25). A small piece of a bracket from Niya in Fig. 4.14d serves as a comparison with the particular style of bi-cupsed rosette in the centaur textile fragment from Lo-p'u near Khotan (Fig. 4.13a).

Particularly fine lotus, pūrṇaghaṭa, pointed and round petaled rosettes, and palmette design, all contained within squares with bead borders, appear in the wooden table or small altar in Fig. 5.3 from N III. The double layers of lotus petals is a speciality of this wood carving and the motif is commonly seen in Miran and Lou-lan woodwork as well.

Of particular note is the pair of wooden legs from N XII.3 (Fig. 5.4 and color Pl. X). Sometimes referred to as chair legs, since they are so small they may rather more appropriately be the legs of a small table, possibly of the three-legged kind used in China and seen in the Koguryŏ wall paintings at Anak dated 357 (Fig. 3.81) and at Tŏkhungri dated 408 (Fig. 3.60). Both legs have a square hole in the back of the head for the insertion of a horizontal piece. One has the face of a mustached male and the other that of a female. A leg similar to the female was also found by Stein at Lou-lan (Fig. 5.76b); that and another from Lou-lan with a dragon both had traces of lacquer—unlike the Niya legs which are painted—possibly indicating that the Lou-lan ones were imported from China (see below note 182). The figures of the Niya legs have wide open and clearly rimmed large eyes with prominently arched, almost triangular, eyelids. The rounded eyeballs and indented circle for the pupil enhance the realism of this feature. The nose on each is short and blunt; the male has a bushy mustache that spreads slightly upwards. Each mouth—not too broad— has a slightly turned up shape and sharp carving of the edges (a type also seen in the Anak wall painting in Fig. 3.81). The headgear on each, appearing above the clean edge of the hairline, has three horizontal bands formed by a deeply incised lines. A four-sided bi-cupsed rosette ornaments the front. This bandlike headgrear or crown is not unlike the band seen in the caped and jeweled figure among the paintings of the Eastern Great Buddha niche at Bāmiyān (Fig. 3.80b). The sharp-edged carving, prominently rimmed eyes, and large mustache are important signs for ca. third century figural sculptural style and are especially pertinent in relation to the facial style of the Harvard flame-shouldered Buddha as noted in Chapter 1 (Figs. 1.58, 1.60). The Harvard Buddha seems to represent an earlier version of the eye style, that is, between the naturalism of the Khalchayan style of ca. mid-1st century A.D. (Fig. 1.59) and the stylization of this Niya work, which has a probable date of ca. 3rd quarter of the 3rd century A.D. or earlier. These pieces, humble as they may be, are nevertheless very

informative and interesting evidences in helping to establish a dating for this major early Chinese bronze Buddha.

b. *Clay seals*

Some of the clay seals found at Niya and Lou-lan show interesting reminders of the persistence of classical style in the region. Most of the seals are from the Kharoṣṭhī documents written on double wooden tablets of rectangular or oblong shape (Figs. 5.5a,c). Some documents were bound, usually with three strings, and sealed with clay which was often given a seal impression, which was generally oval or square in shape (Fig. 5.5a,b,c).[76] The oval ones are usually bordered by a bead or pearl design and have a primary cameo design usually of a bust, goddess of the Athena Pallas type, or an animal, such as a winged horse. The square seals usually have Chinese writing or heads in profile. One figure from Kharoṣṭhī document N. XV.24 (Fig. 5.5a) has been re-drawn and used as the logo of *Ancient Khotan, Serindia,* and *Innermost Asia* (Fig. 5.5b). Although there is some embellishment in the drawing, in its major parts it follows the original, which is small and worn. From the seal and drawing one can make out the usage of a classical figure with upper garment flared out in pleats. Such common and easily transportable items as these seals could serve in the diffusion of classical motifs to Central Asia and China, as noted in relation to the flared garment style of the Fujii Yūrinkan Bodhisattva of the late 3rd century (Fig. 2.22). Besides demonstrating the westernized or classical motifs used in the period ca. 3rd century in this area, the seals are especially pertinent in considering the style of the medallion figure rimmed by a pearl or beaded border, a motif which appears at certain times in Central Asian art and which should be carefully classified by stylistic criteria to specific periods. Those at Niya are again important for providing a style ca. 3rd century A.D.

c. *Painting and textiles*

In the south wall of the house N III, Stein uncovered part of a decorative wall painting (Fig. 5.6), showing a horizontal border of repeated circles enclosing rosette flowers (similar to a design in wood from Lou-lan in Fig. 5.67a) with a dark band from which hangs long triangular shaped banners. Narrow sashes hang between and down the center of each banner and they have small V-patterning like that on the sash-like string on the leg of the wooden table from Niya in Fig. 5.3. This is an important

[76] Stein reproduced a number of these: Stein (1907), I, pls. LXXI, LXXII, XCVIII, IC.

early, pre-5th century specimen of a painted banner motif, which later occurs with frequency in the Tun-huang caves from the 5th century.

Textiles from tomb 59MNM 001, 2 km northwest of Niya site, comprise a rich treasure,[77] including exquisite silk, with examples of gauze with raised rhomboid motif, the figured warp-faced compound tabby, figured woven woolen fabric, and a wax-resist dyed cotton with the design of a goddess holding a cornucopia—a very rare early example of batik (Figs. 5.7a,b and color Pl. XI).[78] Although this batik fragment has usually been designated a Buddhist painting in Chinese articles on the work, it is not necessarily Buddhist. The motifs are strongly related to elements found in Kushana Buddhist art, but there are no Buddha or Bodhisattva figures or other specific motifs in the remaining portions that would identify it as Buddhist.

The fragment is quite large and would originally have been of considerable size. It is printed with a dark indigo blue with various designs within rectangular and square areas delineated with thick and thin lines (Fig. 5.7a). In the upper right of the fragment, possibly part of the central panel, appear part of a human foot and an animal paw with a lotus bud (or possibly an animal tail ?) between them. The human foot style is common to classical art and is similar to the style seen in the Miran paintings (Figs. 5.34b, 5.23a, 5.35, 5.26a), which also utilize narrow bands to separate areas. The presence of the animal paw may indicate that the human was holding or wearing an animal skin or was accompanied by an animal, such as seen in some classical representations of Herakles and Dionysus.

In the horizontal panel below there is a wavy garland filled with criss-cross hatching similar to designs used in the Niya woodwork (Fig. 5.2). It issues, in typical Indian fashion, from the mouth of a fantastic animal, in this case a creature with small perky ears, a small wing, paws, and a snoutlike nose, which is neither a Chinese dragon nor an Indian makara, but a kind of fanciful composite, much like the beasts appearing in the Niya woodwork relating to old Scythian motifs (Figs. 5.2a,d). A spiny row of alternating large and small leaves forms a decorative pattern along upper and lower edges of the garland. Birds are interspersed along both edges, creating a charming and imaginative rendering quite unlike other known garland depictions.

Above to the left is a rectangular block with checkered pattern, presumably the decorative border for the central panel. The checkered pattern is popular in Kushana stone sculpture of Gandhāra and Afghanistan and occurs in countless examples (Figs. 3.73, 4.4e).[79] The Afghan Miracle of Śrāvastī Stele in Fig. 3.73 also shows usage of

[77] See above note 73.

[78] *Yin jan chin hsiu*, Vol. 1, text p. 45, Fig. 103.

[79] For other examples from Gandhāra see Kurita 1988 and 1990), I, Pl. XIII, and Figs. 16, 24, 325 and 420.

square panels in the composition and a lotus design very similar to the Niya examples in wood. In fact, these are so similar that it is probable this stele dates to about the same general time as or slightly earlier than this batik and the Niya woodwork. In this regard the Niya materials are proving to be important evidences that not only show a relation between the art of Shan-shan and Gandhāra, but also consequently provide some substantial evidences for a general dating of a number of important Gandhāra Kushana sculptures.

At the left side in the lower square panel a female is portrayed holding a cornucopia. She may be the goddess Tyche or some other "fecundity" goddess, a number of which were popular figures in late Kushan and post-Kushan art of the Gandhāra, Bactria, Kashmir and Transoxiana regions, and most of whom hold the cornucopia.[80] A similar figure appears in the stele from Afghanistan in Fig. 3.73 paired on the opposite side with a male figure who appears to hold a vajra, possibly indicative of either the Buddhist Vajrapāṇi or Zeus. At Tapa-i-Shotur in Haḍḍa a large Buddha niche contains a similar pair: a male with vajra and a female holding a cornucopia. The iconography of this pair has not been determined; it could relate to classical deities, such as Zeus/Demeter or Zeus/Hera; or it could, in emulation of the classical deities, be local representations of fecundity (Pāñcika/Hārītī) or Buddhist deities Vajrapāṇi/Lakṣmī. Probably the latter may be the most likely, but further work needs to be done on this subject.

In the Niya batik the goddess is depicted only from the waist up and seems to be nude except for jewelry, including a pearl necklace and earrings. Her hair, which shows highlighting technique, is combed into large puffy clusters, similar to the style of the goddess Tyche on the silver dish from Termez (Fig. 3.6). Behind is a circular band with cross-hatching bordered by a leaf design. This may either be a laurel wreath headdress or a particular form of head halo, possibly related to the kind on the Dīpaṃkara Buddha from Swat of ca. 1st half of the 4th century (Fig. 4.44). There also appears to be an encircling head and body halo, each with a plain narrow outer border. The body halo is not current in Kushana Gandhāran images, but it does appear in some Buddha coins of Kaniṣka, in the the Kara-tepe Buddha painting (Fig. 3.15a,b) and in the Buddha niches in the lintel from L.A. at Lou-lan (Fig. 5.55b). The style of face, drawn in three-quarter view with open, seed-shaped eyes and promi-

[80] See for example, Hélène Diserens, "La statue de Brar (Kaśmir) retrouvée", *Arts Asiatiques*, Vol. XLVIII, 1993, pp. 72-85; and Galina A. Pugacenkova, "New Terracottas from North Bactria", *East and West*, Vol. 42, No. 1 (March 1992), pp. 49-67; and on the Niya batik itself, see Michèle Pirazzoli-t'Serstevens, "Pour une archéologie des échanges, Apports étrangers en Chine—transmission, recéption, assimilation", *Arts Asiatiques*, Vol. XLIX, 1994, p. 21-22, where she suggests this goddess could be Demeter or Tyche personified as a goddess of fortune or other divinity.

nent pupils looking askance (Fig. 5.7b), is similar to figures in the Miran paintings, although the batik figure is more sketchy and the nose is a bigger and straighter variety. The slight bend to the body, some foreshortening in the arms and highlights in the hair, are probably features derived from the classical traditions. The rather stiff posture of the hands may be related to the hand position in the cross-ankled figure from Lou-lan (Fig. 5.75)

In the panel just above the goddess part of a foot can just be seen. The combination of thick and thin straight lines as panel borders and the appearance of a line with saw-tooth dentil-like projections seem to reflect Gandhāran patterns, possibly derived from the classical West. This kind of patterning also occurs in the Miran wall paintings on a larger scale.

The design of this batik does not appear to have been executed in China or in India. The combination of motifs is close to Kushana examples, especially as seen in the Afghan Great Miracle stele, but the animal, garland and style of the goddess appear to be Central Asian renderings rather than works by an artist of the Gandhāra region, although perhaps Western Central Asia or Kashmir should not be ruled out as possible sources for this work. Considering the style, it would appear to date in the 2nd or 3rd century.

The exquisite silk brocade man's coat (length 133cm) from tomb 59MNM 001 at Niya is one of the rarest finds of silk from Central Asia (Fig. 5.8). In remarkably complete and well-preserved condition, it reveals to us the elegant style of a man's dressy garment of the time, with narrow sleeves, cinched waist, and flaring hems. The silk is double layered and the woven design is incredibly beautiful and refined with vertical rows of multicolored cloud motif and woven Chinese characters wan-shih-ju-i 萬世如意. The colors are also extraordinary: red, dark purplish red, green, light blue and white. At the lower edge of the left front border is a rectangular patch of a different silk: the warp-faced compound tabby with eight Chinese characters (yen-nien-i-shou ta-hsüan-tz'u-hsi 延年益壽大宣子孫).[81] This coat clearly expresses the wealth of the owner and gives us some reason to think that the Niya area was quite prosperous in ca. 3rd century A.D.

From the same tomb, several other examples of the warp-faced double-compound tabby silk were found, including foot covers, a pillow and the fragment of a hand

[81] *Yin jan chih hsiu*, Vol. 1, Fig. 66 and text for Fig. 66 on p. 26. Also see Hsin-chiang wei-wu-erh tzu chih ch'ü po-wu-kuan (1975), Fig. 31. In both sources the robe is dated to the Eastern Han. According to Hsia Nai "the warp of the Niya silk is divided into three series with 40-44 ends per series, the total density being 120-132 ends per centimeter. The weft count is 26-28 picks per centimeter. The height of the pattern repeat in weft is 5.4 cm using 150 picks and requiring 75 pattern sheds for its execution... The selvage has a width of 1.05 cm." K. Riboud, "Some Remarks on Strikingly Similar Han Figured Silks Found in Recent Years in Diverse Sites", *Archives of Asian Art*, XXVI, 1972-73, p. 20.

covering cloth with the design of animals and eight auspicious Chinese characters (Fig. 5.9).[82] Textiles of this kind have also been found in tombs at Shampula (near Khotan) and around Lou-lan (see Lou-lan section where this kind of silk is discussed in more detail). Though usually dated to the Later (Eastern) Han period, according to the research of Meng Fan-jen, this special kind of silk (warp faced double compound tabby) probably reached its popularity in China during the 3rd century, especially during the Wei-Chin period when the technology for making this kind of weave was definitely known. These silks and the other Chinese import items found in tomb 59MNM 001, including lacquer ware, a bronze mirror and a small piece of paper (a new product from China which began to be used in the Shan-shan kingdom area from the Wei/Chin period) probably reached Niya during the period of active East-West trade ca. 3rd century. The silks and the batik textile respectively reveal the international character of the sources of goods found at Niya of this period from both the Chinese East (silk as an imported item) and the West (perhaps as a style adapted by local artists or as an imported item from western Central Asia or Persia). Though Niya is not the largest site in the Shan-shan kingdom, it has yielded some of the most extraordinary art of this early period.

3. *Endere, Cherchen, and Charklik*

About halfway between Niya and Cherchen near the Endere River (Map 5.1), during investigation of ruins in 1901 and 1906 Stein found a settlement and stupa from the early period (ca. 3rd century A.D.), and a fort from T'ang times. The structures and materials of the early works were similar to those of the same date he found at Niya and Lou-lan. According to Stein, this site had clearly been abandoned about the time of Niya, but had, unlike Niya, been reoccupied after the time Hsüan-tsang passed ca. 645 A.D., probably in the late 7th or early 8th century. At the fort Stein found a graffiti Chinese date of 719 A.D. and evidence of Tibetan occupancy, usually datable to the late 8th century. Remains of the earlier period include the impressive stupa (Fig. 5.10a,b,c), some ruins at the south end of the fort, and ancient dwellings at the southern end of the site.[83] Documents in Kharoṣṭhī (the script used prior to ca. 400 A.D. in the local documents), including the famous Kh. document No. 661 to the King of Khotan,[84] coins of the *wu-chu* type (issued in Former and

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[82] *Yin jan chih hsiu.*, Vol. 1, Figs. 65, 69.

[83] Stein (1921), I, pp. 275-285 for complete account and p. 286 for summary.

[84] A total of five Kharoṣṭhī documents were found by Stein at Endere (661, 662, 663, 664 and 665). See Boyer, Rapson and Senart (1920, 1927 and 1929), Part II, pp. 248-250. Kh. doc. 661 (E.VI.ii.1) was found during Stein's second trip to Endere in 1906 at a small ruin marked E. VI (not known in his 1901 excavation—see Stein (1907), II, Pl. XXXVI) of sun-dried brick within the "T'ang fort", which had structures of

Later Han and continued in usage in Central Asia up to the T'ang period), two lathe-turned pillars (Fig. 5.11)—among the most impressive and well-preserved of the early wooden pillar remains in Central Asia—[85], silk of the old type, and glass that seemed to be a western import were uncovered in the ruins of the old section. The town called Saca in the Kharoṣṭhī documents, located between Calmadāna (Cherchen) and Caḍota (Niya), may be Endere, but this is not yet certain.[86]

The stupa at Endere site, its extant height reaching over 30 feet, has a square base with three levels and a cylindrical dome (Fig. 5.10a,b,c). The lowest base is 27' on a side and 1 1/2' high; the middle level recedes 2' and is 6' high, forming the main part of the base; the top layer also recedes 2' but is only 1 1/2' high. In effect, the base appears like one large square base, apparently without stairs. The cylindrical dome was 14' extant height and 16' in diameter (see Fig. 5.10d for conjectural appearance). A shaft one foot square penetrated 7' from the present top. The sun-dried bricks were 18" square by 5" thick, typical of the early size brick in Central Asia. A large piece of original stucco still stuck to the north side of the dome, proving the usage of plaster to cover the stupa originally.[87] The ground around the stupa had eroded 10-15' below the original level, a further indication, according to Stein, of

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both earlier and T'ang periods. Kh. doc. 661 has been the subject of considerable study (for a summary see Lin Mei-ts'un (1987), pp. 35-37). The document mentions the name of the Great King of Khotan, it has a regnal date, and it has, besides writing in Kharoṣṭhī, some writing in Brāhmī. Das Gupta in his study of the evolution of Kharoṣṭhī script, put this document in a class by itself, chronologically later than the Dutreuil de Rhins *Dharmapada* found at Khotan and before the early Shan-shan kingdom documents of kings Tajaka, Pepiya and Amgavaka. He provides many details that show the dialect is different and notes that the text mentions names not found in other Kharoṣṭhī documents. Das Gupta (1959), pp. 202-228. The most recent study is by Lin Mei-ts'un, who concludes that it is a Shan-shan kingdom document; the writing is close to that of Kh. doc. 662 and 665 also from Endere; the King of Khotan's name is Vijida Simha (who cannot be clearly associated with any known records); and the regnal date is the 10th year, 3rd month, 18th day, which works out in Lin's estimation to ca. 230 A.D. The presence of Brāhmī script (on the back and 4 letters within the lines of Kharoṣṭhī on the front) does not make a coherent phrase, but its very presence has been baffling to scholars, since Brāhmī writing is believed to have come to the Tarim Basin area around 400 A.D. Lin reasons that Brāhmī came earlier than is generally assumed and that it must have been used in Khotan at the time of Chu Shih-hsing (the Chinese monk who went to Khotan ca. 262 in order to obtain a copy of the *Prajñāpāramitā* text [see Chapter 2]). Lin interprets the statement in the *Ch'u san-ts'ang chi-chi* concerning Chu Shih-hsing and the *Prajñā* text to refer to Brāhmī writing (not to Brahman or heterodox writing as frequently translated), which he suggests was the script used by the Mahāyānists at Khotan while the Hīnyānists, who were intense and dominant rivals with the emerging Mahāyānist movement in Khotan at that time as deduced from the accounts of Chu Shih-hsing, were using the more orthodox Kharoṣṭhī script for their scriptures. Lin Mei-ts'un (1987), pp. 38-39.

[85] Stein (1921), I, Fig. 70 and p. 279.

[86] In Kh. doc. 14 discovered at Niya I.16 + 104 (double-wedge tablet) Saca is mentioned and from the context is understood to be between Calmadāna and Caḍota. Boyer, Rapson and Senart (1925, 1927 and 1929), Vol. I, p. 5; Lin (1987), p. 35.

[87] Stein (1907), I, p. 437.

its antiquity.[88] Both the Niya and Endere stupas appear to be similar to the stupa in the relief, probably from Swat in Fig. 5.10e, and with the Amluk-darrah and Abbasakebchina stupas in Swat in Fig. 5.10f, though with more cyclindrically proportioned dome. The Niya stupa also seems to be a smaller, and probably earlier, style that may have developed into that of the great stupas at Subashi near Kucha.

Cherchen (Chü-mo or Ch'ieh-mo 且末) is the main permanent settlement presently within the treacherous stretch of desert between Niya and the Lob nor region. It is generally accepted as the Calmadāna of the Kharoṣṭhī documents. It was a six days march eastward from Endere and 198 miles road distance (estimated by Stein) to Charklik further to the east.[89] In the Former Han period Cherchen was the locale of the Chinese Protector General of the Western Regions. From Later Han and into the Three Kingdoms and Western Chin it was part of the Shan-shan kingdom. Sung Yün, traveling west from China in 519 A.D. passed through Cherchen and noted images said to have been made by Lü Kuang during his expedition into Central Asia in 384 (he went to Karashahr and Kucha).[90] The present-day city occupies the same area as the ancient one, and Stein was not able to see many old ruins except of an old stupa with bricks of the early type.[91]

The city of Charklik, apparently continuously occupied from early times, was formed around a military colony from China as protection for Miran in the Han Dynasty. At that time it was called the "New Town" (I-hsün 伊循, although there is still uncertainty regarding the designation) and was strategically located both economically and militarily between Khotan and the Kansu province area (Liang chou). Stein observed a few old ruins at Charklik, including the ruined walls of the old oblong circumvallation. Near the center of the enclosure was a mound about 13 feet high that was probably an old stupa with dome (about 12 ft. diameter and 4 ft. remaining height) and square base made with "fairly hard" bricks 14 x 10 x 4 1/2 inches.[92]

[88] *Ibid.*, p. 421 notes the eroded dimensions; on p. 437 he admits that the stupa had undergone more erosion than the T'ang fort at Endere, but he stops short of drawing any specific chronological conclusions.

[89] Stein (1921), I, p. 309.

[90] *Ibid.*, I, pp. 297-298.

[91] *Ibid.*, I, p. 304.

[92] *Ibid.*, I, pp. 310-314.

B. *Miran*

During his second expedition to Central Asia in 1906, Aurel Stein came upon the site of Miran on December 8, 1906 while attempting to find Lou-lan.[93] He returned to excavate it in January of 1907, not aware until he started excavation that he was to unearth one of the great treasures of early Buddhist art. Soon, however, when he uncovered the "dado" frieze of winged male busts in the Shrine he called M III, he recognized to his surprise the remains of a cycle of paintings, which he later came to date to the 3rd-early 4th century A.D., of strongly "Gandharan and Hellenistic" style. Shrine M III together with M V, both similar in plan and style of wall paintings, became prime discoveries which stand as important landmarks in the history of Buddhist art in Central Asia.

The site at Miran explored by Stein comprises 15 structures of varying types (M I to M XV; Fig. 5.12). They fall into roughly two main areas: southerly, with sites M I and M III-M XI, and the northerly section in the area of "tamarisk cones" containing sites M II and M XII-XV. In the southerly area M 1 is a Tibetan fort dating to the 2nd half of the 8th century and apparently built after all the other structures had already been abandoned. About one mile NNW from M I is a cluster of structures which, in addition to the early stupa shrines M III and M V, include solid structures which are probably stupas (M VI and VII)—apparently with square base—and some towerlike and other structures, one of which, M X, is located close to M I (see Fig. 5.12). In brief they are:

MIV, possibly a stupa (or vihāra) according to Stein with extant height about 12', solid square base 46' on the longest side with a 32' square core, built with bricks 16 x 16 x 5 inches; it appeared to Stein to have had some other additions, possibly rooms or stairs (Fig. 5.50a);

MVI, most probably a stupa with about 20' remaining height, 46' on the north side of what Stein assessed to be a solid square base, and built of bricks 16 x 10 x 5 inches (the same size as the bricks of stupa shrine M III, which indicates it was probably made at nearly the same time);

M VII, most probably a stupa, 24' extant height, solid square base 41' on a side, with bricks about the same size as M VI, therefore possibly constructed about the same time;

M VIII comprises a wall three feet thick built of bricks 18 x 10 x 4 inches and no

[93] For a detailed discussion of the Miran site see Stein (1921), I, pp. 456-538; Stein (1928), I, pp. 169-179. (Note: information on M IV, VIII, and IX obtained during the 1914 expedition was incorporated into *Serindia* [Stein (1921)]).

more than 5 or 6 feet in extant height running about 80' east to west with a shorter wall at right angles;

M IX is a small structure on a clay terrace with steep slopes 15 or 16' high with walls no more than 5 extant feet, 6' square inside and made with bricks the same size as stupa shrines M III and M V, which, as Stein observed, clearly makes it contemporaneous with M III and M V;

M X, located near M I, is a towerlike structure made of sun-dried bricks 16 x 8 x 4-5 inches with 12' remaining of the walls. It was 7' square on the inside and the walls supported an octagonal transition that in turn supported the remains of a hemispherical dome with squinch arches that were made of burnt bricks, a practice known, according to Stein, from at least the 4th century in Syria and Asia Minor and from earlier times in Persia.[94] Squinch arches are also a prevalent feature of the Bāmiyān caves, whose early examples could date from the 3rd-4th century (see chapter 3).

M XI, a small brick mound on high ground to the west of the canal, with extant height 15', about 17' square at the base, and constructed with two sizes of bricks: 21 x 14 x 4 1/2 inches and 17 x 13 x 14 inches.

From the degree of investigation of these structures by Stein, it appears that structures M III, V, VI, VII, and IX may have all been made about the same time.

The northerly group among the tamarisk cones includes structures M II, M XII-M XV, which are scattered over a wider area than the southern group. At M II, about 1 1/2 miles northeast of the Tibetan fort (M I), Stein discovered a large compound, possibly of a vihāra, with remains of stucco Buddha and Bodhisattva images and a frieze of columned niches. M XII is a tower thought by Stein to be a lookout station, about 18' square at the base, 12 extant feet in height, and made of bricks 18-19 x 9-10 x 4 inches. M XIII, XIV (Fig. 5.50b) and XV were discovered by Stein in 1914 during his third expedition to Central Asia. M XIII is a tower structure, M IV is a circular stupa inside a rotunda structure, and M-XV is apparently a circular shrine hall. Miran was visited by Tachibana as part of the Ōtani expedition in 1909 and again in 1910 and the paintings in M III were disrupted, as Stein discovered when he returned in 1914. Since then no further excavation work has apparently been done at Miran, and virtually all of our knowledge of the site depends on the description and analysis of Stein.

The identity of Miran is still undetermined. Stein associated the site with Yü-ni 扜泥, whereas Pelliot considered it to be I-hsiu 伊修 or I-hsün 伊循. Though it is not clear whether it was the capital of the Shan-shan kingdom at some point, it was clearly one of the major sites of the Shan-shan kingdom and, as discussed below, probably

[94] Stein (1921), I, p. 535.

continued well beyond the 3rd century, considered by Stein to be the flourishing period of the site. Shrines M III, M V, M II and M XV are of particular interest for their Buddhist art remains and will be individually discussed below.

1. *The Stupas and Structure of Shrines M III and M V*

Perceiving the top of what seemed to be a stupa dome among the close cluster of five mounds in the center of the southerly group (Fig. 5.13), Stein began excavating the mound M-III (Fig. 5.14) on January 31, 1907. He uncovered the remains of a circular stupa 9' in diameter and close to 13' in extant height (Fig. 5.16). The stupa had been erected in the center of a round cella or rotunda whose masonry walls were circular on the inside, matching the shape of the stupa, but were square on the outside (Fig. 5.16 a). The walls, made of sun-dried bricks mixed with straw and measuring 16 x 10 x 5 inches—typical of the well-made bricks of this period and the same as those used for the stupa and for M VI— were 4' thick at the windows and 10' thick at the corners. The outer structure was probably topped by a dome, but not enough survives to be certain. The entrance door was on the west side (it had been enlarged by treasure seekers who also broke into the west side of the stupa) and there were three windows, one at each of the other cardinal directions, measuring 2' 3" in width. The circular walls of the rotunda were painted in at least three friezes around the entire surface. Remains of a floor around the structure on the exterior indicate there had been an exterior passageway, probably for pradakṣiṇā.[95]

The circular stupa inside the shrine was built of sun-dried bricks and covered with plaster. Traces of bodhi tree and triratna motifs in plaster relief were perceived by Stein on the drum section. Rising in three main sections (circular base, circular drum, and parabolically shaped dome) with fairly elaborate mouldings at each juncture, the stupa is a pleasingly proportioned example of the stupa with circular plan. The dome has a nearly vertical rise for about half its height before curving inward more sharply at the top in a paraboloid rather than a true hemispherical shape. Part of what was probably the harmikā, possibly resembling that of the reliquary stupa in Fig. 5.19a, can be seen in Stein's photo in Fig. 5.14. Although there are a number of reliquary stupas of circular base, circular drum and hemispherical dome from Gandhāra like the example in Fig. 5.19a, some of which are dated to the reign of Vima Kaḍphises (ca. mid 1st century A.D.; Fig. 4.4b), the Miran M III stupa is more vertically proportioned than these as well as the early ones in India and Western Central Asia, including examples from Taxila, Fayaz-tepe and Airtam (Figs. 5.18,

[95] *Ibid.*, I, p. 493.

3.20, 3.21, 3.7b). Proportionately, M III stupa rather closely resembles the Kushana Gandhāran reliquary stupa in Fig. 5.19b, but without the railing decoration, corner columns, and square platform.

The structure Stein uncovered beginning February 4, 1907 at M V, some 60 yards to the NW of M III, was more damaged in the upper parts than M III, but it revealed a hall and stupa similar in most respects to M III (Fig. 5.28). The walls were 40' square and built of sun-dried bricks 16 x 9 x 5 inches thick. More of the exterior passage survived; it was about 5' in width and part of the wall on the south side still contained some fragments of wall paintings, indicating that the inner side of the passage was originally painted. This passage was about a half foot lower than the floor of the rotunda with the stupa. The doorway was on the east side and there appears to have been only one window. The walls were no less than 7' thick and the interior circumambulatory passage around the stupa was 7' wide. Although Stein could not estimate the total height of the structure, he calculated that the dome must have had a span of 26 1/2'. Some fragments he believed to be from the dome part indicated that the dome had been painted.[96]

The stupa of M V, destroyed above the ten foot level at the mid-section (Fig. 5.28), had a circular base 12 1/2' in diameter at the floor level. Mouldings of "hard white plaster" were well preserved in parts when Stein uncovered it, showing even more elaborate detailing than in M III. Even these scant remains showing the smooth planes of the plaster surface and the sharp edges of the circular step-like edges of the mouldings hint at the beauty of the original and the harmonious balance between the abstract shape and the lustrous surface with its fine-edged elaborations of rich yet restrained mouldings. It possesses an air of classical simplicity combined with some exuberance in the mouldings.

It is well known that stupas were enshrined in longitudinal apsidal chaitya halls in India in many instances from as early as the second century B.C., notably in the cave temples of western India, but also in the structural apsidal halls at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa of ca. 3rd century A.D. Stein has suggested that the domed square structure as utilized at Miran appears to have its origins in the Near East and Persia.[97] This point bears further investigating, particularly since the influences of Parthian art appear strong in other 2nd-3rd century Central Asian and Chinese works, as noted in various junctures in the preceding chapters. However, the enclosure of a stupa in a non-longitudinal, domed structure which forms a rotunda inside and a square out-

[96] *Ibid.*, I, p. 513. He found some wooden pieces, both in M III and M V that probably were part of the tee holding the umbrellas. Some were carved with floral and leaf designs not unlike the kinds seen in woodwork from Lou-lan and Niya. See M V.001, .003, .006, .0012 and M III.0021 and .0024 in *Ibid.*, IV, pls. XXXIV, XLVII.

[97] *Ibid.*, I, p. 536.

side is relatively rare, but not unknown, in Indian art. Two interesting reliefs, one from Amarāvatī and another from Butkara (Swat), show a non-longitudinal shrine structure containing a circular stupa (Fig. 5.15a and b). The Amarāvatī relief, dating ca. 1st century B.C., shows a circular stupa raised on a square platform within a pillared circular shrine with domed roof.[98] The Butkara relief, probably dating ca. 3rd century A.D., depicts a circular stupa with tall proportions inside a double-roofed chaitya that appears to have square walls and is raised up on a platform (possibly square, but difficult to determine). The Swat relief may provide the closest parallel to the M III and M V shrines. As noted in Chapter 4, some of the early large stupas of Gandhāra and Swat have a circular base plan, but they invariably have a hemispherical dome.[99] From around the late 1st to early 2nd century A.D. the square or rectangular base became more prevalent in Gandhāra, Taxila, Afghanistan and Swat (see Chapter 4). Compared with the well preserved stupa of similar size with circular base and bell-shaped dome from Fayaz-tepe dating approximately 1st century B.C. (Fig. 3.20), the M III stupa is not as powerful, broadly proportioned or simple, and has more elegant and refined mouldings. Nevertheless, the Fayaz-tepe stupa would appear to be an important predecessor of this type of stupa in monumental size in Central Asia.

Besides the early monumental circular base hemispherical domed stupas noted above, there are also a few smaller circular stupas from Taxila and Swat pertinent to the study of Miran M III and V. An example in stucco from Pippala monastery at Taxila from the early phase (pre-4th century) of the monastery rather closely resembles the Miran III and V stupas (Fig. 5.19c).[100] Another from the later phase

[98] I am grateful to Sonya Rhie for pointing this example out to me.

[99] The Dharmarājika Stupa is the major stupa with circular base and hemispherical dome at Taxila, but there are other interesting smaller ones, such as a few around the Dharmarājika itself and the original stupa at Jandial (which later had a square base added to it), but the majority have square or rectangular base plans. Marshall (1951), III, 47, 60d, 92a. In Swat, the stupa at Chakpat and Barikot (Foucher (1905-1918), I, Figs. 10 and 16), the former hemispherical and the latter with more vertical proportions, and the great stupa at Butkara I are examples of the circular base, hemispherical dome stupa: Faccenna (1962 and 1964), II,2, Pls. II-IV.

[100] Small stupa H dates to the early phase (1st-3rd century A.D.). It was found in the cell 31 in the southeast corner of the new part of the monastery (Pippala had an old monastery partially incorporated into the new monastery), but it was found 2 1/2 feet below the floor level of the rest of the new monastery and it had diaper masonry. In Marshall's words these facts "leave no doubt that the stupa was built originally in one of the cells, or possibly in a chapel, of the earlier monastery and then incorporated into the later monastery, when the latter was erected on the ruins of its predecessor." The stupa is about 8 feet in height and has three diminishing tiers, the lower tier decorated with a series of ionic pilasters alternating with lotus rosettes, but the ionic pilasters were afterwards covered up by a coating of plaster and replaced by somewhat coarser Corinthian pilasters. The second tier is plain except for a dhyānāsana Buddha, according to Marshall also added later, as were the 8 seated Buddhas on the base of the dome, and which, again according to Marshall, date from the 4th-5th century. Marshall (1957), I, p. 365-366.

(4th-5th century in Marshall's dating) from Mohṛā Morādu shows advanced mouldings and niche embellishments and richer elaboration of levels which suggest a style later than that of the Miran M III and M V stupas (Fig. 5.19d).[101] In respect to the refinement of the mouldings, perhaps the Fayaz-tepe niche of ca. late 2nd-3rd century provides apt comparison (Fig. 5.57).

In the curvature of the dome, M III stupa (color Pl. XII) is most similar to the paraboloid shape of the stupa dome in the drawing from Kara-tepe complex B of ca. late 2nd-early 3rd century A.D. (Figs. 3.14 and 4.4g) and to the dome of Mauri Tim stupa at Kashgar (Fig. 4.2a,b), although it does not have the same type of plan with the square plinth and multiple square base levels as these stupas.

Though lacking an exact parallel, the above factors suggest that the stupas and shrines of Miran M III and M V are related to some degree with model stupas of Taxila between ca. 2nd-4th century, with ca. 3rd century example of stupa shrines in Swat, and with the parabolic dome style seen in Kara-tepe and Kashgar possibly of ca. late 2nd-3rd century. These evidences, though not complete, certainly show that the stupa shrines M III and M V are related to some degree with the late 2nd-3rd century examples in Swat, Taxila and the western parts of Central Asia, at least to the extent of suggesting contemporaneity, if not direct sources.

Even though we find sources and relationships for the Miran M III and V stupa shrines in India, Gandhāra, Swat, and parts of Central Asia, the simplicity and elegance of proportion and beauty of the hard plaster surface bespeaks of a confident assimilation into an aesthetic interpretation which should be counted among the most pleasing in the development of the stupa tradition. Because the mouldings of Shrine M V seem to be a little more elaborate, it may date slightly later than Shrine M III. Slight variation in the size of the bricks, in the window and door locations and mouldings, and the stylistic differences in the paintings could suggest a sequence from M III to M V.[102] However, because of the overall close stylistic simi-

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[101] This magnificent stupa was found in nearly complete condition by Sir John Marshall during his excavation of Mohṛā Morādu. It was in one of the monk's cells (cell 9) around the courtyard. It is made of stucco (originally painted—remains of crimson, blue and yellow remained) with a kanjur core and had originally had an iron rod holding the umbrellas. Marshall believed it was a special stupa marking the cell of a particularly saintly bhikṣu. He dated it roughly to two centuries after the structure in which it was found, so ca. 3rd-4th century A.D. for this stupa. *Ibid.*, I, p. 361.

[102] There is general agreement among scholars on a 3rd century dating for the M III and M V shrines. Stein dates the M III and M V shrines to the 3rd-early 4th century and considers that they were abandoned about the same time as Lou-lan. Stein (1921), I, pp. 495, 538. One factor in his assessment of the dating was a silk banner, discovered in M III with inscriptions in Kharoṣṭhī. The banner was in good condition and the writing still fresh, which suggested to Stein that the site was abandoned shortly after this banner was left. (Because Kharoṣṭhī ceased to be used after the 4th century, it is one factor suggesting abandonment before ca. 400.) The writing contained a prayer in Prākrit and seven names, two of which seem to be Iranian. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 495-496 and IV, pl. XXXIX.

larities, very little time separates these two rare shrines. Because the bricks of M VI and VII (probably square base stupas) and the structure M IX are about the same size as those of M III and M V, it is likely that they were all constructed around the same general time.

2. *The Paintings of Shrines M III and M V*

The wall paintings from M III and M V are an extraordinary artistic legacy that brings across the ages a glimpse of the traditions of early Buddhist painting, probably as practiced in the Gandhāran, Swat, perhaps Kashmir areas, and in parts of Central Asia during the Kushan period. They testify to the migration of that art in a very pure form practically to the borders of China. As Rowland and others have commented, it is from this outpost of Eastern Central Asia that remains of what must have been Gandhāran style painting has survived.[103]

Stein had great difficulty in photographing the paintings in both shrines and, regrettably, the record is less than perfect due to necessary later retouching of many of the dim plates for the purposes of publication. However, some of the wall paintings were recovered and taken to the Museum of Central Asian Antiquities (now the National Museum) in New Delhi.[104] These as well as a fragment from the Ōtani Mission in the National Museum of Korea (Fig. 4.7) and one in a private collection in Japan (Fig. 5.30 a) together with the photographic record, which may still be used while taking account of the retouching, are an important legacy of the art in this area of Central Asia from the Shan-shan kingdom and provide significant evidences in regard to understanding many other art works of the time.

Bussagli dates the paintings of M III and V to the 2nd half of the 3rd century: "Any date much later than this seems highly improbable." Bussagli, *Painting of Central Asia*, Geneva, 1963, p. 27. N. Kumagai dates M III and M V to the 3rd century, with M III the earlier of the two as the wall paintings are more western in technique than those of M V, which he judges to be more eastern or Chinese in technique. Kumagai (1955), pp. 212-223. Akiyama Terukazu 秋山光和, "Miran daigo koshi kairō kitagawa hekiga" ミーラン第五古址回廊北側壁畫 ((The Painted Dado of Cella M V at Miran Site), *Bijutsu Kenkyū*, No. 212, Sept. 1960, pp. 138-143 also dates M III and M V to the 3rd century, but believes M V is the earlier of the two as to him the style is more western in the M V wall paintings. Rowland (1974), p. 33, dates the Miran site to the 3rd century on the basis of the paleography of the "Titus" inscription in M V, which he mistakenly calls Brāhmī (there are two inscriptions, both in Kharoṣṭhī, see Stein (1921), I, pp. 529-531).

[103] Rowland (1974), pp. 37-38; Bussagli (1963), p. 21.

[104] When Stein returned to Miran in 1914 with equipment better able to remove more of the paintings, he found that the shrines he had re-covered upon leaving in 1907 had been practically ruined and the wall paintings mostly all destroyed after a hasty excavation attempt by the Ōtani Mission expedition three years earlier. Stein (1921), I, p. 533 and note 10; Stein (1928), pp. 171-172. See F. H. Andrews, *Wall Paintings from Ancient Shrines in Central Asia*, London, 1948, 2 vols., Pls. I-IV for the remains in the National Museum in New Delhi.

Stein's careful descriptions not only of the process of finding and clearing of the paintings but also of each painting itself have not been superseded and still constitute the main basis for their study. He observed the "late Hellenistic" features and the strong links to surviving Gandhāran stone sculpture as well as probable Iranian or Syrian elements in some of the portrait-like figures. Other scholars, notably Rowland, Bussagli, Kumagai and Akiyama have offered further observations on the sources and dating, though all agree to a general 3rd century A.D. dating (see note 102). In the present context, in addition to a brief synopsis of the layout, discussion is centered on ascertaining the specific links with art of the classical west, Gandhāra, Swat, Transoxiana and Eastern Central Asia with a view to clarifying the chronological issues and defining the properties of this school, which are important in relation to the study of some early Chinese Buddhist art and in relation to the paintings of the northern Silk Route.

a. *Brief description*

Inside the rotunda of M III the wall paintings survived mostly from the lowest frieze ("dado"); only remnants of the dividing bands and some feet of the figures indicate the frieze above. The dado frieze, 3' 10" from the floor level, consisted of a series of 24 sections (4 groups of 6, each separated by a window or the door) of which only 14 still remained; 7 were later removed by Stein. The sections, formed by loops of the continuous, wavy pattern of a large, looped garland, have busts of winged male figures in each semicircular space (about 2'2" high x 1'6" wide) formed by the downward loop of the festoon (Fig. 5.20). Portrayed against a flat, pale blue background, the busts are all garbed in a simple boat-necked red garment and have boldly drawn and shaded wings spread out behind. The large heads, turned in three-quarter view, face each other in pairs. The prominently large eyes, which inject a strongly Roman or Coptic flavor to the style, look slightly askance. The silver Tyche medallion from Termez in Fig. 3.6 affords a comparable example in sculptured form, though it is from an earlier period (ca. 1st century A.D.) and has greater stress on realistic detail of the wings and other features, as well as a difference in costume and coiffure. Besides the general bust type portrayal and similarity of the long, well-rounded head in three-quarter view, they both clearly follow models reaching back to the classical West. Perhaps most pertinent in the case of the M III figure style is a comparison with the portrait of Septimius Severus, Julia Domna, Caracalla, and Geta (expunged) dated 199 A.D. from Egypt (Fig. 5.21). Particularly the pose of the faces of Julia Domna and Caracalla, the modelling technique and shape of eyes, nose and mouth all appear to be a close precursor of the type and techniques appearing in the M III figure, which, however, possesses slightly more elan and stress on clear, bold line.

Above the dado frieze an inch-wide black band and below about a 9" band with 8 or 9 black wavy lines impinged into the lower spaces created by the draped garland. Little remained in tact above the dado frieze; however, Stein surmised from the fallen fragments that a tri-colored band of black (lowest), grey and white separated the middle frieze from the upper one. The middle frieze, estimated to be between 3 to 4 feet in height, seems to have had a continuous narrative scene, apparently with some repeated figures and no vertical dividing lines, although it was interrupted by the three windows and the entrance door. The upper frieze with "Pompeiian red" background, according to Stein's estimation from the fragments he found, may have extended to the vault and probably contained life-size figures as well as animals and architecture. The paintings in Figs. 5.23a, 5.24a-5.26b and color Pl. XIII) were among those recovered by Stein from Shrine M III and are now in the National Museum, New Delhi.

The remains of the wall paintings of M V provide a more complete picture of the entire scheme, which, in overall layout, is quite similar to that of M III. On a section on the inner wall of the passageway outside the main walls of the structure remained a portion of a dado frieze about 1' 8" in height containing the figure of a winged male bust in the semicircular loop of the wavy garland festoon against a red background (Fig. 5.29). Slight differences in hair style, wings and the squiggly inner lines of the festoon show a different hand from the winged bust frieze from M III (Fig. 5.20). Above a border of three bands in white (lowest), black and pale blue are fragments of a scene with a youth fighting a griffin-like creature with lion body, wings, and a scalloped mane standing up along its neck, like a dragon. A fragment of a winged male in a private collection in Japan has been identified by Akiyama as probably another figure from this M V frieze (Fig. 5.30a).[105] The faces of both figures are similar to that in the Niya batik, as is the usage of the stripes in the composition of the zones (Fig. 5.7), and show a distinct difference from the Karadong wall paintings probably dating ca. late 4th century (Fig. 5.30b), as noted in Chapter 4.

Inside the rotunda of the shrine, the lower part of the south side had survived largely intact (Fig. 5.28). The lowest frieze (2' 6" high dado) presented a thick garland carried by naked youths and youths in Phrygian caps and tunic-like coats (Fig. 5.31). The head of the male figure at the left in Fig. 5.31 shows such remarkable similarity to the male sculpted head from Toprak Kala of ca. 3rd century, that this Miran painting should be considered to be related to the broader movements of style in the 3rd century across Central Asia (Fig. 3.44). The postures of the garland figures indicate that the order of viewing was clockwise, as for pradakṣiṇā. In the upper spaces created by the swags of the garland appear busts of various men and women all characterized with considerable

[105] Akiyama (1960), p. 140-141.

ingenuity as distinct types (Figs. 5.35, 5.36). Some men are bearded, others youthful; some are portrayed with a gesture of a well-known Syrian game, as observed by Stein. The women are individualistic according to garb and the objects they hold, such as a musical instrument or vase (Fig. 5.36).[106] The frieze began at the left as one entered the doorway and ended at the opposite side of the door; a large lotus flower rather than a figure bust was painted above the first and last swag of the garland.

The middle frieze, separated from the lower one by a triple band of "black, slaty grey and cream", contains a depiction of the Viśvāntara-Jātaka in continuous narration, as determined by Stein and Foucher.[107] This Jātaka was the last life of Śākyamuni before his birth in which he attained enlightenment as Śakyamuni Buddha. The scenes preserved from M V show the prince leaving the palace with his wife and children, giving away the royal elephant, and his encounter with the Brahmins (Figs. 5.32, 5.35, 5.36). A third frieze, above a similar triple band but in reversed order of colors, only survives as fragmentary parts of some feet, etc. The solid background color of both friezes is the same "Pompeiian red". According to Stein the drawing of the upper frieze figures was stiffer than those of the middle frieze and dado, and was probably executed by a different hand. The coloring of the upper frieze was rich with yellows and greens, and the trousers of figures were in deep purple and brown.

The paintings in both shrines were executed with a "tempura" type pigment on a "stucco backing consisting of a layer of friable clay mixed with short straw of cut reeds." The plaster was apparently in "two distinct layers—an outer only 1/4 inch thick and very brittle, the inner one inch thick and softer." Stein noted that the pale pinkish color used for some backgrounds was a pigment derived from ferric oxide and had been applied while the plaster was still wet. This method he also had found was used in paintings from Khotan up to the T'ang period.[108]

Two short Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions were discovered in M V painted directly on the scenes of the middle frieze near the entrance. One was located on the lintel of the palace and read "This is Isidata, the son of Bujhami" no doubt referring to the figure of the prince in the Viśvāntara-Jātaka depicted. The other, on the elephant, translates "This fresco is [the work] of Tita, who has received 3,000 Bhamakas [for it]." Clearly this inscription refers to the painter and his payment for the job. Stein surmised Tita to be Titus, a popular name throughout the Roman provinces of the Near East. Use of Kharoṣṭhī script similar to the Shan-shan kingdom writings found at Niya, Lou-lan and Endere lend strong supporting evidence for a pre mid-4th century dating of this shrine

[106] Bussagli (1963), p. 25.
[107] Stein (1921), I, pp. 521-523.
[108] *Ibid*, I, pp. 499, 504, 507-508.

(the latest Kharoṣṭhī document is around the 5th year of Sulica, ca. third quarter of the 4th century and Brāhmī script is thought to have supplanted Kharoṣṭhī in Central Asia by ca.400).[109]

b. *Style, technique and stylistic sources*

The style is generally consistent in the paintings from both shrines with subtle, not substantial, differences. These have been noted by Stein, Akiyama and others and may indicate, in conjunction with the evidences of the stupas, that the two shrines were executed at slightly differing dates. Stein reasons that M III pre-dates M V, but Akiyama argues the reverse, that is M V is earlier than M III.

Turning first to the representations of the human figure, the main element in all the wall paintings, the common manner of portrayal of the faces, hands and feet is clearly manifest. The faces are invariably turned a little to one side in a 3/4 view and are generally long and plump without prominent cheekbones. This shape face is consistent not only with the 199 A.D. painting of the medallion of Septimius Severus (Fig. 5.21) and the Termez Tyche silver medallion (Fig. 3.6) noted above, but also with the Toprak Kala sculpture (Fig. 3.44) of ca. 3rd century. The necks are thick but cylindrical (neither the trapezoidal nor the gently curved shape) with the creases indicated by a few quick strokes on one side, giving the impression of light striking from the opposite side and reinforcing the turn of the neck and head. Similar cylindrical necks and clear crease lines have already been observed in the sculptures of Palmyra, Airtam, and the Fujii Yūrinkan Bodhisattva (Figs. 3.10, 3.11 and 2.22).

The individual features are of a single type in all the figures: heavy eyebrows generally only slightly arched, widely opened eyes with brown irises and round dark pupils and fairly prominent upper lids, a fairly short nose with a pronounced dip for the tip, a rather large mouth with soft and curved shape, and a prominent rounded chin. Some figures have a soft, drooping style mustache, a style different from the pointed style common in the 1st-2nd century works, but similar to those on the Fujii Yūrinkan Bodhisattva (Fig. 2.22) and seen in numerous examples from Butkara, Swat.[110] The heads of the Brahmins in the Viśvāntara-Jātaka scene in M V have a distinctly similar

[109] Translation by L. Boyer in *Ibid.*, I, pp. 529-531. Brough (1965), p.611: "....the disappearance of the older Shan-shan .... also marks a break in cultural continuity. Prior to this, Gāndhārī and the Kharoṣṭhī script held the position of dominance. Naturally, it is not to be assumed that they disappeared overnight; but we can see from the fourth century onwards the increasing use of Brāhmī writing, which was also used to write languages of Central Asia, Khotanese, Agnean, and Kuchean, as well as texts in Buddhist Sanskrit..."

[110] See for example, Faccenna (1962 and 1964), II,2, at least 18 examples between Pls. CXXIX and CLLV.

long face and beard that interestingly impels comparison with the famous signed artist bust from the wall paintings of Dura Europos, dated prior to 256 A.D. when the city was destroyed by the Parthians (Fig. 5.27b). Though not the same, the Dura face has some similar style in the portrayal of the eyes and eyebrows and strong, simple rendering of the faces similar to those of the M V Brahmins and also of the monks from M III (Fig. 5.24a). The hand gestures are expressive; the hands themselves are a little small in proportion in most cases, and resemble the hands of the Ma Hao Cave IX Buddha of ca. 1st half of the 3rd century (late Later Han or Three Kingdoms period) from Szechwan (Fig. 1.23). On the Miran Buddha in Fig. 5.24a the thumb has a distinctive inward bend (Fig. 5.24c). This mudrā was first interpreted by Stein to be the abhayā-mudrā, but later modified by him to vitarka-mudrā (Stein, 1921, I, p. 502). The right hand of the Ma Hao Buddha is somewhat similar, though the bend is not so pronounced and is clearly the abhayā-mudrā, as is probably the Miran Buddha's gesture. The feet have long toes typical of classical style painting and similar to the foot in the Niya batik (Fig. 5.7); in most cases they are positioned at an angle, both in sitting and walking figures. A comparison of the standing legs in Fig. 5.26a and Fig. 5.25 show the greater flexibility in the latter work from M V. Hats on most of the male figures, besides the Phrygian cap, are the Indian turban crown, portrayed in an abbreviated, simplified manner, a factor which argues for a non-Indian or Gandhāran artist, who would probably pay more attention to this element. The wings, less detailed than in the Tyche medallion, are very similar to those portrayed in the Lo-p'u centaur textile fragment (Fig. 4.13), probably of the 1st-2nd century A.D.

The bodies generally have a solid feeling and moderately long legs and torsos. In the seated male figure from M III at the right in Fig. 5.23a and in some of the full length figures in the Viśvāntara-Jātaka scene in M V (Figs. 5.35, 5.36), sharp and somewhat squared muscular divisions and contours of the torso appear. Similar squared divisions occur in the Fujii Yūrinkan Bodhisattva (Fig. 2.22) and in some wall paintings from Kizil. Also, the bodies have a sense of realism in the attention to the shaping of the knees, shoulders and arms. The left arm of the Buddha in Fig. 5.24a,b has a contour line which seems to indicate the curve of muscle structure beneath the robe. This kind of form appears in Bamiyan Cave 165 antechamber wall painting (Fig. 3.68a,b), but with a developed sense of large proportion.

The technique for achieving this fairly high degree of solidity and realism is largely due to the soft and yet firm, thick line and the use of a wash to produce shading effects. A brusqueness in the shading suggests a familiarity with and some simplification of realistic modelling techniques. Sometimes a darker line strengthens contours, heightening the sense of shade on one side, as seen in the Buddha painting (Fig. 5.24a). Pale pink underpainting was noted by Stein in the M III dado paint-

ings and for highlights in certain areas of the winged male figures, especially the light areas of the lips. This technique, he further noted, was not used in the M V wall paintings.

The same kind of thick, even, rather soft line appears in the drapery, but there is usually a difference in color. The robes of the seated figures, for example in those from M III (Fig. 5.23a), are generally a brighter reddish or darker brown than the body lines. Folds of the various garments are diverse, showing a conscious usage of specific types for certain costumes. The elaborate scarves of the Kushana Gandhāran type on the seated male figures and on the figures in the Viśvāntara-Jātaka are depicted with strong double lines suggesting smooth pleats with sharp creases. The configuration of the massive loops around the upper arm and shoulder closely resembles those seen on some reliefs from Butkara I, Swat (Fig.5.23b) and the double lines compare to the double incised line carving techniques notable in the same Butkara relief. The Swat figures similarly possess comparable flow of contour lines of the scarves and a smooth, broad body like the seated figure at the left in Fig. 5.23a. Though these features are not exact in similarity, they do reveal a compatible approach to line and form that clearly relates them stylistically.

The wide pleats that fall beside the right leg of the larger seated man in Fig. 5.23a have a simple form and are not overly decorative in the hem design. This pattern of folds is related to the folds at the side of the large standing Buddha sculptures of Style I at Rawak, particularly those numbered R-12 to R-40 (Figs. 4.29, 4.33, 4.35). This relation helps to stabilize a dating for the Rawak works to a time period not too distant from the Miran wall paintings. Also, a similar pattern in painting appears in the lower garment of some standing Buddha figures from the anteroom of Cave 165 at Bāmiyān (Fig. 3.68a). The dating of the Bāmiyān material is problematic, but the consistency of style of the Cave 165 paintings with that of these Miran wall paintings could support a dating of ca. 3rd-4th century for the Bāmiyān Cave 165 anteroom paintings, already noted for their relation to the M III Buddha.

The lower garment or dhoti on the two seated men in Fig. 5.23a is softly portrayed with slightly flared hems at the calves similar to the example from Swat in Fig. 5.23b. The pleats are indicated with single or sometimes triple clusters of strokes that seem loose and free and do not completely encircle the leg. The folds of the Buddha's robe in Figs. 5.24a,b and color Pl. XIII are similarly portrayed, especially using pairs of the soft lines. The effect of this together with the feeling of loose material and the curved contour along the left arm of this image is also very similar to the Buddhas in Cave 165 at Bāmiyān (Figs. 3.68 a,b). The usage of shading inside the folds of the zigzag hems in the dhotis of the male figures in the Viśvāntara-Jātaka and in a fragment from M III (Figs. 5.25 and 5.35-5.36) is a technique creating a sense of spatial realism in the cloth.

This technique is known in painting from the Roman Empire period, as in the paintings from the synagogue at Dura Europos dated between 244/245-256 A.D. (Fig. 5.27a),[111] and becomes a rather long-lasting motif which surfaces later in Chinese Buddhist painting.

The guardian figures, though clearly retouched, nevertheless show a general form which relates to some guardian images from Gandhāra. The armor is almost identical, down to the roll near the hem of the upper armor.[112] The use of the crossed lines as abbreviated scale armor shows the same kind of abstract simplification of patterns as seen in the cross-hatched lines of the Chinese Three Kingdoms period shen-shou mirror from Shinyama in Fig. 2.8c. The horses in the Viśvāntara-Jātaka (Fig. 5.32) are closely allied in style and trappings not only to Gandhāran examples in sculpture (Fig. 5.34c), but also to paintings from Dura Europos (Fig. 5.34a,b) and bronze sculptures from Chinese tombs of the late Later Han (Fig. 5.33). The skill with which the elephant is drawn would suggest some familiarity with Indian models and the ornamentation worn by the elephant is a type which can also be seen in the fragment of a Bodhisattva, presumably from Cave 51 at Bāmiyān (Fig. 3.57b).

Space is modestly achieved in the scene of the two seated men from M III (Fig. 5.23a) by means of the differently colored planes of the floor and stool as well as by their slanting limbs and by the foreshortened proportions of the figures. The turning of the figures and the shallow frontal plane in the Viśvāntara- Jātaka also creates a limited, but effective, spatial impression. The architectural elements intuitively suggest space as well. Because emphasis is primarily on the figures, the architecture remains secondary and symbolic rather than realistic, yet there are some significant and interesting elements in the architectural motifs. The palace gate in Fig. 5.32, portrayed at a angle, is simply indicated in a way nearly identical to the relief from Gandhāra in Fig. 5.34c, but includes a railing motif—also well known in the sculpture of the Kushana art of Mathurā and Gandhāra. The decoration of the lintel is nearly identical to the carved wooden pieces discovered by Stein at Lou-lan and Niya as well as to one discovered in the remains of M V itself.[113] Elements such as these tend to cement the consistency of style and date among the early group of art from the Shan-shan kingdom. Also, the manner of drawing the architectural elements and furniture, such as the

[111] K. Weitzman and H. L. Kessler, *The Frescoes of the Dura Synagogue and Christian Art*, Washington, D.C., 1990, p. 15.

[112] Rosenfield (1967), Figs. 81, 127; Faccenna (1962 and 1964), II,3, Pls. CDLXVIII, CDLXIXa, CDLXXIV.

[113] Stein (1921), III, Pl. XLVII (M.V.0012) for the fragment of the lintel from M V; for part of what Stein thought could be a pilaster with acanthus leaf serving as part of the yasti and umbrellas, see *Ibid.*, III, Pl. XXXIV (MV.001). Both resemble elements in the doorway painted in the frieze of M V and woodwork from Lou-lan, as noted by Stein, see *Ibid.*, I, pp. 513-514. This woodwork would seem to confirm a ca. 3rd century dating for M V.

footstool in Fig. 5.23a, is related to the similar kind of even thick red line drawing of the architecture of the stupas in the Cave 165 anteroom wall paintings at Bāmiyān (Fig. 3.68a).

Tree and floral motifs appear with some frequency. Trees in the Viśvāntara-Jātaka frieze have a charmingly naive realism. A single trunk supports a globular mass of realistically drawn individual leaves and branches silhouetted by a dark background (Fig. 5.35). Two different trees appear in the Buddha scene from M III (Fig. 5.24a): a tree with five-petaled flowers at the left of the panel and one with a piny-like bough and red and white flowers at the right of the panel. Such clear, simplified shapes—well known in depiction of trees in Indian sculpture from Bharhut, Sanchi, etc., are also used in the wall painting fragments found at Kara-tepe of ca. 2nd-early 3rd century (Fig. 3.15a,b) and in Kushan Gandhāran relief sculpture. Single lotus flowers as well as acanthus leaves are used as decorative accents in blank spaces, such as between the figures of the festoon frieze. They tend to be prominent and isolated and to be painted with a shading-like wash. In style they are bold and lively, typical of the spirit of all the Miran paintings, which are executed with a rapid yet skillful brush, sometimes with bold shading techniques.

The overall impression of the Miran paintings is of a simple realism with strong overtones of boldly abstract tendencies based significantly on Gandhāran/Swat motifs but also having a style relatable to the painting of the Roman Empire, such as that from Egypt in the period of Septimius Severus, and from Dura Europos. Harmonious tones of red and green with dark accents of a purplish brown combined with flat washes for modelling and thick, even lines create both a sense of spatial setting and solidity to the figures. A tough, sturdy vigor emerges together with a softness of line and subdued color. The extent of the simplification or abstraction may connote a well accustomed style that is in the final stages of its development. This same general character appears in sculpture in the Fujii Yūrinkan Bodhisattva, and its relation with the Miran paintings helps to confirm the generally contemporaneous dating for this important early Chinese bronze Buddhist sculpture.

c. *Conclusions and dating*

The most flourishing period for Miran in the third century was probably during the reign of Emperor Wu of Western Chin, who ruled from 265-289 A.D. After that time, China was plunged into the events leading up to the disastrous civil wars of the early 4th century (the period of the upheavals of the 8 princes), followed by the total devastation of north China from the invasions of the Hsiung-nu and others in 311 and 317 (the disturbances of the Yung-chia era). The serious plight of China from ca. 300 until a modicum of stability was achieved under the Former and Later Chao dynasties

in the 320's, probably affected Miran, which, however, may have became more independent. Although Miran may have been active during the periods of firm Chinese control of eastern Central Asia in the Former and Later Han, it appears most likely that Stupa Shrines M III and M V were made during the flourishing period of around 265 A.D., contemporaneous with the flourishing period of the Western Chin, when China was unified and attained a measure of peace and stability and foreign trade was active. Certainly these two shrines and their wall paintings do not date later than end of the 3rd century. The elements relating to the Dura Europos paintings dating 244/245-256 A.D.), some Swat sculpture, and the Toprak Kala works of the 3rd century help to confirm such a dating. The elements similar to late Later Han-Three Kingdoms period works would suggest that the style is current in the first half of the 3rd century. Miran is an important indicator in relation to the Style I sculptures at Rawak and to Bāmiyān Cave 165 as well as for the Fujii Yūrinkan Bodhisattva, all of which can also be linked to other works that help to stabilize their dating.

The strong connections with the art of western Central Asia and Swat as well as Dura Europos in the wall paintings and the links with northwest India, especially Swat, in the stupa style are clear evidences of a relation with those areas rather than with China, even though China is actually nearer. This certainly affirms a strong linkage with western Central Asia and the general Gandhāra Swat-Kashmir region during the later Kushan period, though does not necessarily support Brough's rather extreme theory of the presence of Kushans as rulers in the Shan-shan kingdom around the late 2nd-early 3rd century. At the very least it is important to note that these strong connections in the Miran art parallel the usage of the Kharoṣṭhī script in the Shan-shan kingdom area, further evidence of some kind of significant role of the Kushans in this kingdom.

3. *The Structures and Sculptures of M II*

a. *Vihāra M II and its sculpture*

The ruins of M II, excavated by Stein in 1907 and again in 1914,[114] appear to constitute a vihāra, possibly originally with a stupa on a large rectangular platform (Figs. 5.38 and 5.39). The platform or terrace with its corners at the cardinal points, measured approximately 46' x 36' and was about 9'feet in height. On top and positioned towards the northwest side was a smaller rectangular mass 17 1/2' by 15' with surviving height about 11'.(Fig. 5.38) Stein did not consider this to be a stupa, but the configuration suggests a large platform holding a stupa with rectangular base similar to some known at Taxila.[115] The southeast and northeast sides of the large plat-

[114] For Stein's description of M II see *Ibid.*, I, pp. 485-492.

[115] Though not exactly similar, some of the monasteries at Taxila, such as Kalawān and Jauliāñ,

form retained a series of niches about 8 inches deep that contained the remains of clay/stucco life-size statues, mostly all ruined (Fig. 5.39).[116] The niches, all faced with plaster, were separated by pilasters whose bracket forms are, according to Stein, similar to the wooden brackets found at Niya and Lou-lan.[117] Perhaps even more comparable are the pillars of the niches of the stupas in the wall paintings of Cave 38 at Kizil (Fig. 5.40), a cave probably dating ca. 3rd quarter of the 4th century according to my study which will appear in the sequel to this book. The pillar may have derived from earlier Gandhāran examples, such as those in the upper tier of Fig. 5.65.

Further clearing by Stein around the large platform uncovered on the northeast side what he designated a wide passage, a little more than 10' wide, and another wall with the remains of six colossal seated Buddha images and two additional pedestals facing the large platform (Fig. 5.38). The colossal Buddhas, all in dhyāna-mudrā, were well preserved below the waist (they measured 7'-7' 3" across from knee to knee), but were ruined above the waist (Fig. 5.41). Stein described the drapery on Buddhas 1 and 2 as "raised plaits 1 inch wide" and on Buddhas 3, 4 and 5 as "parallel double grooves." A red wash remained on Buddhas 3 and 4. A total of 6 (or possibly 7) heads were found—all Buddhas, some of colossal size.

The fragment of a palm-leaf pothī, discovered in front of the pedestal base of Buddha 4, was written in Sanskrit with Brāhmī characters of the early Gupta type according to Hoernle, who placed its date ca. 400.[118] In Stein's assessment, M II did not appear to date later than the 5th century.[119]

It seems that M II comprised a monastery or vihāra with a large platform with niches along the sides and a structure, possibly a stupa, on top, a circumambulatory corridor, and a courtyard with large clay images along the outer side of the corridor. Although greatly ruined and not adequately excavated yet, it appears to be a

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have rectangular stupa platforms within a court surrounded by walls and other structures. Marshall (1951), III, pls. 73 b, 74 a, 101, 104 a.

[116] Another view appears in Hsin-chiang wei-wu-erh tzu-chih chü she-hui k'o-hsüeh-yüan k'ao-ku yen-chiu-so 新疆维吾尔自治区社会科学院考古研究所 (Institute for Archaeology and Ancient Studies of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region) , *Hsin-chiang ku-tai min-tsu wen-wu* 新疆古代民族文物 (Cultural Relics from the Ancient Peoples of Sinkiang), Peking, 1985, Fig. 252, which shows the niches and columns considerably decayed from the time of Stein's photo. Only one clay statue remains, and it was preserved only below the waist (Fig. 4.122 and *Ibid.*, Fig. 252). The head of this image is supposed to be in New Delhi as well as a hand holding drapery. The Buddha head in Fig. 5.46 could belong to this area of M II, although the surviving statue appears to be a Bodhisattva and not a Buddha. As it is life size, its size seems more appropriate than as a head for the colossal Buddhas of the outer wall, which are all larger in size.

[117] For discussion of the brackets, see Stein (1921), I, pp. 491-492.

[118] For the pothī MS see *Ibid.*, I, pp. 489-490, 492 and III, Pl. CXLIII.

[119] *Ibid.*, I, p. 492.

major monastery complex at least generally based on the Gandhāran model as seen in some of the monasteries of Taxila. Within the Shan-shan kingdom it constitutes the closest comparable remains to the great monasteries of the northern route at Tumshuk and the Kucha region and with Rawak monastery near Khotan, though it differs from these in specific details.

i. *Sculptures*

The colossal Buddhas along the outer wall of the passage are all seated on plain pedestals which have a sloping front and sides that curve inward to the back, resulting in a trapezoidal, semicircular shape.[120] This type of pedestal shape is rare as far as I know, but does appear in one of the early Chinese bronze Buddhas—the seated Buddha in the Tokyo National Museum (Fig. 2.17) dated in Chapter 2 to ca. 1st half of the 3rd century and whose pedestal was similar in the front face with those of the Buddhas in the carved wooden lintel from Lou-lan (Fig. 5.58). The Harvard flame-shouldered Buddha's pedestal is similarly tapered towards the back, though angled rather than curved; later Chinese bronze images commonly have regular rectangular, square, oval or round pedestals and not this particular shape.

The style of the colossal Buddhas as seen in Fig. 5.41 and from Stein's description, appears to relate to Chinese images of the first half of the 5th century, particularly to some at Chin-t'a ssu east cave (Fig. 5.42). The particular arm/hand positions curving forward rather than straight (also seen in the Lou-lan lintel with seated Buddhas and in the Karadong painted Buddhas [Fig. 4.87d]), the small size of the central flap of the robe over the legs, and the light, loosely wavy hem edge are similar in the Fig. 5.42 Buddha and the Miran M II Buddhas. The specific fold type is not the same, but the double incised type of fold is known from the Kizil wall paintings of Cave 38 of ca. 3rd quarter of the 4th century and occurs in a number of Gandhāran and Swat stone sculptures as well as in some early 5th century Chinese images.[121] The raised strip type of fold in Buddhas 1 and 2 as noted by Stein may be similar to the raised strips employed in the clay sculptures of Tun-huang Caves 272 and 275 and many others at Tun-huang from ca. 420 up to the mid-6th century. The photograph does not allow visual confirmation of this in the Miran II Buddhas, but if it is so, then they are an important example of the usage of raised strip folds in Central Asia. The bodies of the Miran II colossal Buddhas seem stiffer than the Chin-t'a ssu examples, but this could be a factor of their large size, although a later

[120] The curved sides of the pedestals are apparent in *Ibid.*, I, Figs. 122 and 123.

[121] See the standing Bodhisattva in the Asian Art Museum, San Francisco of ca. 400-420 A.D. M. Rhie (1995), Fig. 11.

dating for the M II sculpture should perhaps not be ruled out. Overall, the style does not appear to be later than that of the early colossal Buddhas at Yün-kang of ca. 460's (Fig. 5.43).

The three known major colossal Buddha heads from M II are generally similar in style (Figs. 5.44 and 5.45) with large, rectangular shape, full, broad cheeks, highly arched brows, long and rather big, naturalistically modelled nose, and finely shaped mouth with abstractly curved lower lip and gentle wave-shaped upper lip outlined with a thin raised line. The semicircular shaped plane between the eyelid and brows is a style related to the clean, arc shapes used for this feature in the "Haḍḍa" stucco school, but also seen in Gandhāran stone heads like that of Fig. 5.47a, which probably dates to the 4th century or slightly earlier. This mode of eye depiction also occurs in the stucco heads from Taxila, some clay images from Dalverzin-tepe, and in the Metropolitan Museum head said to have come from Rawak (Figs. 3.32, 3.34, 4.36), and appears to be a style of the 3rd-4th century. The eyes of the Miran II Buddhas are beautifully shaped having a high upper lid with slightly curved upper lid rim and relatively straight lower lid rim, both tapering in long lines towards the temples. This eye type is somewhat similar to that of the large clay Khotan Buddha head in Fig. 4.9, but the upper lid is more curvilinear in the M II heads. While the Khotan head relates to the Fayaz-tepe niche Buddha head (Fig. 3.24b) and Ping-ling ssu Cave 169 Amitāyus Buddha head of 420 A.D., the Miran II heads relate more to the Chin-t'a ssu east cave head style (Fig. 5.49); even the mouth with its mild smile and smooth, ideal shape is similar.

Another work which may shed further light on the style of the M II Buddha heads is Cave 83 at Kizil. The paintings from this cave have facial features with a similar mild, simplified, gracefully curved style (Fig. 5.48). As discussed in the sequel to this book, the wall paintings of Kizil Cave 83 are related to the style of the bronze standing Ku-kung Museum bronze Bodhisattva, which in turn is dated within a chronology of Chinese sculpture to the mid-4th century.[122] These figures may provide parameters for this style, which could be a major style around the mid-4th century that continues and develops, as seen in the Chin-ta ssu east cave sculptures, and eventually evolves into the style of the early colossal images in the T'an-yao caves at Yün-kang from ca. 460's. The Miran II links with Kizil Caves 83 and 38 and with Chin-t'a ssu east cave could point to a dating ca. 400 or earlier. Also, the particular technique of the M II heads, using straw mixed with clay for durability and hardness, is a technique used in the heads of Ping-ling ssu Cave 169 images, as discussed

[122] *Ibid.*, Fig. 9.

in the subsequent book, dating from the late 4th century and into the early 5th century.

The head of a Buddha now in the National Museum, New Delhi, may belong to the group from M II (or possibly M XV, though it is stylistically closer to the M II sculptures) (Fig. 5.46). It is identified as coming from Miran and is about 12" in height, making it life-size—perhaps a little smaller than the colossal Buddhas of M II. It has a firm, full round face structure with beautifully abstract eyes and arched eyebrows stylistically comparable to the Buddha heads from M II in Fig. 5.44. The hair curls seem to have been applied separately.

Fa-hsien stayed in Shan-shan for one month in 400 A.D. Although it is not known which specific place he stayed (Stein reasons it was either Miran or Charklik, see section on Shan-shan history above and note 64), he stated that there were around 4,000 Buddhist monks of the Hīnayāna and that the king professed to be Buddhist. It is also known that the famous Indian monk Dharmakṣema was in Shan-shan before coming to China in the early 5th century. These factors at least confirm that Buddhism was still quite active in the Shan-shan kingdom at that time.[123]

4. *Sites M XIII, XIV and XV*

When Stein returned to Miran in 1914 he excavated several other ruins missed in 1907 to the north of the M I fort and M II vihāra about 1-1 3/4 miles (Fig. 5.12). M XIV (Fig. 5.50b) was a mound about 8' high which upon excavation turned out to be a rotunda with a circular stupa base (extant height 5') covered with stucco. It had a "triple plinth below and a series of flat mouldings above."[124] The ambulatory passage was about 4 1/2' and the enclosing wall about 5' wide with faint traces of paint: "what survived of colors and outlines seemed to point to a style different from that of the mural paintings of M III and M V."[125] One wooden fragment had the four-petaled Gandhāran style lotus. M XIII, about 1 1/4 miles northeast of M XIV was a tower structure like M XII 17' square at the base, 16' height above ground level and sun-dried bricks 18 x 10 x 4 1/2 inches.

[123] Legge (1965 reprint), pp. 12-14; Beal (1869), pp. 5-6. Dharmakṣema (T'an-mo-ch'en) was one of the great monks in China in the second quarter of the 5th century. He was said to be from Kashmir (or Central India), to have gone to Kashmir and then to Kucha in order to propagate the *Mahā-parinirvāṇa Sūtra.* However, finding no adherents in either place, he went to Tun-huang and then to Ku-ts'ang, capital of the Northern Liang dynasty at that time. He apparently returned to Central Asia once, to obtain Buddhist texts from Khotan, and returned to China to continue his work. He died in China, as he was leaving Northern Liang, by the messenger of Chü-ch'ü Meng-seng, the king of Northern Liang and Dharmakṣema's previous patron. See *Wei-shu* in *YK,* XVI, p. 58-59, footnotes by Tsukamoto.

[124] Stein (1928) I, p. 173, and Fig. 118.

[125] *Ibid.,* I, p. 173.

M XV, found on January 18, 1914, one mile northeast of M V was a mound about 15' high (Fig. 5.12). Upon clearing the dense rubble, Stein determined it was a circular shrine with approximate diameter 19' 8". It contained large stucco sculptures, of which he found six or seven life-size or larger heads (two or three Bodhisattvas, two Buddhas, one head with floppy hair [Fig. 5.51a] and one demon) and the remains of two colossal seated Buddhas. However, Stein was unable to determine the original placement of these pieces. According to Stein, the treatment of the seated Buddha's drapery resembled that of the colossal seated Buddhas of M II. The bricks were the size of M III and M V, but also included some flat oblong ones with a raised margin. Stein tentatively grouped this ruin with M II in the 5th century or later.[126]

The Bodhisattva heads from M XV show a style which relates them to the Gandhāra/Haḍḍa schools of the 3rd-4th century (Figs. 5.51a,b,c). The tell-tale sign is the peculiar eye shape with its drooping upper lid—a kind related to but more abbreviated than some eyes seen both in Gandhāran stone sculptures (Fig. 5.47b) and used in Haḍḍa stucco sculpture rather prevalently. It also occurs in the Dalverzin-tepe Bodhisattva in Fig. 3.36b of ca. late 2nd-3rd century A.D. and in some examples from Butkara, Swat (Figs. 5.51d,e). The mode is somewhat loosely used in the M XV heads, suggesting perhaps the final stages of this style. The highly arched, raised eyebrows relate to the Rawak Style VI heads (Fig. 4.62b), though the head shapes are larger and heavier. The heads from M XV may be earlier than those from M II since they do not have the advanced and more Central Asia eye style, but they do not seem far removed in overall quality of massive volume. The M II heads show a more confident mastery of form and line that bespeaks a mature development a step further removed from the Haḍḍa traditions.[127] One of the most important new discoveries, the early wall paintings from Karadong (see chapter 4) near Khotan, are closely comparable in style to the Miran XV sculptures; both have the heavy, long face, large eyes with big, slanted eyelids, rather thick nose and shapely mouth with broadly curved upper lip and semicircular lower lip (Fig. 5.51f). This close comparison suggests a date for the Karadong paintings about the time of Miran XV, as suggested in Chapter 4, probably around the late 4th or early 5th century, and probably before the Chin-t'a ssu group in China. It is emerging as an important

[126] *Ibid.*, I, pp. 174-175 and text Fig. 119. Stein indicated there may be more ruins in this northern area, but he had no time for further exploration.

[127] In a recent study by Lim Young-ae, she dates M II and M XV in the 4th century and before the 5th century with M II probably middle or late 4th century and MXV about twenty some years later. Lim Young-ae 林玲愛, "Sŏyŏk namro Miran Sobulsang ui Yŏn'gu" 西域南路미란(米蘭, MIRAN)塑佛像의研究 (Research on the Miran Clay Sculptures in the Southern Silk Route), *Bulgyo Misul*, Vol. 11, 1992, p. 161 (in Korean).

style that we seem to be able to identify and relate with a group of works, probably dating ca. 400.

At this stage perhaps we can begin to identify a stylistic strain in sculpture from the southern Silk Route sites related to the Haḍḍa stucco school and also with the Swat stone sculpture as represented by the Dīpaṃkara Buddha statue in Fig. 4.44, including the Khotan clay head in Fig. 4.10, the M XV and M II sculptures, and the Chin-t'a ssu east cave sculptures. This style seems to reach its culmination in China in the 460's with the T'an-yao caves at Yün-kang. This is clearly not the only stylistic group of the 4th-first half of the 5th century, but it seems to be a major one and may also be represented in its early stages by the paintings from Kizil Cave 83 and by the newly discovered wall paintings at Karadong near Khotan. By the time of M II the dependency on Gandhāra seems to have slackened and an inventive creativity assumed control of the sculpture. The hints of relation with the northern route art, mainly from Kizil near Kucha, could testify to more inter-communication, possibly during the relatively independent period of the 4th century when the Kucha area is also known for its flourishing Buddhism. Certainly the Karadong wall paintings may be a part of this flourishing movement as well.

During the 4th century Central Asia appears to be a major, and probably most major, source for the Buddhist art of China. India, including the former Kushan empire, was in the process of major changes, but Central Asia appears to have a degree of independent growth and development, without much control or influence from China aside from the few attempts by the Former Liang and the Former Ch'in.

5. *Conclusions: Miran*

Miran is a major and a complex site, still shrouded in some mystery. It is predominantly Buddhist; among the 15 remains so far known, it has three stupa shrines (M III, V, and XIV), two or three square base stupas (M VI, VII, and possibly M IV), a circular shrine with Buddhist images (M XIII), and one or more vihāras (M II and possibly the small structures M IV and IX), a tower-like structure with squinch arches (M X), a "lookout tower" (M XII), and a few other small structures as well as the later Tibetan Fort (M I). Though the stupas are not as grand in scale as those at Lou-lan, the variety of the total structures devoted to Buddhist purposes surpasses Lou-lan, Endere, and Niya. The wall paintings of M III and M V are clearly Hīnayāna themes; M II is possibly Hīnayāna, but it could also be Mahāyāna; M XV has some Bodhisattva heads, suggesting a possible Mahāyānist direction.

It appears that Miran was active as a Buddhist site in the 3rd and 4th centuries and may have been abandoned by the mid-5th century until re-used for the con-

struction of the Tibetan Fort in the second half of the 8th century. The well preserved silk banner with Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions found in M V suggests abandonment of the M III and M V and possibly the other nearby structures by around the mid or late 4th century. The pothī in Brāhmī found at M II suggests disuse by around the mid-5th century for that structure. However, Fa-hsien notes 4,000 monks of Hīnayāna ca. 400 A.D. in the Shan-shan kingdom. Lou-lan, Niya, and Endere were defunct by that time, apparently leaving primarily Miran and Charklik as the most viable centers within the Shan-shan kingdom ca. 400 A.D. The fact that Fa-hsien did not choose to go to Khotan via the southern route but to head northwest to Karashahr and then cut southwest directly across the Taklamakan Desert to Khotan—an extremely dangerous route—suggests he was purposely avoiding the Endere-Niya-Khotan stretch, which may have been virtually abandoned by inhabitants and therefore probably too dangerous for travel. The increased isolation for Shan-shan under these circumstances argues for its decline in the 5th century, or at least decreased likelihood for making substantial Buddhist dedications for lack of financial resources. Shan-shan still existed as a kingdom in the early 440's when the Northern Liang fled from Tun-huang to Shan-shan, was unable to conquer the kingdom and then fled to Turfan in the face of the Northern Wei advance. In 445 the Northern Wei conquered Shan-shan. Thereafter we hear little from the Chinese sources except to learn that Sung Yün passed through in ca. 519. He did not mention anything related to Buddhism, but only stated that a military officer (presumably Chinese) was in residence and troops were engaged in subjugating the "Western Turks".

C. Lou-lan

Lou-lan was discovered by fortuitous chance during the Swedish explorer Sven Hedin's 1899-1901 archaeological mission to Central Asia. On March 28, 1900, about 3 p.m., when crossing the desert from north to south in search of the ancient Lob nor lake, he came upon the ruins of what is believed today to have been ancient Lou-lan. From his writings it is clear just how narrow the encounter was: "The watercourse we were following brought us straight to this remarkable discovery. Had we been traveling two or three hundred yards either to the east or to the west we should never have seen them."[128] Being short of water, he was unable to stay longer than for a cursory exploration of what later we identify as L.B. IV and V (Stein's classification, see Fig. 5.52b), from which he took away some wood carvings, including the

[128] S. Hedin, *Central Asia and Tibet*, 2 vols., London and New York, 1903, I, 377.

panel of two figures in Fig. 5.78a. After more sites were spotted by his worker Ordek on March 29th, who, after the party had already left the site and journeyed some distance, had to return to the site in order to retrieve the lost spade (needed for digging for water)—which had inadvertently been left behind, Hedin determined to return again the following year. Keeping this determination, from March 3rd-10th, 1901 he found the remains of L.B. I-III and the main area of the Lou-lan walled city (ch'eng) or "station" in Stein's term, later designated by Stein as the L.A. area, and other sites in between L.A. and L.B., which he had discovered the year before. The remains and objects reported and sent back to Sweden, including a rare document in Kharoṣṭhī (known at that time only as a script used by the Kushans—later, after these early explorations by Hedin and Stein, known to be the script used in the 3rd-4th century in the Shan-shan kingdom—see section one of this chapter),[129] offered the world the first glimpse of a major settlement in the Lob desert from an ancient time. His finds sparked enthusiastic interest among the European archaeologists and "orientalists" and it was not long before others, notably Aurel Stein, undertook the hazardous journey into the Taklamakan and Lob deserts to probe its secrets still further. Stein arrived at the site, following Hedin's maps, on December 17, 1906 and remained there until December 28th. He returned again in 1914 for further excavation and detailed mapping.[130]

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[129] It is sometimes difficult to confirm Hedin's find spots, since conflicting accounts occur among his numerous writings. According to his account in *CAT*, II, pp. 126-129, the find spot of his first Kharoṣṭhī wooden manuscript is the small Buddhist temple (later designated L.B. II by Stein): "In this same place [i.e. at the site later designated by Stein as L.B. II] we also made another important discovery. Shagdur was digging and poking about with his spade, when he turned up a small tablet of wood, covered over with writing in a script which I was unable to decipher. This, however, Shagdur had not noticed, for he had flung the piece of wood on one side as a thing of no value; but I happened to be standing by, and thought how well-preserved it was, and so by mere chance stooped and picked it up. Every letter was sharp-cut and distinct, and written in India ink, but the script was neither Arabic, nor Chinese, nor Mongolian, nor Tibetan. What could be the purport of these mysterious words? What was the information locked up in them? I at once took care of the little tablet, and preserved it as if it were a precious stone. Hence the reward of ten sir (about 30s.), which I had promised to the first man who discovered a piece of writing of any description fell to Shagdur. And as I offered a similar reward for the next find of the same character, the men redoubled their efforts, and without the slightest scruple literally turned the interior of the temple inside out. They sifted the sand through their fingers; they pounced upon every scrap of wood, and turned it over and examined it from every side—but without success. The only things that came to light were the string of a rosary, some Chinese copper money, and a heap of small earthenware cups or bowls, which had clearly been placed in front of the images of the gods to hold the offerings of the faithful." Also see F. Bergman, "Lou-lan Wood-carvings and Small finds Discovered by Sven Hedin", *BMFEA*, No. 7, 1935, p. 72.

[130] Stein (1921), I, pp. 362, 406. Stein started work at L.B. I-III December 24, 1906. By December 28th he had completed his survey. Visits were also made to Lou-lan by Huntington in 1906, Tachibana in 1909 and Horner and Chen in 1931.

The desolation of the site was noted by both Hedin and Stein. Hedin wrote: "The desert was absolutely barren; there was not even so much as a decayed tree." Stein remarked, "Compared to Niya, which had some relief in the soft lined expanse of swelling dunes and sand cones, here there was nothing to rest on but an endless succession of sharply-cut Yardangs of hard clay and deep-scoured trenches, all running in the same direction, just as the relentless northeast wind had sculpted them."[131] Hedin speculated about the L.B. V area that it "had once stood on a peninsula that jutted out into a lake, or on an isthmus between two lakes." About the L.A. area he notes the "village occupied unquestionably a magnificent situation, with the reed-grown lake to the south and the forest to the west," which clearly provided the material for the structures.[132]

What Hedin had chanced upon was later estimated by Stein as the remains of the strategically located Chinese military outpost of Lou-lan located to the northwest of the Lob nor area. In the Former Han (206 B.C.-8 A.D.) this area had been under the rule of the Lou-lan kingdom. According to the records of the *Han-shu*, in 77 B.C., angered by the Lou-lan king's affiliation with their enemies the Hsiung-nu, the Chinese killed the Shan-shan king installed by the Hsiung-nu and installed a king of Chinese choice. After that the kingdom was called Shan-shan.[133]

In Later Han (25-220 A.D.) Chinese expansionist policy in Central Asia waxed and waned several times (see chapter 1), the greatest period of control being ca. 91-102 under Pan Ch'ao as Protector General. Again, in ca. 119, after more than a decade of Han decline in Central Asia, Pan Yung, son of Pan Ch'ao, was instrumental in persuading the Han court to reinvigorate Han power in the Western Regions and to establish a military colony on the north shore of Lob nor. In 123 A.D. the court agreed and 500 men were sent to this colony, which was given the old name of Lou-lan. The site was a strategically located military and communications post governing the important routes from the Jade Gate (Yü-men kuan) to Kucha via the Central Route, to Karashahr via the route then called the Northern Route, and to Miran and Charklik on the Southern Route. According to the *Wei-lüeh*, the military colony's purpose was to control the roads on the west that led to Yen-ch'i (Karashahr) and Ch'iu-tzu (Kucha), to fortify Shan-shan and Yü-t'ien (Keriya/Khotan) on the south, to overawe the Hsiung-nu (then holding Turfan) on the north, and to be the neighbor of Tun-huang to the east. In 124 the king of Shan-shan submitted to Han

[131] Hedin (1903), I, p. 376; Stein (1921), I, p. 369.

[132] S. Hedin, *Scientific Results of a Journey in Central Asia*, 2 vols., Stockholm, 1905, II, p. 635.

[133] Details about the circumstances leading up to the Chinese slaying of the Lou-lan king by Fu Chieh-tzu are contained in the *Han-shu*. For translation see Hulsewé (1979), pp. 87-92, and Chapter 5 above, section on Shan-shan history.

in Pan Yung's campaign; subsequently the king of Kucha and other western territories did likewise. From Lou-lan the critical stronghold of Turfan was later conquered by Pan Yung and a Chinese military colony established at Lukchun.[134]

Documents found at Lou-lan testify that the site of the Lou-lan Chinese military outpost was active and probably under at least some control of the Ts'ao Wei (Three Kingdoms period) and Emperor Wu of Western Chin (r. 265-289 A.D.), especially during the period from 265-270 A.D.[135] The discovered documents also suggest that the site declined after ca. 330 (there are no further dated Chinese documents later than this date in the period). With northern China falling into political chaos after the reign of Emperor Wu, it is likely that control of the Shan-shan kingdom (and therefore the outpost at Lou-lan) by the Western Chin dwindled and may even have virtually ceased in the early 4th century. Clearly the Former Liang took an interest in Shan-shan, and possibly exerted some control over Lou-lan during their period in power from the early 4th century to 370's, but this is still in the realm of speculation. Lou-lan probably lapsed into disuse at least by the end of the 4th century if not earlier, shortly after ca. 330, the latest dated document found so far at Lou-lan.[136]

The site of Lou-lan is associated by some scholars with the Kroraina of the Kharoṣṭhī documents,[137] which also attest that Lou-lan/Kroraina was the headquarters of the Buddhist saṅgha in Shan-shan in the 3rd century (see note 67). It is not clear to which site Fa-hsien traveled in Shan-shan, probably the capital, which most

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[134] Stein (1921), I, pp. 416-418, containing translations by Chavannes from the *Wei-lüeh*, written by Yü Huan between 239 and 265 A.D. and dealing with the first two reigns of the Wei kingdom (Three Kingdoms Period).

[135] See discussion in Chapter 5, Shan-shan history section, regarding Chinese title, the establishment of Shan-shan chün and the emissary missions to Ts'ao Wei and Western Chin. Regarding the documents, more Chinese than Kharoṣṭhī documents were found at Lou-lan. Of the more than 400 published Chinese documents from Lou-lan, just over 50 are dated; 45 of these belong to the period 263-270 with the remainder from the early part of the 4th century. Brough (1965), p. 602. Bergman (1935), p. 77 provides a chart of some of the dated manuscripts. He also notes the documents discovered in 1930 northeast of Lou-lan station of wooden records in Chinese dated to 49 B.C. and 12-9 B.C. era, making them the earliest documents from Lou-lan yet known. Hou Ts'an (1988), pp. 40-41 summarizes most of the document finds from Lou-lan (total of 576 documents of which 412 are wooden slips, 164 are paper; among these 48 have dates). Also see Chapter 5, note 19.

[136] Only a few documents are clearly dated to the 4th century: two found by Stein dated corresponding to 312, one found by Mr. Tachibana corresponding to 324, and another found by Stein that can be interpreted to date 330 (see note 26). "Mr. Tachibana in his rapid visit in 1910 discovered a Chinese document dating from 324, addressed to the king of Karashahr." Stein (1921), I, pp. 377, 409 and note 11 on p. 409. Also see above, Chapter 4, note 11. The 330 document used an outmoded Western Chin nien-hao, suggesting lack of connection with China, if not some kind of error (see above note 26).

[137] Stein (1921), I, p. 413; Bergman (1935), p. 71 note 1. Japanese scholars such as Enoki Kazuo were influential in supporting the L.A. site as Kroraina and the capital of Shan-shan. For the problems of identifying Kroraina and the capital of the Shan-shan kingdom, see above note 13.

Chinese scholars as well as Stein believe was in the Miran-Charklik area, but it would seem that Lou-lan was not the site, since it was probably not operative at that time.

The general Lou-lan region around the north and northwestern shores of Lob nor contains numerous individual sites, many of which were identified by Stein during his explorations. His designations, ranging from L.A. to L.Q., continue to be the best means of identifying the sites and will be used here. The major sites of L.A. and L.B, the two first sites found by Hedin and later investigated by Stein, lay along a relatively straight course running southeast to northwest, with the Lou-lan ch'eng (fortified garrison or walled town, the "military station" of Stein's designation) at the southeastern end near the ruins of a large stupa. The L.A. area primarily consists of the main walled city (ch'eng) (Fig. 5.52d) within which were dwelling sites and "official buildings", as well as the large stupa (Fig. 5.53a), the main landmark of the site. The L.B. area, approximately 8 miles to the northwest of L.A., comprises sites L.B. I-III, IV-V, VI and various ruined stupas. The L.C. area (Fig. 5.80), a region of tombs, lies about 6 miles to the northeast of L.A., and the L.D. area, about 2 miles from L.A., is a dwelling site (Fig. 5.52a).[138]

The site of L.E. (Figs. 5.52f,g), another important fortified town (ch'eng), was reported by Stein to be about 19 miles northeast of L.A. (Fig. 5.52a). A rectangular parallelogram in shape, it is approximately 450 ft. east to west and 400 ft. north to south. It has two gates: the main gate in the south wall is 10 feet wide, and the other, in the north wall (an unusual feature among the walled towns of the Lou-lan/Shan-shan kingdom, most of which have gates in the east and/or west walls), is slightly narrower, but has a structure (like a postern) of timber and wattle, possibly lined with sun dried bricks. The circumference walls of this site were remarkably thick: 12 ft. at the base and 5-6 ft. at the surviving top portion (about 10 feet of height still remained). According to Stein these walls were constructed in a manner similar to the walls built near Tun-huang (the Tun-huang limes) by Han Wu-ti in the Early Han Dynasty only even thicker than the Han walls. The method of alternating layers of tamped clay and "carefully secured reed facines" is the same in both and is apparently particularly effective in combating wind erosion. From these construction methods, Stein estimated that without a doubt L.E. dated from the last years of the 2nd century B.C. He found the inside to be very eroded, but with lots of potsherds, and two remaining structures. One structure near the north wall had a massive construction using wooden beams; another was a timber structure adjoining the north gate on the inside. In the latter he found 3 Chinese documents on wood, a rolled

[138] For L.D. see Stein (1928), I, pp. 218-219. Also, for L. H., an ancient burial place contemporary with L.A. and L.C., see *Ibid.*,I, p. 228; for the Ying-p'an site on the uppermost course of the Kuruk-darya with Chinese graves of the same period as those at Lou-lan, see *Ibid.*, I, pp. 228-229.

up Chinese paper document, and two Chinese paper fragments with dates corresponding to 266 and 267 A.D. These finds suggested to Stein that L.E. "saw traffic" down to approximately the same time as L.A. As detailed in note 13 above, Lin Mei-ts'un has recently suggested that the L.E. site is older than L.A. (based on C 14 analysis) and was the capital of Lou-lan kingdom prior to 77 B.C.[139]

The site L.F., about 2 1/2 miles northeast of L.E., is a mesa rising over 100 feet in height and containing grave sites and signs of ancient occupation (Fig. 5.52h). It had a wall on the top 5-6 feet thick and a gateway about 5 feet wide with a room near the gate. Stein found a small wedge-shaped Kharoṣṭhī document (L.F. 1.05), a Chinese wooden document (L.F. 1.06) and a Chinese paper document (L.F. ii.07), all evidences of usage in the 3rd-4th century A.D. He opened one grave, finding a "distinctly non-Mongolian" young man, and near the mesa he found 2 bronze mirrors, a jade "celt" with a finely ground edge and Chinese *wu-chu* coins.[140]

The sites L.K., L.L. and L.M., situated about 30 miles south of L.A. on the western shore of Lob nor and evidently on the communication route between Lou-lan and Miran as deduced by Stein, comprise another major site. L.K, sometimes associated with the site of Hai-t'ou 海頭 and the military garrison of the Former Liang period, is a large walled garrison city (ch'eng) with its massive ruined walls approximately 620 x 330 ft. It was first investigated by Stein in February, 1907. He recorded that its construction was rough but remarkably solid with alternating layers of clay and Toghrak trunks and branches laid crosswise. The walls inclined inward as they rose on both the outside and inside and were more solid that those at L.A.(Fig. 5.52i). The single gate of the fortification was on the NE face. It had a timber frame 10 ft. wide and 10 ft. high with two massive wooden doors, the remains of which were still there. He remarks that this gateway "showed close resemblance" to the gateway of the defensive quadrangle at Kara-dong (see above chapter 4). He found two wooden double brackets similar to those discovered at L.A. and to those still *in situ* on the pillars of shrine M II at Miran, factors which, along with his other discoveries of Han and *wu chu* coins, allowed him to date the structure around the time of L.A. and not to have extended "much beyond the first thirty years of the 4th century."[141]

Site L.L., about 3 miles west of L.K., was also a ruined walled fort, but of much smaller proportions (approximately 138 x 218 ft.). It was constructed like L.K. and

[139] For L.E. see Stein (1928), I, pp. 259-262.
[140] For L.F., see *Ibid.*, I, pp. 263-267.
[141] For L.K. see *Ibid.*, I, pp. 180-192.

probably had a entrance on the east side. At an inner enclosure having a floor raised 8-10 ft., Stein made a number of good discoveries of the warp-faced compound tabby silk and a piece of paper with early Sogdian writing, all of which again suggested a dating comparable to L.A.

About 3 miles NW from L.L. was a site of scattered ruins designated L.M. by Stein. From a number of the houses he uncovered some important remains, again dating to the 3rd-4th century: textiles in silk and wool, Chinese paper fragments, a wedge shaped wooden Kharoṣṭhī document, two small fragments of paper leaves with three lines of slanting Central Asia Brāhmī script (apparently in Kuchean language), a fine lacquer casket (Fig. 5.81a,b), a fragment of Kharoṣṭhī on paper, a document on paper with 20 lines of Sogdian, several double wooden capitals like those at L.K., and *wu-chu* coins.[142] These evidences all attest to its viability ca. 3rd-4th century, possibly with slightly later usage than L.A., considering the presence of the Brāhmī document. The L.K., L.L, and L.M. cluster indicates an important area between L.A. and Miran, and was probably still active in the 4th century. L.E., L.A., and L.K. stand out as major fortified walled towns, undoubtedly major sites of the Shan-shan kingdom in its northern stretches, but ones which could not be maintained long after Chinese influence (either Western Chin or Former Liang) had diminished.

Remains of carved wooden panels and objects discovered by Hedin and Stein, most from sites L.A., L.B. and L.C., are rare, fortuitous remains, though the quantity is not as much as could be expected for such a large area with a number of important sites. These sites may have been prone to earlier lootings, and the destructive forces of nature may have also taken a toll, since, according to Stein, there was virtually no protective layer of sand. The wooden pieces are mostly all carved from the local wild poplar wood (toghrak), but some are of the finer cultivated poplar. Most are now bone dry and severely cracked and weathered with the color of the wood ranging from an ivory color to a light grey. Despite their worn condition, they still retain enough of their original shape and detail to be of major significance in understanding the art of eastern Central Asia in this early period.

The art works pertinent to this study are discussed in relation to the specific site where they were found. They reveal features not yet taken into full account for their importance in helping to establish the dating of other major art works, a factor which will be addressed here as much as possible. The area around the Lou-lan walled station (L.A.) is considered first, followed by the northwestern group of houses, shrines and stupas (L.B.), and finally the tombs of the northeastern area (L.C.).

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[142] For L.L. and L.M. see *Ibid.*, I, pp. 192-204.

1. *The L.A. Area*

The L.A. area, discovered by Hedin on March 4, 1901, and thought by Stein to be the location of the Chinese garrison of troops protecting the main trade and communications route between China and the west in the Western Chin period, includes the principal group of ruins near the main stupa. Hedin made a sketch map of his investigations at L.A. (Fig. 5.52c), Stein mapped the rampart walls of the site and the 10 major sites within it during his trips of 1906 and 1914 (Fig. 5.52d), and the Archaeological Team of Lou-lan mapped the area within the walls in 1980, showing the main stupa in the northeastern quadrant, the main road moving diagonally northwest to southeast, and the major cluster of structures in the southwest quadrant (Fig. 5.52e).[143]

In addition to some small objects in metal etc. and Kharoṣṭhī documents from his Complex E (Fig. 5.52c),[144] Hedin found one of the most important of the Buddhist wood sculptures from Lou-lan—a lintel of Buddha niches from complex F (Figs. 5.55a,b, 5.58, 5.59). Stein found during two expeditions to Lou-lan (1906 and 1914) many important documents in Chinese, some dated between 263-269 A.D., two fragments on paper dated 312 A.D., many documents in Kharoṣṭhī—evidence of the local administration—and several in early Sogdian.[145] In March, 1909 the Ōtani Mission under Tachibana found 44 Chinese documents, one dated 269 as well as the 324 A.D. letter by the Chang-shih Li Po to the King of Karashahr (see note 25). The Archaeological Team of Loulan excavating the Lou-lan city site in April of 1980 found 65 Chinese documents (63 wooden, 2 paper) and one Kharoṣṭhī wooden document from the three-room "official building".[146]

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[143] See Stein (1921), I, pp. 369-375 for L.A. I; pp. 375-385 for L.A. II-VI; and pp. 385-388 for the rampart walls. For the report of the 1979-80 investigation by the Archaeological Team of Lou-lan, see Hsin-chiang Lou-lan k'ao-ku tui 新疆楼兰考古队 (The Archaeological Team of Lou-lan, Sinkiang), "Lou-lan ku-ch'eng chih tiao-ch'a yü shih-chüeh chien-pao" 楼兰古城址调查与试掘简报 (Investigation and Trial Diggings of the Site of Ancient Lou-lan City), *Wen-wu*, 1988, No. 7, pp. 1-6.

[144] According to Hedin (1905), Vol. II: Lop-Nor, p. 632 he found all "the fragments of written paper and tablets of wood" from Complex E of the later designated L.A. station area. In Hedin (1903) II, pp. 126-129 he writes as though finding the first Kharoṣṭhī wooden document at the site of L.B. II (see above note 129). There may not be any contradiction, but it is not entirely clear.

[145] Stein (1921), I, pp. 369-393 concerning the documents found by Stein; for his discussion of the Chinese documents, see *Ibid.*, I, pp. 406-413; and for the Kharoṣṭhī documents see *Ibid.*, I, pp. 413-416. For discovery of early Sogdian documents see *Ibid.*, I, p. 383, and Stein (1928), I, p. 216 and Pl. CXXXIV.

[146] See Hou Ts'an (1988), p.41 for a convenient table of the documents discovered at Lou-lan.

a. *Stupas of the L.A. area*

The large, main stupa, located in the northeastern quadrant inside the walls of L.A. ch'eng, had an extant height of 33 feet according to Stein (Figs. 5.53 a-d).[147] In Stein's estimate, about 18 feet had eroded by wind below the original ground level, thus imparting an impressive height to the stupa that made it visible for miles. It rose on a square base of three levels: the lowest was one foot high and 51 feet (19.5 m according to Chu Yün-pao) on a side and rested on a foundation of tamarisk fascines below which was a layer of bricks laid on the original ground. The second level, recessed about 4 feet, was 3 feet high and 44 feet on a side; the third level was 12 feet 6 inches high and 33 feet on each side. According to Stein, this latter level "seemed to have been approached by a double flight of steps about a foot broad, cut into the south face", but he could not be entirely certain.[148] The base was built as concentric squares one outside the other around the central core, the same construction technique observed by Stein for the stupa at Niya.

From the third level of the base rose an octagonal drum 7 feet high that had "two thick strata of tamarisk bundles" embedded in the masonry. Above the octagonal drum was a circular level (Stein called it a plinth) 1 1/2 feet high on which rested the "cylindrical" dome approximately 21 feet in diameter with only about 7 feet in height remaining in the best preserved portion. The masonry of the drum and dome was supported by massive timbers and curved beams, and the whole was made of sun-dried bricks 18 x 12 x 4 inches, the standard size for most of the structures using bricks in the Lou-lan region. In general proportions, structure and type (with stepped square base and cylindrical dome) this stupa resembles those of Niya and Endere, although the Lou-lan main stupa is grander in scale and more complex in detail.

An extraordinary feature of this impressive stupa is the octagonal drum, as far as I know a feature different from other stupas in Central Asia and even of relatively rare occurrence in Kushana monumental and reliquary stupas. However, at least one votive stone stupa from Mathurā (Fig. 5.53f) and two examples of miniature bronze stupas, both probably from the northwest Indian region (Figs. 5.53e, 5.53g and color Pl. VIII), use an octagonal section in the drum.[149] Though none of these

[147] Stein offers the most complete set of measurements for this stupa. According to Hedin it is H. 8.8 m, circumference 49.8 m; Chu Yün-pao cites the height as 10.4 m, and each side of the square base as 19.5 m. Chu Yün-pao (1992), p. 66.

[148] Stein (1921), I, p. 389. Chu Yün-pao notes a large architectural remains connecting on the south side, "possibly a Buddhist hall". Chu Yün-pao (1992), p. 66.

[149] The Mathurā stupa clearly dates before the 4th century on the basis of its images. The Eilenberg stupa has a square platform with steps at the four sides. The lowest level of the drum area is octagonal, followed by an indented zone, a circular band, another indentation and the nearly hemispherical dome

stupas is specifically dated, they probably date ca. 3rd and no later than 4th century A.D. The surviving parts of the main stupa of Lou-lan appear close in proportion to the Mathurā stone stupa (Fig. 5.53f) and are surprisingly close to the form of the small bronze stupa of Fig. 5.53e, as a conjectural sketch of the Lou-lan main stupa based on Stein's description and measurements further reveals (Fig. 5.53d). From this we can speculate that the original complete appearance of the Lou-lan main stupa may well have been quite similar in all its details with the bronze stupa of Fig. 5.53e. Comparison with the two miniature bronze stupas in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, probably from Gandhāra of ca. 4th century as discussed in Chapter 4 shows similar aspects of an octagonal element and shows in more precise detail the area of the struts that lift the umbrellas—a possible model that could suggest how the original Lou-lan stupa appeared when complete (Fig. 5.53g). As the conjectural sketch readily shows, the basic shape and proportions of the Lou-lan main stupa actually accord with the miniature wooden stupas found from the L.B. sites, except that the latter are much more abbreviated and abstractly rendered and lack the octagonal drum feature (Figs. 5.70a,b).

In general specification, the Lou-lan main stupa appears to follow the stupa form of the *Vinaya Kṣudraka-vastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins (Fig. 4.4h; see Chapter 4 [Mauri Tim] and note 4.24), and is also generally related to the stupa of the Kara-tepe drawing in Fig. 4.4g of ca. late 2nd-3rd century, as well as to the Tegurman and Mauri Tim stupas near Kashgar, all discussed in Chapter 4 (Figs. 4.1 and 4.4a,b). More than likely the L.A. main stupa was constructed before the end of the 3rd century, and probably not earlier than ca. 123 A.D. when this site became a Chinese military outpost, which may have enhanced the economic conditions of the area. The Lou-lan stupa can serve as a reasonably datable monumental stupa that uses the octagonal drum section, suggesting a benchmark date of ca. 2nd-3rd century for that form.

Stein noted other stupas in Lou-lan L.A. and L.B. areas, most badly eroded.[150] A

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with struts holding up the umbrellas. As remarked in Chapter 4, the form of the umbrellas appears to be close to that of one of the stone stupas from Tun-huang dating ca. late 4th-early 5th century. It can also be noted that most of the base sections of the Kansu stone stupas of late 4th-ca. 430's have an octagonal base section, some carved with the 8 trigram figures.

[150] For the stupas found by Stein see Stein (1921), I, pp. 389-91, 394, 399. They are: 1) L.A. X (the main stupa within the city walls: *Ibid.*, I, Figs. 94-96; 2) the "stupa" about 3 miles N.W. of Lou-lan city (*Ibid.*, I, Fig. 97 and p. 394), which the Archaeological Team of Lou-lan after their investigation of 1979-80 has identified as a beacon tower (Hsin-chiang Lou-lan ka'o-ku tui (1988a), p. 7); 3) Stupa mound L.A. XI, 400 yards east of Lou-lan city walls (Stein (1921), I, pp. 390-91 and Fig. 98) with bricks 18 x 12 x 4 inches as at L.A. II and X and having a base about 43-44 feet on a side; 4) ruined stupa base about 1/2 miles to the N.E., bricks 17 x 17 x 3 inches and some fired brick, about 35 feet on one side (*Ibid.*, I, p. 391); 5) about 1 3/4 miles due north of the preceding the mound on a terrace about 16 feet high and 36 feet on a side, with a base on top about 8 ft. high on top of which was a mass of brickwork about 20 ft. wide and 7 ft. high (it is

mound about 3 miles northwest from the L.A. station, identified by Stein as a stupa, has recently been reclassified as a beacon tower by the Archaeological Team of Lou-lan during its investigation of the Lou-lan area in 1979 and 1980 (Fig. 5.54a). The Chinese investigation recorded it as located 5.6 kilometers northwest of the Lou-lan city walls with measurements of 8.7 m in width and an extant height 10.2 m. It has an inner circular core of matted dirt, which was judged to be earlier than the outer layers made of clay bricks with small wooden slats or willow twigs in the clay mortise. Since the size of the bricks was the same as the bricks used for the official buildings in Lou-lan station, it is surmised to have been constructed about the same time.[151]

The Archaeological Team of Lou-lan also excavated the remains of a stupa 4 km northeast of Lou-lan station. This stupa, designated "FO", with extant height 6.28 m and two surviving sections, had been noticed but not investigated by Stein. It has a square platform W. 7.1 m and H. 4.6 m on top of which is a circular stupa base made of piled bricks (Fig. 5.54b). In the center was found a wooden pillar and some clay fragments of an eye and fingers and a wooden floral decorative piece. On the outside surface of the circular base, which appears to have well preserved plaster finish and mouldings, were, according to the report, remains of paintings, predominantly brick red color with black outline. These are described as being old and simple and resembling the painting of the winged male busts from the Miran wall paintings.[152]

The quantity of stupas in the Lou-lan area (at least 5; see note 150) clearly shows the site to have been more prominent, active, and prosperous than Endere and Niya of the same period, probably reflecting its position as a military headquarters and its apparent status as head of the Buddhist saṅgha of the Shan-shan kingdom as indicated by Kharoṣṭhī document No. 489.

b. *Wooden lintel of Buddha niches*

This important panel (Fig. 5.55a,b), probably a lintel, with surviving length 43" and height 9", was brought to Stockholm by Sven Hedin from his 1901 trip to Lou-lan and is now in the Folkens Museum Etnografiska (No. 03-26-20). It was found at Hedin's Structure F near the main stupa inside the rampart walls of L.A. area (Fig. 5.52c).

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not certain that this is a stupa) (*Ibid.*, I, p. 391); and 6) a ruined stupa about 1/3 miles E.S.E. of L.B. I-III site (*Ibid.*, I, Fig. 105).

[151] Hsin-chiang Lou-lan k'ao-ku tui (1988a), pp. 6-7.

[152] *Ibid.*, p. 7. Also, about 5.2 km north (and a bit west) of the L.A. station area the Team discovered a platform (designated "B") with length NE-SW 30 m and H. 6 m on top of which were found many wooden pieces. About 30 m north of the platform was the remains of a house with scattered wooden pieces and various implements, pottery, jewelry, broken glass, etc. *Ibid.*, p. 7.

"Amongst the sand on the leeward side of the platform on which this house stood we dug out a thick plank, upon which were carved a number of figures of Buddha..."[153] Stein found a similar but almost completely eroded lintel from L.B. II.[154] Hedin's panel survives as one of the most exceptional remains from Lou-lan with wide reaching implications for its contribution to understanding the art of other areas.[155]

Four niches remain complete; part of a fifth niche appears at the left along with a portion of its Buddha, and part of a sixth niche remains at the right (Fig. 5.55a). Originally, this panel clearly had at least 6 niches, but since there is no common configuration of six Buddhas, it was most likely a configuration of seven or more Buddhas, such as the Seven Buddhas of the Past or the Ten Direction Buddhas.

Although considerably weathered, the general form and a good part of the details still remain. By combining the details that show up in the four good main remaining niches and images, a general composite can be obtained of the basic features (Fig. 5.60). Regrettably, none of the facial details of the Buddhas remain, nor can we see all of the drapery folds. Nevertheless, this work provides the best evidence of the early niche style and early Buddha image style in sculpture of this region probably pre-dating ca. 300. Because of its relevance for understanding the development of Buddha niche styles in early Chinese Buddhist art, we will take a close look at this rare survivor.

i. *The niches*

The niches are composed of two parts: a pilaster pillar and an arch (Figs. 5.55b, color Pl. XIV, 5.58, 5.59). The pillar rises directly from the bottom rim of the panel, apparently without any special base. The column is square (perhaps slightly tapered) with two slight vertical indentations in the front face, possibly the indication of an

[153] Hedin (1905), pp. 632 and 634; Bergman (1935), p. 90.

[154] Stein (1921), IV, Pl. XXXII, No. L.B.II.0027.

[155] The panel has been published by Bergman (1935), Pl. V (left); Kaneko (1988), No. 5-8; and most recently in the large Serindia exhibition in Paris (J. Giès and M. Cohen, *Sérinde, Terre de Bouddha*, Paris, 1995, No. 49), where it is dated to the 5th century A.D., mainly on the grounds that the Buddhas each have a circular head and body halo. It is observed that circular body halos do not occur in Gandhāran art, but appear in the Yün-kang caves from the second half of the 5th century. However, it should be noted that the Kara-tepe painted Buddha (see Fig. 3.15 a,b,c) of ca. 3rd century A.D. has a round head and body halo and the seated clay Buddha at Complex D, also probably of the 3rd century, had a sculpted head halo and a body halo painted on the back of the niche (see above, Chapter 3 and Fig. 3.16 a). Also, round body and head halo combinations occur in the famous Miracle of Śrāvastī steles from Afghanistan (see Fig. 3.73) probably also of the 3rd century A.D., and in several of the stone Buddhas (standing) discovered at Shotorak (see J. Meunie, *Shotorak*, Paris, 1942, Figs. 39 and 65), as well as in some other sculptures (see Kurita (1988 and 1990), II, Fig. 280. Though not common, certainly it appears that the round body halo is known by the 3rd century in Gandhāra and Central Asia.

octagonal shape or the rectangular design known in many Gandhāran pillars and seen in the Fayez-tepe niche (Fig. 3.24). A "necking" section above the column has a beveled lower edge and possibly a continuation of the same two vertical indentations. From the necking springs the capital with the shape of an inverted truncated trapezoid. On the front face a design in relief appears to be a floral motif on each side of a central vertical band or stem. This could be a "Corinthian" capital type or one like the central pillar in the Egyptian tapestry in Fig. 5.82c, which appears surprisingly close to the Lou-lan example. Above the capital are two square slabs; the lower thicker one may be part of the capital; the upper one is the slab base or abacus for the arches. The round knob within a semicircular shape carved in the center of the lower slab appears to be connected to the vertical stem motif on the capital, perhaps part of a flower form.

Each capital supports one end of two arches, which are curved in relief and have a slightly pointed apex, both on the outer and inner edges. Both edges of the arch beam are slightly recessed, so the central band protrudes a bit, much as in the arch of the Fayaz-tepe niche, which, though more finely chiseled in stone, is a work very close in many ways to this Lou-lan frieze (Fig. 3.24). A large half lotus carved in relief appears in the curved triangular spaces between the arches and is attached to the upper rim of the panel. Similar use of flowers between arches can be found in Gandhāran works and in the terracotta model of a shrine from Khotan, probably an earlier work dating in the 2nd-3rd century, which shows a similar composition, though the flowers are rosettes and the arches are round.[156] Single large lotus flowers also appear between the swags of the garland in the M III and M V wall paintings at Miran (Figs. 5.31, 5.35, 5.36).

The pointed arch is not the most common type of arch form in Kushana period art, which generally uses a round, trabeated, or trefoil arch, especially in Gandhāran art. In the Afghan, Swat, and Termez schools the pointed arch is most common, including at Bāmiyān[157], but they tend to have a round inner side unlike the pointed

[156] Whitfield (1985), III, Pl. 74.

[157] There is a closely similar style in the arches of some of the caves at Bāmiyān, notably Caves 35, 119, 605 and 626. Though in the Bāmiyān examples the inner edge is circular, the outer edge is pointed and the arch is a band of even width with the same general proportions as the niches of this Lou-lan panel. In Cave 35, considered an early cave at the site near the area of the Eastern Great Buddha, these arches appear in the large niches of the lower level, but in the circular middle level just below the dome, there are trefoil shaped arches which have an even band and pointed arch on the upper edge. Caves 605 and 625, near the Western Great Buddha, present a more complex design, but one which is basically a more elaborate extension of the Cave 35 type. Perhaps an even closer comparison to the Lou-lan example is the frieze of arched niches just below the dome in Bāmiyān Cave 119. Though little detail survives the general pillar-arch combination has similarities if not exact outlines and details with the Lou-lan panel. The upper edge of the arch seems to have had a point and the capital of the pillars has a floral pattern in relief. The

inner shape of the Lou-lan arches. However, a few arches from Swat possess the pointed shape for both the inner and outer edges of the arch (Fig. 5.56). In China Buddha niches usually are round or round with a squared shape to the corners.

ii. *The Buddha images*

The space within the niches is generous; neither the image, pedestal nor halos seem crowded (Pl. XIV). The Buddha images (height with pedestal 6 1/2") sit dhyānāsana on rather wide rectangular pedestals (length of pedestal in front is 5 1/4"). Images and pedestals are both carved in very high relief, almost as in the round. The pedestal has a wide central section with a slightly projecting upper and lower slab. This form of pedestal relates in a general way to some pedestals in Chinese Buddhist sculptures of the 3rd and 4th centuries.[158]

Both the head and body halos of the Buddhas have a circular shape, but the head halo appears to take the pointed shape of the niche arch at the top. Both are slightly raised and are without sculpted rims or decoration, although it is likely that they, like the whole panel, may originally have been painted. The circular body halo is a distinct style; it should be distinguished from the ovoid shape, which becomes the more common type in Chinese examples from the early 5th century and later. The double circular shape may be quite early as it appears in the k'uei feng mirror Buddha (Fig. 2.14) of the Three Kingdoms period, and also in the Kara-tepe Buddha painting in Fig. 3.13a. It is also common among some small wooden seated Buddhas from the Kucha area, some of which date to the late 4th and 5th century. Though the circular head halo is standard for Kushana period sculpture in general, a body halo—including a circular body halo—is practically unknown in Kushana art of Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Indian regions, with the exception of examples from Afghanistan of the small seated Buddhas in the Great Miracle of Śrāvastī steles in

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pillar proportions are wider and they have a base, but there is some resemblance in the upper portion with the slab-like rims. The obvious similarities of the Lou-lan arched niches with those at Bāmiyān, though not exact in every feature, can nevertheless have some interesting implications vis-à-vis the chronology and dating of the Bāmiyān caves, a factor noted in the Bāmiyān section of Chapter 3. At this juncture, it is of interest to note the relation of the Lou-lan style with that of Bāmiyān as being the most stylistically relevant comparable material with the Lou-lan type and to suggest that most probably the Lou-lan example is following the prototype from the Bāmiyān or Gandhāran region rather than visa-versa, since all evidences at this time tend to confirm that Central Asia is assimilating the art motifs and iconography from the greater Indian and western Central Asian direction.

[158] The Tokyo National Museum Buddha (Fig. 2.17), the Fujiki collection Buddha (Fig. 2.19), the 338 A.D. seated Buddha in the Asian Art Museum, San Francisco (Fig. 1.48 and d'Argence (1974), N. 21) and the pedestals depicted in the niches of the Brāhmī script stone stupa from Tun-huang probably of ca. late 4th century. *Tun-huang ts'ai-su* 敦煌彩塑 (Tun-huang Sculpture), in *CKMSCC*, Sculpture, Vol. VII, Shanghai, 1987, text Fig. 16 (p. 18).

the Musée Guimet (Fig. 3.73) and the Indisches Kunst Museum in Berlin, and some from Shotorak. Perhaps the head/body halo combination is an interpretation from the Afghanistan-western Central Asian region in ca. 3rd century A.D.

The heads of the Buddhas are all worn out to the extent that no distinguishing features are discernible. However, the shape of the head is round rather than long or pear-shaped with high cheekbones. The hairline is a tight curve like Kushana Mathurā sculptures, and the uṣṇīṣa appears to have been gently curved and quite low, somewhat like the Ma Hao Cave IX Buddha (Fig. 1.23), which also has a round head, dating to ca. first half of the 3rd century. The ears have a rounded rim and only slightly extended lobes which have a round and delicate rather than square or large shape. The neck is relatively short.

The shoulders are gently rounded rather than muscular and broad, and the upper arms, clearly separated from the trunk of the body, are quite short and straight, though with a fullness that connotes a solid mass. The lower arms rest on the lap and curve forward with the hand in dhyāna-mudrā. The exact hand position is discernible from one figure: the right hand overlaps the left towards the front and they are held on edge rather than lying flat on the lap. This is one major hand position used in Buddha figures of eastern Central Asia and China from at least the 4th century onwards. This Lou-lan figure is an important early datable reference for this mode. The two thumbs touch making the peculiar triangular shape so noticeable in the paintings of the 1,000 Buddha images of Wen-shu shan Ch'ien-fo tung and other Chinese caves of Kansu as well as from Turfan of the early 5th century and in many of the paintings at Kizil. The arm-hand position also relates to the Miran M II colossal Buddhas. The legs are proportionately wide, comparable also to the Miran M II Buddhas. Overall, the body shape is well rounded, but not muscular, and is disclosed through the drapery as a generalized shape.

The drapery folds, though mostly worn out, can still be distinguished as incised fold lines with rather wide, parallel, continuous configurations over the arms and chest. The patterning on the chest is asymmetric in the Gandhāran mode. A wide, band-like fold gracefully curves over the wrists and leg on each side. The garment swag in the center of the legs has a slight asymmetrical alignment of U-shaped folds and there seems to have been a squared flap fanning from under the left hand (Fig. 5.60). The collar fold is circular, close to the neck, and slightly raised, akin to the kind seen in the Tokyo National Museum Buddha (Fig. 2.26a). The fold over the left shoulder has a triangular crease; the lower edge of the fold curves downward over the upper part of the upper left arm. All the lines have a gentle grace and mild asymmetry.

In proportion and in some elements of the linear configuration these images stylistically relate to the 338 A.D. bronze dhyānāsana Buddha in the Asian Art Museum (Fig. 1.48). Certainly the stocky proportions, the rounded limbs, long legs and generally wide, parallel folds bear considerable resemblance. However, the 338 Buddha has a definite heightened abstraction and clarity of symmetry as well as some complex naturalistic touches which are different. Be that as it may, the general compatibility would tend to confirm a reasonably close dating for the two, probably reinforcing a 3rd century attribution for the Lou-lan work. On the other hand, it is interesting to see a prototypical example for the famous 338 Buddha among the Central Asian materials.

Another important relation of this Lou-lan panel occurs with the sculpture of the Style I Buddhas from Rawak Stupa near Khotan (Figs. 4.27-4.29). Despite the fact that the Lou-lan panel is comprised of seated Buddhas and the Style I Buddhas are all standing, it is nevertheless possible to see similarities in the generalized roundness of the body and in the linear scheme of the drapery. The bodies of the Rawak Buddhas are more muscular and there is more bulging shape to the upper chest and abdomen, so they are not of exact correspondence. Indeed, the Lou-lan images appear to have more Chinese qualities in the shaping, which does not portray the muscular form of the Indian styles with such fidelity. Nevertheless, the essence of the solid round mass has some relation. More telling may be the patterns of the drapery. The Rawak images utilize mainly rib folds whereas the Lou-lan panel Buddhas appear to have mostly incised fold lines, but the effect of the wide spacing and graceful curves of the individual lines across the torso is related. These features are not exact, so the dating may not be exactly close, but it is likely to be within a generation or two. The most apt comparison is with the Fayaz-tepe niche (Fig. 5.57), which has both links with the Gandhāran traditions and clear associations with the Lou-lan Buddhas and niche style. In addition, the Lou-lan Buddhas provide some basis for understanding the style of the Miran M II colossal seated Buddhas probably dating about a century later.

2. *The L.B. Area*

The general area designated L.B. by Stein, approximately 8 miles northwest of the walled city area (L.A.), comprises a number of separate structures (L.B. I-VI) situated in discrete groups along a nearly straight line NW to SE, perhaps originally along a road connecting with the L.A. area (Fig. 5.52b). This was the first area of Lou-lan that Hedin discovered on March 28, 1900 (L.B. V), and to which he returned in March of 1901. Stein worked here from December 24-28, 1906 and returned in February of 1914.

a. *The L.B. I, II and III complex*

The westernmost group at the L.B. area includes three structures (L.B. I-III), and a nearby stupa. The central structure (L.B.II) clearly appears to have been a small Buddhist shrine, and the other two structures, both larger and situated to the northwest (L.B. I) and southeast (L.B. III) of the shrine, to have been dwellings. About a third of a mile ESE was a ruined stupa measuring about 26 feet east to west, 18 feet at the broadest, and 10 feet in extant height, and built of bricks 20 x 10 x 3 1/2 inches. It was greatly eroded so its original shape was obscure, but it appeared to Stein to be similar to those around the L.A. area.[159] It is likely to have been the stupa for the shrine and house complex of L.B. I-III, and whatever dwellings that probably existed around the area but are now destroyed.

Although the house L.B. I yielded little and in L.B. III Stein found only three Han Dynasty copper coins and a carved four-legged wooden chest similar to those he found at Niya, many finds came from L.B. II. Hedin commented about this particular site: "It was in this house that we found not only the greatest quantity, but also the most beautiful of the wood-carvings in the entire area of the ruins...A few faint traces of red and white on some of the planks point to their having been painted as well" (Fig. 5.61).[160] Here Stein found "not less than 15 [documents] dated between 263-270 A.D., twelve were dated 263-264 and others between 265-270 A.D.—the period of Emperor Wu-ti's assertion of power in Central Asia."[161] These can probably be taken as testimony to the vigorous activity of the L.B. I-III complex around ca. 263-270 A.D.

i. *The Buddhist shrine L.B.II*

The small shrine L.B.II was nearly square in plan (Hedin: 5.67 x 5.55 m; Stein: 19 1/2 x 18 1/2 ft) as ascertained from the foundation beams which still remained on the southeast and northeast sides. From other parts of the timber frame Stein determined that the entrance was in the southeast side, leading into an enclosed courtyard,[162] and he identified the decoratively carved lintel of the doorway which was later totally reconstructed by Folke Bergman, working with pieces of both the Hedin and Stein materials (Fig. 5.62a and 5.63). Not only is this is an exceedingly rare remains of a pre-4th century wood carved doorway from eastern Central Asia, it is also a particularly fine

[159] Stein (1921), I, Fig. 105 for the stupa and pp. 394-399 for L.B. area I-III and the stupa; for L.B. IV-VI, *Ibid.*, I, pp. 400-406.

[160] Bergman (1935), p. 73.

[161] Stein (1921), I, p. 400 on documents found at L.B.II. It is at L.B. II that Hedin appears to have found his first Kharoṣṭī document (see above note 129).

[162] *Ibid.*, I, p. 399.

example with graceful, tri-leafed palmette vine rinceau filling the outer band and a lozenge (a classical laurel-leaf) pattern on the narrow rounded inner part of both jambs and lintel. This laurel-leaf pattern has already been discussed in Chapter 4 in relation to the halo rim motif of the Great Śrāvastī Miracle Buddhas inside the stupa court at Rawak. It appears to be a popular motif ca. 3rd century in sites of Central Asia and northwest India. A comparison with the jamb motif on the Kushana Gandhāra relief fragment in Fig. 5.62b shows similar sections of design, though not in precisely the same combination.[163] Nevertheless, stylistic connection with Kushana period Gandhāran art motifs are clear, a factor found in other elements of the architectural decor from this site as well. Like Miran with respect to the wall paintings, we see at Lou-lan surprisingly close connections with Kushana Gandhāra and Afghan architectural elements as well as classical western motifs, but a lack of Chinese stylistic elements. The structure and general proportions of the doorway as well as the usage of vine rinceau is not unlike the stone doorway from Pompeii (before 71 A.D.), although if is a different vine motif (Fig. 5.62c).

Another set of carved beams may also have been part of a doorway (Fig. 5.64a).[164] Between a plain narrow frame a pattern of zigzag crossing strips forms a repetitive diamond shape with a four-petaled rosette in each diamond and others in the outer spaces. The whole is best seen from Hedin's fragment (Figs. 5.63 and 5.64a), which also shows the detailing of the zigzags and one edge with a narrow rounded band with spiral band design. Very similar designs appear on Kushana Gandhāran reliefs (Figs. 5.65, 5.66a), which are close to and perhaps derived from such lintel designs as those from Loriyan Tangai in Gandhāra (Fig. 5.66b). A textile sewn as a border found by Stein from Tun-huang also has a pattern related to the Lou-lan example (Fig. 5.64b). These correspondences are pertinent evidences of the close interaction between Gandhāran art, Lou-lan art and Tun-huang art between the 2nd-4th centuries A.D.

One of the most beautiful of the wooden panels is an intricately designed and carved relief (possibly for interior decoration) made from several long boards and reconstructed by Bergman again using pieces found by both Hedin and Stein (Fig. 5.67a and 5.63). It has an overall design of circles, each with a central 8-petaled flower. The circles are linked together in the long direction and loosely tied with a reef knot pattern in the short, opposite direction. Rosettes appear in the spaces between. A similar

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[163] Bergman (1935), p. 81 notes similarities with a Kushana Gandhāra lintel from Koi in Foucher (1905-1918), Fig. 174 (Lahore Museum no. 1022; also see Kurita (1988 and 1990), I, Fig. 123). For other relatively similar examples from Gandhāra see Kurita 1988 and 1990), I, Figs. 147, P1-VI, and II, Figs. 418, 463.

[164] Bergman (1935), pl. 1.4; Stein (1921), I, pl. XXXI, L.B. II.1126, 1125. Neither Stein nor Bergman have any suggestions regarding this set of decorative beams.

design interestingly occurs in the ceiling patterns of the Ch'ien-fo tung rear mountain cave at Wen-shu shan near Chiu-ch'üan in Kansu province (unpublished).

Examples of well carved decorative wooden openwork were obtained by both Hedin and Stein from this small shrine, including an elaborate pūrṇghaṭa motif, part of a leogryph panel (whose paw and tail could suggest an identity for the fragment on the Niya batik in Fig. 5.7a), lotus and geometric designs (Figs. 5.63, 5.68a-d).[165] These openwork panels are thought to have been used for decorative windows, if not for interior decorative panels. The scene with an entrance gate in the Viśvāntara-Jātaka from shrine M V at Miran suggests one usage for these panels (Fig. 5.32). One of the lotus flower panels has a wavy central band in the petals; this is not commonly seen, but does occur in the lotus of some stone images attributed to the region of Bajaur (on the border of Swat and Afghanistan) and in the pedestal of a standing Bodhisattva from China dating stylistically ca. 400 A.D. in the Asian Art Museum.[166] The diamond lattice in Figs. 5.68b-d is comparable to the popular lattice motif in Kushana art of northwest India (Gandhāra, Swat, Afghanistan), as seen in the lattice panel of a gable relief from Gandhāra in Fig. 5.69, whose jamb and arch reliefs provide further reference for the usage of the Lou-lan decorative panels. The style of this relief is so close to the Lou-lan materials, including the doorway panels, that it can certainly be dated virtually contemporaneously, probably ca. 3rd century A.D.

Other finds by Stein include the remains of a carved beam with running animals facing a central figure (L.B.II.0032), a beam with a dragon-makara-like figure (L.B.II.0021) similar to ones from Niya and resembling the dragons on the money-tree base from P'eng shan (Fig. 1.26a), a beam with Buddha figures,[167] a small wooden balustrade, possibly an altar table for the shrine as suggested by Stein, or for window adornment, as suggested by Bergman, and two complete wooden stupas (20 and 30 inches tall) (Figs. 5.70a,b). Several other small wooden stupas found by Hedin of the same design but not specified from which site they were originally discovered, were probably part of this group from L.B. II (Figs. 5.70c-f), as observed by Bergman. One of the wooden fragments has a complete circular disc above the umbrellas (Fig. 5.70c) and one bronze stupa was found by Conrady (Fig. 5.70g).[168] All of the wooden stupas have a mortise at the base for attachment, and clearly the bronze stupa does as well. Stein suggests that these wooden stupas could have been finials for the roof of the L.B. II shrine. The upper part of a third wooden stupa found by Stein in L.B.II had remains

[165] *Ibid.*, IV, pl. XXXI, L.B.II.0016; pl. XXXII, L.B.II.0030; pl. XXXIII, L.B.II,0028. Bergman (1935), Pls. II; III.1 and 8; IV.6; and possibly III.3 and 4, although they were unmarked as to specific site at Lou-lan.

[166] Kurita (1988 and 1990), II, Pl. 191; d'Argence (1974), No. 21 and M. Rhie (1995), Fig. 11.

[167] Stein (1921), IV, Pl. XXXII (L.B. II.0027), probably similar to the one found by Hedin from L.A. in Fig. 5.55a,b.

[168] Bergman (1935), p. 93, Pl. VIII.1,2,3, and 5.

of gilding. These stupas naturally suggest that the shrine was Buddhist, as do some of the figural objects discovered there.

The wooden stupas have a simple, abbreviated shape and are clearly representative of one prevalent type in the Shan-shan kingdom around the 3th-early 4th century. They have a high square base, round drum, cylindrical shaped dome with high and somewhat angular and projecting shoulder, a thick central staff rising from a truncated inverted pyramid base and holding a series of stacked, truncated umbrellas which look like upside down bowls. As noted earlier, stylistically, these wooden stupas are a somewhat simpler version of large main stupa at Lou-lan L.A. The same may be said with regard to the reliquary stupa discovered in A 11 stupa at Jauliāñ monastery in Taxila (Fig. 5.71).[169] The specific shape of the umbrellas, besides relating to the Jauliāñ example, which could be more developed, seem to be a cursory version or to have evolved from the type of umbrellas represented by the Gandhāra reliquary stupas in Figs. 4.4f and 5.19a, and related to the one from Khotan in Fig. 4.9, but spaced more closely together like the Jauliāñ example (Fig. 5.71). They could also be a simpler version of the small bronze stupa in Fig. 5.53e without the octagonal drum. The wooden stupas appear to be a style earlier than the example in Fig. 4.25b, which relates to the Northern Liang stone stupas of ca. 430's. Although the Lou-lan wooden stupas lack the distinguishing levels of the base section, the vertical proportions and general shape are characteristic of the proportions of the Lou-lan, Niya, and Endere monumental stupas. These small models could well provide us with at least a plausible estimate of the properties of the complete form of these monumental stupas produced in the areas of the Shan-shan kingdom, probably ca. 2nd-3rd century A.D.

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[169] There are 27 small stupas at Jauliāñ; A 11 is in the upper court. Its masonry is not the earlier type used in the main stupa and Stupa A 15 (i.e., with plinth faced with large diaper masonry), but, like most of the other small stupas at Jauliāñ has a base with semi-ashlar limestone masonry and more elaborate stucco decor. The relic chamber of A 11—10 1/2" square and 3' 8 1/2" high—was made of dressed limestone blocks coated with lime stucco. Inside was the stupa made of stucco and decorated around the dome with gems of garnet, carnelian, lapis-lazuli, aquamarine, ruby, agate, amethyst and crystal, cut in various shapes. Through the center is a hollow shaft. At the bottom were decayed fragments of a small wooden casket which contained pieces of lapis-lazuli paste, ivory, gold leaf, rock crystal, beads of gold, green vitreous paste, coral and a small round casket of copper gilt containing a small copper gilt cylinder that had some dark-colored dust within. Marshall (1951), I, pp. 372-373. The dating of the reliquary stupa from A 11 stupa is not exact; the stupa A 11 was clearly first built later than the early phase of building at Jauliāñ—and this reliquary stupa probably would be associated with the period of the original building of the A 11 stupa, which is clearly earlier than the late phase of repair and addition of the outer stucco decoration. Therefore, the constructing of A 11 and its reliquary stupa could well be ca. 3rd-4th century period.

ii. *Figural sculptures from L.B. II*

Of special importance are the figural sculptures found in this small shrine. They include a jamb with niches containing standing Bodhisattvas, a standing guardian carved in the round, and part of a large relief panel with the lower part of a cross-ankled deity, all found by Hedin. Stein found the arm of the guardian and a worn-out beam with niches, like the one discovered by Hedin at L.A. (Fig. 5.55a,b), but the beam is so badly weathered it is difficult to see the forms. Stein says that the "relief carving shows upper parts of eight human figures, likely Buddhas or Bodhisattvas, arranged in a row apparently under niche arcades,"[170] but they are likely to be seated Buddhas like Fig. 5.55a,b from the L.A. area. Two small pieces of stucco relief ("probably from a headdress" and "flame border of a large halo") suggested to Stein that there may have been a main image in stucco that was lost.[171]

a. Jamb with niches of standing Bodhisattvas

The fragment in Fig. 5.72 from the Hedin collection seems to have been part of a vertical jamb. This piece has two surviving niches, one above the other, each with a standing figure which seems to be either a Bodhisattva or worshiper/donor type figure. The lower, slightly clearer, one holds the stem of an indistinct object, possibly a lotus flower or bud, in the raised right hand. Some standing images from Swat hold large lotus flowers, but not over the shoulder as this image does. Later, in mid- 5th century in China, there are images, usually Kuanyin (Avalokiteśvara), which hold a large lotus in such as manner (Fig. 4.48). It would appear that the Lou-lan example shows an early Central Asia form that is used later in Chinese images. The left arm hangs at the side close to the body; the left hand may be grasping the long scarf, which, as can be seen also on the right side, falls to just below the knee level. It is clearly a scarf and not part of a Buddha's robe, as can also be determined from the upper figure as well. Both wear a dhoti that hangs to about mid-calf level. The upper figure has both hands raised in front of the chest, possibly holding something, or, as suggested by Bergman, in the añjali-mudrā.[172] Each has either a crown or pulled up hair, which touches the top of the arch. The heads of figures in the bronze miniature shrine in the Asian Art Museum discussed in Chapter 1 as an early image of ca. 3rd century A.D. also touch the top (Fig. 1.38). The feet point to the side, and each has a plain circular head

[170] See above note 167.

[171] Stein (1921), I, p. 395. Hedin seems to suggest possibly a clay Buddha from L.B. II, but it is not clear. Hedin (1903), II, p. 126.

[172] Bergman (1935), p. 88.

halo, but no body halo, typical of most of the early Chinese Buddha and Bodhisattva images as well as Kushana period images.

The figures are slim in proportion with narrow shoulders, unlike the muscular, broad-shouldered Indian images. The scarves have a graceful and light appearance. They do not standup behind the shoulders as they do in Chinese Bodhisattva images from ca. 400 and later or even as seen in early Mathurā Kushana images and in the Ch'ing-hai tile (Figs. 2.24 and 2.23). They do exhibit a generally symmetric scheme, like the small belt buckle Bodhisattva dated 262 A.D. from the Three Kingdoms period in China (Fig. 2.19), rather than the typical Kushana Gandhāra mode which wraps around the left arm and shoulder creating an asymmetrical effect.

The arch of the niche is a rather wide, semicircular band that springs from a squarish block. It is hard to tell if there was a pillar or pilaster (according to Bergman there is) supporting the block, but it seems to be the kind of round arch without pillars encountered in many Kushana Gandhāran, Swat and Afghan examples (Fig. 5.65). The figures stand directly on the arch of the lower image without a separate base or pedestal. A narrow frame runs the length of the panel on both sides; on the left side there appears to be a flange, probably for insertion into a groove.

This work is especially important for the representation of Bodhisattva type images in this region prior to the early 4th century. Definitely different from the Gandhāran type seen in the tiny bronze Bodhisattva from Khotan (Fig. 4.8) or from the 5th century stucco Bodhisattva of Rawak Style VI (Fig. 4.70), the Lou-lan type, though using Gandhāran elements, has a greater simplicity and more emphasis on clear, curving line, as far as we can tell from the worn condition.

b. Standing guardian

This rather large standing male figure (H. 100 cm) found by Sven Hedin at L.B. II is carved in the round (Figs. 5.73a,b,c and color Pl. XV). It is a handsome image with broad shoulders and swelling upper chest that curves to a narrowed waistline. The upper body is quite well preserved, but the lower body is severely weathered and the right leg and both arms are detached. One arm is with the main body in the Folkens Museum Etnografiska in Stockholm; the other, which became separated, was found by Stein, and is now in the National Museum in New Delhi.[173] The figure stands stiffly frontal, wearing a tunic-type coat with a wide belt of plaques hanging low on the hips in a fashion similar to the belts worn by Persian kings in the Hatra sculptures, but also popular on Kushan kings and other lay persons.[174] He appears to have a necklace and

[173] Stein (1921), I, p. 395 and IV, Pl. XXXII [L.B.II.0027].
[174] Rosenfield (1967), Figs. 136-139; Girshman (1962), Figs. 105, 166.

bracelet, but these could be hems. He may have been wearing a longer undergarment because the individual shape of the legs is not shown, but it is impossible to tell in its present damaged state. The sense of volume and power in the form is reinforced by the clenched fists of both hands. The arms have a slight bend at the elbows, where the end of the sleeves seems to have been. The head is long and relatively well preserved with rounded forehead, rounded eyes, long nose and small, slightly full and pursed mouth. It is not possible to determine if he wears a hat or crown. The shape of the head is very similar to that of the figures of the panel with two figures from L.B. V (Fig. 5.78), though in better condition. It also resembles the shape of the head of Hermes from the woolen fabric from L.C. (Fig. 5.82a). This long, pear-shaped head seems to be one major type among the Lou-lan remains; it is related to the Toprak Kala male head (Fig. 3.44 and 4.34b), the Fujii Yūrinkan Bodhisattva head (Fig. 2.22), both of the 3rd century, as well as to the female statuette from a Western Chin tomb (Fig. 5.74).

This figure probably is a guardian, as recognized by Stein and Bergman.[175] The tunic coat is related to types associated with Buddhist guardian figures or figures like Vaiśravaṇa, the popular deity of Khotan. It may well be a figure of Vaiśravaṇa, although there does not seem to be any distinguishing feature to definitely identify it. Although this image is better preserved in the upper parts than the guardians at Rawak (Figs. 4.38 and 4.39), which are only preserved in the lower half, it is still possible to see that they are not dissimilar in the elegant and slim form and somewhat stiff posture. Stylistically, it seems to date between the standing male figure from Dalverzin-tepe in Fig. 3.30a of ca. 1st century A.D. and the Rawak guardians of ca. late 3rd-early 4th century. It is a rare survival and still offers an important glimpse of an early form of this particular type of image, possibly informing us of the Khotan type of Vaiśravaṇa.

c. Panel with the lower part of a cross-ankled figure

The fragment of a relatively large relief panel contains the lower portion of a figure seated with crossed ankles (Fig. 5.75).[176] The legs are placed nearly horizontally, and the feet are small. It is not clear if the feet have soft boots. The left hand holds a looped fold of cloth that is bound by a filet; perhaps it is part of a scarf, but it is unusual to be bound. The hand shows three fingers curved under and the index finger straight. A spreading fold flares over the right leg towards the bottom. The folds seem sharp and angular at the ends. A long garment covers the legs and flares outward a bit near the ankles. Incised lines indicate the folds of the garment. They are nearly parallel and

[175] Bergman (1935), pp. 85-86. Stein (1921), I, p. 396; IV, Pl. XXXIV (L.B. II.0052); Kaneko (1988), p. 58 Fig. 5-9.

[176] Bergman (1935), pp. 86-87.

rather closely spaced. Bergman aligned the separated and broken panel at the image's right. He interprets the added piece as containing the "skirt" of a standing attendant; he also thinks there had been one on the opposite side.[177] Part of the rim of a body halo may appear at the sides of the central figure.

The identity of the figure is difficult to determine. One possibility is Maitreya Bodhisattva since the pose is one often used for that image in Kushana period art from the northwest regions. If it is Maitreya, it would be an early sculptural representation from eastern Central Asia.

The repetitive parallel incised lines relate most readily to the Kushana Mathurā school, though there is more lyrical movement in the line in the Lou-lan work. This style of fold appears also in Chinese sculptures of the late 4th and early 5th century at Ping-ling ssu, in the Brāhmī Script Stupa from Tun-huang, and in the unpublished early 5th century stone image steles in Sian. This may be considered as an intermediate style between the Kushana Mathurā and the later Chinese works, representing a link in an important style that persists for more than a century.

Perhaps most interesting is the stylistic relation this work has with the images of Rawak Style III (R49, R51; Fig.4.47), that is, the images with incised line style garment folds outside the southeast entrance gate of the enclosure wall. In fact, the standing Bodhisattva has a similarly held hand and fold portrayals, especially with regard to the width of the folds and the technique, although greater abstraction and boldness of the Rawak image may suggest a slightly later dating than the Lou-lan example.

b. *L.B. IV, V and VI*

About one-third mile from L.B. I-III towards the southeast is another group of structures (Fig. 5.52a). Both Hedin and Stein found another harvest of woodwork, especially from L.B.IV, which Stein surmised to have been a large house, possibly connected with the small Buddhist shrine L.B.V, which was closely similar to the shrine L.B.II. Unlike the L.B. I-III site, at L.B. IV-VI the small shrine yielded fewer items than the large house. In L.B. IV, untouched by Hedin for lack of time, Stein excavated all the rooms and uncovered some fine wooden objects. They are not as richly carved as those from L.B.II, but they have an air of classical purity. The major pieces include: 1) beam with with carved vine meander with leafy offshoots; 2) beam with cinctured wreath design; 3) various pieces with a leafy branch with berries; 4) pieces of openwork with design of circles interlaced with crossing bands (Fig. 5.76a).[178] Among Hedin's un-

[177] *Ibid.*, p. 87.

[178] For objects from L.B. IV see Stein (1921), IV, Pls. XXXIII, XXXIV; Bergman (1935), objects on Pl. VII are possibly from L.B. IV.

marked Lou-lan finds there are examples of this motif which may have come from this site.[179] This is a particularly interesting one because it closely resembles some designs known in the Later Han Chinese tomb carvings from Nan-yang in Honan province (Fig. 5.77).[180] The relation with Later Han designs could suggest a Later Han dating for L.B.IV.[181] Figural carvings of a mythical animal and human, possibly part of a small table, were also found at L.B. IV (Fig. 5.76b) and are similar to ones found by Stein at Niya, but they are more refined and not as bold as the Niya examples (Fig. 5.4). The Lou-lan ones are lacquered and still retain brilliant paint color.[182]. The human (female?) has a clearly painted eyebrow and pupil, vertically ribbed hair, a wing motif and a hat band of repeated triangular (feather?) shapes. The linear style is clean, smooth and well detailed, probably even more so than the somewhat simpler and bolder rendering of the Niya examples. The fold at the neck has a rounded shape similar to that on the Buddha from P'eng shan (Fig. 1.26b) of the late Later Han period or Three Kingdoms period. L.B. IV may be the earliest among the L.B. group, possibly 2nd or early 3rd century A.D.

L.B. V, about 30 yards to the east of L.B. IV, was another small shrine like L.B. II. Hedin measured it as 5.6 x 6.6 meters from the remaining foundation beams. Hedin and Stein both found a few carved wooded pieces: carved beams, four-petaled lotus, floral scroll openwork panel, lathe-turned balusters and rails, and an openwork panel with diamond pattern. Most of these are similar to objects found at L.B. II, suggesting they may have been made about the same time. The diamond panel in particular is very similar in each.[183]

i. *Carved panel with cross-ankled and standing figures*

This extraordinary relief, probably a major object in the shrine L.B. V, the first site to be discovered at Lou-lan by Hedin on March 28, 1900, represents a cross-ankled deity

[179] *Ibid.*, Pl. III.6 and 7.

[180] Nan-yang is noted for its Han dynasty pictorial stones and bricks, most of which come from tombs. In the Han dynasty Nan-yang was a commercial center and had the name of southern capital (Nan-tu 南都). Relief bricks with plain backgrounds date ca. 25 B.C.-50 A.D. and those with grooved backgrounds date from ca. A. D. 50-100. James (1995), p. 23. The group of bricks presented in Nan-yang wen-wu yen-chiu-so 南陽文物研究所 (Nan-yang Cultural Research Institute), *Nanyang Han-tai hua-hsiang-chuan* 南陽漢代畫像磚, (Decorated Tomb Bricks at Nanyang) Beijing, 1990, from tombs classed as types II, III, and IV, date to the Wang Mang to early Eastern Han period (see pp. 38-40).

[181] Whitfield (1985), 3, Fig. 51 dates the woodwork from L.B. IV to the Han dynasty (206 B.C.-220 A.D.).

[182] *Ibid.*, 3, Pl. 52 which shows the carved and lacquered animal (dragon) leg (H. 24.6 cm), dated by Whitfield to Eastern Han period; also see Stein (1921), IV, Pl. XXXIV. These lacquered items at Lou-lan (some lacquered wood was also found at Niya), are likely to have been imported from China, possibly the Szechwan region, which was a major lacquer ware production area.

[183] *Ibid.*, IV, L.B. V, Pl. XXXIII; Bergman (1935), Pl. III.5 and 8 for L.B. II.

or figure with attendant (Fig. 5.78).[184] The panel, which is quite large (H. 41 inches, width about 29 1/2 inches), has split into two parts and is weathered but is still legible.

At the left a male figure is seated cross-ankled on a "rattan" type stool. The right side of the image is broken off and missing. The crossed legs are large and prominent, the left arm is akimbo and a long staff, possibly a trident, held diagonally in the crook of the elbow, descends below the right thigh and into space above the left shoulder. The left hand, which gently supports the staff, has particularly long, elegant fingers. The garb of the figure is not entirely clear, but there is a round band at the neck and another at the waist as well as two bands which descend from the center of the neckband and curve outward to the side at the waist. These may be ornaments (necklace and crossed bands) or part of the decoration of an upper garment. The head is notably long with prominent cheekbones. There may be a crown, but it is not certain. The feet of the figure are presented in profile and are finely shaped with a sharp juncture where the toes bend and a nicely curved sole and instep. The slim shape and long tapered toes are distinctive; they may indicate boots, but it is not certain.

A large circular halo appears behind the entire image. This is another clear example of a body halo of the kind also noted in the Buddha niche lintel from L.A. (Figs. 5.55b, 5.58), both clearly early examples of the circular body halo. The rattan stool, bound in the center with a narrow band, is wide with a gentle concave contour in the part revealed at the image's left. Diagonal cross-hatching indicates woven slats.

To the seated figure's left is a standing (male) figure with a long face, upraised right arm and widely placed feet spread pointed outwards. His feet seem to be slightly lifted off the ground plane as though he were standing on his toes. This figure is proportionately somewhat smaller than the seated figure and wears a garment whose hems come to the calfs and fall in two points between the legs. It is not possible to tell if the upper body is garbed or is bare. Part of a long scarf with a series of narrow parallel folds hang with undulating waves from the upraised right arm. The right hand appears to be grasping part of the trident held by the seated figure. Remains of a horizontal rim appear above and below the figures, possibly indicating the border of this scene. Beyond the rims is a short flange, possibly for insertion into a frame.

Even though full of stress cracks and greatly weathered so that the details have virtually vanished, this panel still reveals some important information. The posture of the cross-ankled figure is related to that associated in Buddhist art with Maitreya Bodhisattva, but if the implement is a trident, then it is likely to be another figure, such as a kingly or guardian figure, or a Hindu deity such as Śiva, or possibly part of a narrative scene, such as a Jātaka, or related to the astrological figures, like the "trigram" figures of the

[184] *Ibid.*, pp. 88-89.

Northern Liang stupas, some of which have figures holding tridents. If it were a trigram figure, this could indicate the penetration of Chinese ideas into the art of the Lou-lan colony, a factor which may not be far-fetched considering its usage as a Chinese garrison in ca. 123-137 A.D. and its close relation with the Western Chin in the mid-3rd century.

In the shape of the torso and arms of the seated figure there is a striking similarity with the style of the figures in the monumental relief of the Victory of Ardashir I of ca. 3rd century A.D. at Firuzabad in southern Iran (Fig. 5.79). The scarf of the standing figure with its narrow parallel lines also compares with the scarf wrapping over the left arm of the vanquished grand vizier in Fig. 5.79. These factors lend one to suspect that there may be considerable influence—direct or indirect—from the late Parthian-early Sasanian art in the figural art of Lou-lan.

The particularly long face is a remarkable feature of these figures, as it is with the guardian from L.B. II. It is not a common type in Indian or Gandhāran art of this time, although it does appear in the images of the large niche in the vihāra at Tapa-i-Shotur in Haḍḍa, Afghanistan of ca. 3rd century A.D. and in the statues of the Persian kings generally dated in the 2nd century A.D. On the Chinese side there is a remarkable link with the style of Ku K'ai-chih, the famous 4th century painter at the court in Nanking, who was noted for his tall a slender females. In extant copies of his work, such as the "Admonitions" scroll in the British Museum, we can see figures with similarly elongated heads and prominent cheek bones like the ones in the Lou-lan relief figures. This seems to be a style current in the Central Asian and Chinese worlds of the 3rd-4th century. The rattan stool has a resemblance in shape to the stool in the paintings from Kizil Cave 83. Another figure in the lower part of the same Cave 83 painting has a raised arm with long scarf standing somewhat like that of the standing figure in this wooden panel. Still other figures in the Cave 83 example show prominent rounded thigh-knee shapes which can relate to the style of the cross-ankled figure in the Lou-lan panel (*Hsin-chiang shih-k'u pi-hua*, in *CKMSCC*, ptq. vol. 16 (1989), Fig. 70).

L.B. VI, removed from the L.B. IV and V site, was a small brick structure; it may have been another small shrine. Stein found some panels and fresco fragments (white leaves with scalloped edges on a pale green ground). Nearby (one hour's march) was a ruined stupa about 30 feet at the base and 11 feet remaining height.[185] Stein also found a rare ancient brick kiln in the locale.

[185] Stein (1921), I, p. 405.

3. *Remains from Grave Sites*

On February 15, 1914 about 6 miles northeast of the L.A. site, Stein discovered a mesa (the L.C. area) containing graves (Fig. 5.80) that yielded many fragments of fabric, mostly patterned silks which are now known as the "warp-faced compound tabby" type, but also woven woolen cloth with western classical subjects and motifs, as well as other fabrics, a few Chinese documents on paper and wood, etc.[186] Discovery that the graves contained a jumble of bones, cloth etc., that had already been exposed to weathering prior to the present graves led Stein to conclude that this site must have been a re-burial of contents of older graves which had become exposed over the years and were gathered together and re-buried on this mesa prior to the Chinese leaving Lou-lan in the late 3rd or early 4th century A.D. The fabrics, just as at the Lo-p'u site near Khotan, had been worn pieces, some stitched together, used to wrap the dead. Since Lou-lan had been an active site off and on by the Han dynasty Chinese from the mid-1st century B.C. to ca. 2nd quarter of the 2nd century A.D. (prior to the period under the Western Chin in the mid 3rd-century), Stein surmised these fabrics to date from a period ca. 53 B.C.-137 A.D., a date he claims to be substantiated by Chinese documents.[187]

In March and April, 1980 the Chinese Archaeological Team of Lou-lan investigated two groups of tombs near the old Lou-lan city walls. One, about 4.8 km northeast, was a "flat platform tomb area" designated MA from which 7 graves were excavated; the other was the same site found by Stein (L.C.) in 1914, said by the Chinese report for be 2 km northeast of the MA site and 6.9 km northeast of the old Lou-lan city walls. This latter site was designated MB and was called the "lonely platform tomb area", from which were excavated 2 burials. In total from the two sites over 200 objects were recovered, including a bronze mirror, *wu-chu* money, lacquer ware, silk and woolen fragments. Carbon 14 dating yielded dates for the MA tombs of ca. latter part of the Early Han to early part of the Late Han and a slightly later dating for the MB tombs to ca. earlier part of the Later (Eastern) Han period. A piece of lacquer ware found by Stein at site L.M. (Fig. 5.81a) is similar in design to that on a lacquer cup recovered by the Lou-lan Archaeological Team from MB1 tomb (L.C.), both having designs of a running cloud motif (Fig. 5.81b). These finds of Chinese lacquer, mirrors, and textiles clearly affirm trade with China during the Han dynasty and into the Three Kingdoms-Western Chin periods. The bone rings in Fig. 5.81c show an animal with antlers and a bird in a medallion—further substantiation of this motif in this period.

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[186] For Stein's discovery of the L.C. area, see Stein, (1928), I, pp. 225-230.
[187] *Ibid.*, I, p. 227.

A study of the bones from the MA and MB sites revealed that 5 of persons were European type, and one was Mongolian. The European type apparently resembled the characteristics of the Pamir Śakas, and were clearly different form the T'ien-shan area people.[188]

a. *Textiles from the L.C. area*

Since Stein's discovery of Chinese silk and later publication by F. H. Andrews,[189] further finds of "warp-faced compound tabby" silk have come to light in other parts of Central Asia, as well as more found by the Chinese around Lou-lan in 1979-1988. Studies by Dr. Loubo-Lesnichenko of the Hermitage, Krishna Riboud of the National Museum in New Delhi and others have also determined that these particular silks were found not only in Central Asia but in sites farther away in southern Sibera and Mongolia.[190] The incredibly intricate weave structure that characterizes the warp-faced compound tabby is seen, according to Riboud, in nearly all "Han" monochrome and polychrome figured silks. This silk was probably made, according to Riboud, on equipment analogous to the 'pattern-rod' loom. "The summum of skill should perhaps be attributed to those master engineers who co-ordinated the elaborate sequence of colour and design with the task of 'setting up' of the way. It must have been an incredible feat to control the order and arrangement (the 'entering' and 'reading-in') of innumerable warp threads—sometimes up to eight or ten thousand in a cloth having a width of nearly 50 centimeters—with such mathematical precision and accuracy."[191] However, the dating of these fabrics is still debated and not settled. Generally they have been taken to be of the Later Han period, mostly prior to 188 A.D., but there is a recent opinion by Meng Fan-jen that these silks were produced in the Three Kingdoms and Western Chin on looms which developed at that time to handle the intricate weave structure.[192] Some of the fabrics have Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions in the margin (Fig. 5.86)

[188] For the Chinese report on the grave sites near Lou-lan, see Hsin-chiang Lou-lan k'ao-ku tui 新疆楼兰考古队 (Archaeological Team of Loulan, Sinkiang), "Lou-lan ch'eng-chiao ku-mu-ch'ün fa-chüeh chien-pao" 楼兰城郊古墓羣发掘简报 (Excavation of Ancient Cemeteries on the Outskirts of Lou-lan), *Wen Wu*, 1988, No. 7, pp. 23-39.

[189] For the silk fragments found by Stein, see Stein (1928), IV, Pls. XXXIV-XLIII. Some of these fragments were first described by F. H. Andrews, "Ancient Chinese Figured Silks", *Burlington Magazine*, XXXVII, 1920, Part I (July), pp. 2-10; Part II (August), pp. 71-77; Part III (September), pp. 147-152.

[190] Hsin-chiang Lou-lan k'ao-ku tui (1988 b), Figs. 43-46; Pls. I.1-2, II.1 and III.1-4. *Yin jan chih hsiu*, Vol. 1, Figs. 77-91 where the silks from Lou-lan are dated to the Eastern Han period; and K. Riboud, "Some Remarks on Strikingly Similar Han Figured Silks Found in Recent Years in Diverse Sites", *Archives of the Chinese Art Society*, Vol. XXVI, 1972-73, pp. 12-25.

[191] *Ibid.*, pp. 12-13.

[192] As discussed above in note 73, Meng Fan-jen argues for a Three Kingdoms/Western Chin dating for these warp-faced compound tabby fabrics. According to Meng, the warp-faced compound tabby silks found at L.C. and MB2 (L.C. 3) and the silk ABMBs:32.7 with Kharoṣṭhī writing (Fig. 5.86), all thought to belong

and there is debate even over the age of the writing.[193] Though these fabrics are of immense interest for the study of Han, Three Kingdoms and Western Chin textiles, for our purposes the primary concern is with the information provided by the decor of both the woolen and silk fragments and the insight this provides concerning the transmission of art motifs. A few examples of both the woollen and silk fabrics will be presented here, as clearly interesting evidences of the East-West communication with the Shan-shan kingdom during the 3rd-4th century.

i. *Woolen fragments*

Little study has been done on the woven woolen fabrics, but scholars believe they were imported from the west, possibly Syria. It is also possible that they were copied in Central Asia. A famous woven woolen sample from the Lou-lan L.C. site found by Stein in 1914 shows part of the face of Hermes and his Caduceus, a classical western theme (Fig. 5.82a). Rowland, who noted the correspondences of the large-eyed face

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to the period of Emperors Huan and Ling of the Later Han, with the latest limit ca. 188 A.D., probably should date later. Briefly, his reasons are 1) L.C. is an Eastern Han and Wei-Chin period tomb area. Stein excavated 10 tombs, some with Wei-Chin period documents. L.C.3 is near L.C. 4, which has Wei-Chin paper documents. 2) L.C. 3 tomb's silk can be placed with that of L.C. 1, which has Wei-Chin paper documents, so L.C. 1, 3, and 4 must be the same period. 3) The popular time for the L.C. 3 tomb's silk (L.C. 3.011, MB2:44) is during the Wei-Chin period. 4) MB2 tomb silk with Kharoṣṭhī writing is the same as the silk from Niya's 59MNM 001 tomb and all are the same period. Meng Fan-jen (1991), p. 32.

[193] For example, regarding the silk from MB2 (Fig. 5.86), Lin Mei-ts'un presented the initial study, in which he translated the Kharoṣṭhī inscription (bimva srihetasa cita panaya 100) to be "Bimba's Sriheta's silk worth 100 [units] of money" and presented evidence suggesting this piece of silk and therefore others like it belonged to the later Han period, probably the period of emperors Huan and Ling and before 188 A.D. The main grounds, besides the circumstantial evidence of other artifacts found in the tomb (mirrors, etc.) seems, however, to be a Carbon 14 dating done in 1983 that yielded a date of no later the 188 A.D. (1880 +-85 and 1920 +-80). He notes that both this silk and the Kharoṣṭhī document No. 80LDT:055 discovered in 1980 in Lou-lan city "office" building remains (Stein site II), have the letter ṣa (with a line under the s) rather than the earlier form sa (without line under the s), showing that it is not earlier than 2nd century A.D. (on the basis of comparison with the Wardak Vase inscription year 51 in the reign of Huviṣka (see footnote 36). Lin Mei-ts'un (1988), pp. 68-69. In Meng Fan-jen (1991), he disagrees with a late Later Han dating for the silks and the mirrors, arguing instead for the Wei-Chin period (3rd to at the latest early 4th century A.D. (see note 35). His most interesting point is that the technology for this complicated weave of silk is known in the Three Kingdoms and Western Chin, and it is not known for certain to exist in Later Han.

Clearly the silks, mirrors and lacquer ware found in the Shan-shan kingdom tombs need further specific study in order to establish their accurate dating. Certainly all of these items, including the silks, could have been kept for several generations before being buried in the tombs, so even though they may appear in tombs of the last quarter of the 3rd or early 4th century as the scraps of paper documents found in some of the tombs may indicate, they could have been originally produced earlier, such as in the Later Han. The most important ramifications for establishing a more exact dating is to determine the time that the Kharoṣṭhī script began to be used in the Shan-shan kingdom.

with the face of Mercury in the Egyptian wall hanging in Fig. 5.82c, believed it to be a import from the west.[194] The style is not unlike that of the Miran M III and M V wall paintings, though stiffer and bolder. It appears to be later than the more modelled face from the Lo-p'u site in Fig. 4.11 (probably of ca. 1st century A.D. and similar to the Khalchayan style of sculptures) and closer to the bold style of the Bishapur mosaics of the 2nd half of the 3rd century A.D. (Fig. 5.82b). Of special note is the long, pear-shaped face, which relates to that of the seated figures from L.B. II and V (Figs. 5.73a, 5.78), a shape noted earlier as also interestingly associable with the figures painted by the famous Chinese artist Ku-K'ai-chih of the 4th century.

Another woven woolen fabric, found in 1980 at the Lou-lan MB site tomb site No. 2 (Fig. 5.83a,b) has a western style decor with narrow, symmetric strips of finely graded color (yellow ochre, green, blue/purple and red) on both sides of a central band which has a repetitive design of a three-petaled lily flower (in blue, pale blue and white) encapsulated within thin framing lines of a simple rinceau of paired flowers in yellow, green and dark green against a dark brown background. The lily is not unlike the later fleur-de-lis style vajra motif at Rawak (Fig. 4.66a). Stylized, curling waves in red outlined in white separate the central floral band from the side stripes. The wave pattern is a common motif in classical mosaics of the Roman empire period, as seen in the Dolphin mosaic on Delos (Fig. 5.83c), which also has geometric and plain color bands. The wave motif occurs as well in the tiles with Kharoṣṭhī script from Harwan, Kashmir of ca. 300 A.D. (Fig. 4.15b) and in a fabric of similar wave and strip motif with exceedingly delicate and refined pattern that was found in the Lo-p'u graves (Fig. 4.15a). Another fragment from Lou-lan discovered in 1980 at the MB tomb No. 2 (Fig. 5.84) has straight lines and frame-like separation of parts like the Niya batik in Fig. 5.7a. It also appears to have some of the wispy linear motifs as seen in the Lo-p'u centaur (Fig. 4.13). These fragments clearly testify to connections with motifs of the West brought to the far ends of Central Asia with the traffic of the Silk Routes and clearly considered cherished items to be buried in graves.

ii. *Silk fragments*

Many of the warp-faced compound tabby type silk fabrics are characterized by a decor of animals (usually lion-like or chimera type beasts, deer-type, and birds), bands of cloud meander, and frequently the use of auspicious Chinese characters woven into the design using as many as 8 or even 10 different characters, usually in the li-shu 隸書

[194] Rowland (1974), pp. 39-40 and 44: "Most likely the piece was imported by traders from the West and found its way to the graveyard of Lou-lan shortly before the abandonment of that site in the 3rd century A.D."

script.[195] Examples of silk in these patterns were among Stein's discoveries at the L.C. site (the famous L.C. 07 fabric has the rare selvage to selvage remains and an inscription),[196] and among other finds in the southern Siberian cemetery of Oglakty, at the Il'movaya Pad' in Selenga Valley in outer Mongolia (north about 450 km from Noin Ula—a nomadic site said to be of the Later Han period), in graves at Noin Ula, and in graves in the desert near the old Niya site as well as those at Lo-p'u near Khotan.

The fragment in Fig. 5.85a,b and color Pl. XVI from Lou-lan (found in 1980 at MB tomb No. 2, i.e., L.C.) with character "ch'ang" (wealth) has repetitive cloud meanders rhythmically alternating with a line of birds and animals (one winged with two horns, one a lion type). It is a relatively complex pattern probably indicative of the fully developed designs of this type of silk. The example in Fig. 5.85c, from a grave at Noin Ula, dating ca. late 1st century B.C.-1st century A.D. also has Chinese characters and a similar design, but of greater simplicity. Because of the relatively stable dating of the Noin Ula examples, it would seem that they are important for establishing the existence of the compound warp-faced tabby at least by early Later Han. Variations of the motifs appearing in the Figs. 5.85 a,b, and c examples are numerous, including Fig. 5.87 in which the cloud meander has taken a more rectilinear than curvilinear course and has spiral offshoots at the upper corners and on the trailing ends. The animals here are a striding lion-type (chimera?) and standing hoofed type (one passive, one active). This pattern may serve as an example in understanding the sources of designs like those on the famous reliquary box from Kizil discovered by Le Coq[197] as discussed in detail in the section on the Northern Silk Road in the sequel to this book. The particular design in Fig. 5.87 may be a later, possibly 4th century, development.[198]

4. *Conclusions: The Lou-lan Site*

From the fragmentary glimpses of history it appears the site we call Lou-lan (mainly the L.A. old walled city and environs) had strong dual components: it was probably one of the main walled cities of the Shan-shan kingdom, probably the Kroraina of the Kharoṣṭhī documents—and the Lou-lan of the Later Han designation—which also functioned at certain times as a Chinese military station controlling the Central Route, particularly around 123-137 A.D. and under the late Ts'ao Wei of the Three Kingdoms

[195] Riboud (1972-1973), pp. 18, 20 and 22, noting designs using 8 and 10 character inscriptions, the latter found on the famous selvage to selvage fragment from Lou-lan now in the National Museum, New Delhi (see note 196).

[196] This remarkable selvage piece is described by Andrews (1920), Part I, p. 8 and Fig. 2.

[197] Tokyo National Museum (1991), No. 63.

[198] Dr. Lubo-Lesnitchenko suggests that a similar design silk fabric from L.M. of 3rd-4th century represents the last stages of the "cloud motif". E. Lubo-Lesnitchenko, "Western Motifs in the Chinese Textiles of the Early Middle Ages", *National Palace Museum Bulletin*, Vol. XXVIII, Nos. 3 and 4 (July-August and Sept.-Oct., 1993), p. 1 and Fig. 1.

and the early Western Chin period, notably ca. 263-270 A.D. The documents found at the site in both Kharoṣṭhī and Chinese testify to the dual layer of its governing: the local Shan-shan government using Kharoṣṭhī script for its communication, and the military control of the Chinese using documents in Chinese language. Outside control seems to have existed to a degree until ca. 330, the latest known datable document found from Lou-lan.

The diverse objects from Lou-lan impart some sense of the culture of Lou-lan and demonstrate, in one way or another, a selective relation with the art of the classical West (especially in woolen textiles), with 3rd century Persian figural art, with the art of the Kushans, especially in regard to assimilation of motifs in the carved woodwork, with the art of Central Asia, especially regarding the monumental stupas and the figural images, and with China in the area of imported textiles, mirrors, and lacquer. Creative variation seems to occur both with regard to the stupas and images, which also relate with other Central Asian developments.

The monumental stupa of L.A. area, notable for its octagonal drum, could hardly be earlier than the 2nd-3rd century, and may resemble the small bronze model stupa from northwest India in Fig. 5.53e. A generally consistent style marks the stupas in the Shan-shan kingdom, except for Miran, which has its own special style. The Niya, Endere and Lou-lan stupas generally have a square base of several levels and a pronounced verticality to the drum and dome (cylindrical drum/dome combination), not unlike Mauri Tim and the Kara-tepe drawing, but more vertical. The Lou-lan wooden model stupas reflect this style, which is a variation of Gandhāran modes as can be seen in some surviving Gandhāran reliquaries, like the one from Jauliāñ Stupa A 11 (Fig. 5.71).

The architectural woodwork reveals a dominance of motifs closely similar to motifs in Gandhāran sculpture. These are so compatible that they may be used to indicate or confirm a date for some Gandhāran works as dating prior to ca. mid-3rd century (probably to the 1st half of the 3rd century), such as the gable in Fig. 5.69. These represent the finest remains of architectural woodwork from Central Asia, both in richness of design and quality of carving.

The figural sculpture has a more clearly Central Asian appearance, related in some instances to the western Central Asian art, such as that from around the Termez area, or with Persian sources, but this is not yet entirely clear. The Lou-lan examples, however, provide the most important group of figural objects, including Buddhas, Bodhisattvas and/or Bodhisattva-like figures, and guardians, from Central Asia datable to ca. 3rd century, at least probably prior to ca. 300 A.D. These works are therefore a standard by which comparative dating judgments can be made. For example, some works from Rawak and Kizil appear to be a style somewhat later than the Lou-lan group. The secure dating helps also to confirm the date of some Chinese images like

the Fujii Yūrinkan Maitreya, and become important in understanding the sources of some 4th century Chinese works as well. The usage of incised line technique confirms that this technique was in usage in Central Asia by the 3rd century, an important factor when considering certain works from the northern route, such as those from Tumshuk, and is therefore a documented intermediary group between the incised line images of the Kushana Mathurā school and those of the mid-4th to early 5th century in China. All the Lou-lan sculptures possess a simplicity of form, easy, graceful line, and sprightly vigor, and all are of exceptional importance for their relative stability of date ca. 3rd century in a period which is lacking in dated evidences. The circular body halo appears in the Lou-lan sculptures as early examples of its usage.

III. Conclusions: Art from Sites of the Southern Silk Route in Eastern Central Asia

If we look chronologically at the material from the Southern and Central Silk Route sites in eastern Central Asia, we can see that the 1st-3rd century A.D. period (contemporaneous with the Later Han, Three Kingdoms and Western Chin in China and with the Kushan period in the greater Gandhāran region) forms a cohesive unit about which we can perceive some definite character. Both Chinese and Kushan art have an impact on the art of the southern and central route sites, but that of the Kushans is definitely stronger. Like the art related to the classical West, that related to China is mostly in the nature of imported work (textiles, mirrors, lacquer) rather than evidences of Chinese art being assimilated into their own local art style. Also, creative assimilation of the Kushan art is more evident with regard to the stupas and sculpted images than with regard to the designs of the architectural pieces, which tend to closely follow the Gandhāran forms.

After ca. early 4th century there is a major change, both in the conditions of the southern and central route and in the artistic styles. The former is probably caused in large part by the natural changes of the environment which may have been major contributing factors causing the demise of Niya and Endere and the apparent disuse of Lou-lan. The changes in artistic styles are related to changes occurring in the great centers of the main eastern and western powers, namely China and Rome, as well as in the general Gandhāra area. The two major remains of this later period (4th-5th century) come from Khotan (Rawak) and Miran (M XV and M II), both of which maintain considerable links with the art of the greater Gandhāra area, especially with Swat and probably Kashmir, though this area is extremely vague for lack of many remains of the time. What can perhaps be called Central Asian qualities—a tendency for simplicity,

more abstract form and lyrical line, a usage of the incised line, and some qualities of bizarre liberty of line and form— become stronger in the M II sites and images, probably dating ca. 2nd half of the 4th to early 5th century, and in some of the Style II-VI images at Rawak, which probably date in the late 4th-early 5th century. The recently discovered early paintings from Karadong near Khotan are splendid and important examples that match with the style of the M XV sculptures and also probably date ca. late 4th century.

Some reverberations occur with the art of the Northern Silk Route, especially between Rawak and Tumshuk and between Kizil and Miran, but they appear overall to be surprisingly few, suggesting that the two routes have a fairly independent life without excessive interchange or cross-fertilization. However, the paucity of works must also be considered in this assessment. One might expect more mingling in the two extremities where the routes meet, i.e., at Kashgar and Tun-huang, but this does not seem to be the case, probably for a number of reasons. There are few remains from Kashgar to judge from, and Tun-huang has very little art that we know of from before ca. 400, but, in general, Tun-huang is more prone to influences from China and Kashgar may be more prone to influences from western Central Asia. Only certain contiguous sites seem to relate and even these may depend on political or age-old traditional affiliations (or lack of such). The result is a fairly heterogeneous and diverse art from Central Asia during this early period. The impetus for specific remains seems to depend on ephemeral factors and to be extremely difficult to trace, particularly since the history is still so problematic, and a measure of stability seems to be gained only through the glimpses of connections with the art of the major areas to the east and west. Clearly, however, the importance of Central Asia for the earliest Buddhist art of China is indisputable and will be seen in the sequel to this book, as even more influential in the 4th and 5th centuries.

CONCLUSIONS

By using a comprehensive approach, this book has attempted to present and discuss in depth the early Buddhist art of China and Central Asia from ca. 1st-4th century A.D. with a view to clarifying the issues, stabilizing the chronology and dating, and more accurately understanding the sources and relationships of the art. To establish with reasonable certainty the dating of the important group of early Chinese Buddhist bronze sculptures has required the weight of understanding the early Buddhist art of both eastern and western Central Asia and in turn its relation to the Indian schools, especially those of the Bactrian, Gandhāran and Swat regions. While it may appear to be an enormous amount of territory to cover in order to establish the first Buddhist images in China, it should be remembered that those few are the precious remains of the very beginning of Buddhist art in China and the forebearers of the great works to follow. Therefore, they are of immense symbolic and historical as well as artistic value and are important in understanding the whole picture of this time.

Perhaps most significant is the reassessment and dating of the Harvard flame-shouldered Buddha to around the second half of the 2nd century A.D. in the late Later Han—the period of the early translations of canonical Buddhist texts into Chinese, first by An Shih-kao from ca. 148 and then by Lokakṣema from ca. 165. This image thus stands among all Buddhist art, not only Chinese, as the earliest, largest, most complete and best preserved bronze Buddha, or even Buddhist image, and emerges as a masterpiece of the Later Han period of Buddhism in China. Furthermore, by its predominant stylistic associations with art of western Central Asia, especially northern Bactria (and possibly Parthia), it confirms that region as a major inspirational source for the early Buddhist art of China, clearly more so than Gandhāra. Thus the earliest Buddhist art of China can hardly be designated Gandhāran, and even Kushan may be doubtful. The most plausible regional stylistic affiliation for the Harvard Buddha is probably Bactrian or Bactrian/Parthian.

The 3rd century Chinese bronze icons, some of which could even be from the latter days of the Han, are seen to co-ordinate stylistically with some of the tomb materials, such as the money tree Buddhas, the bronze mirrors and ceramics with Buddha figures. The splendid Fujii Yūrinkan Bodhisattva from the Ch'ang-an area appears to be a late 3rd century work, probably from around the time of the great Dharmaraksa in China. These major "orthodox" bronze icons, probably from the north, co-exist with the tomb items that incorporate Buddhist figures and motifs, apparently mostly from

the south, including Szechwan, and are not a development from or particularly later than these examples from the tombs. Rather, the sources for the bronze icons are firmly related to an overwhelming degree with the art forms of Central Asia and the northern border regions of India, especially Bactria and Swat. The tomb articles, though not unrelated to the foreign sources, nevertheless reveal an interesting stronger indigenous artistic interpretation. They represent the expression of the penetration of Buddhism into the funerary customs and atropopaic tendencies of the culture, whereas the bronze icons were probably used by serious practitioners or by Buddhist foreigners according to Buddhist custom.

We can begin to understand that in the two earliest phases of Buddhism in China—that of the Later Han and of the Three-Kingdoms/Western Chin—the Buddhist art had complex levels undoubtedly fitting the status and circumstances of the religion at that time in China. Besides the influences received from the activity of Chinese trade and conquests in Central Asia, indications are that the foreign population of Yüeh-chih (Indo-Scythians or Kushans), Parthians, Indians and Central Asians in China—who were mostly engaged with the international commerce—may have been a major factor in stimulating Buddhist art at this time.[199]

It is well known and also substantiated in the present study, that the areas of Bactria, Gandhāra, and Swat were active and flourishing with regard to Buddhism and Buddhist art during the 1st-4th century A.D. period. The new materials discovered in the

[199] Dr. Zürcher in a recent article addressing aspects of Han Buddhism, characterizes it as an "embryonic stage" of "extreme hybridization, the diffuse incorporation of disparate elements, no coherent complexes of doctrine or scripture, but rather a random collection of single translated texts." Rather than a first "heroic" period of Buddhism in China, he calls it a period of "unsystematic borrowing". Furthermore, he perceives no influences from eastern Central Asia before the 3rd century: "In Han China, Buddhism was spread by missionaries coming from the far west: Indo-Scythians, Sogdians, Parthians and Indians. Missionaries from the oasis kingdoms of present-day Xinjiang only start to appear in Chinese sources in the second half of the third century—which chronologically agrees with the date of the earliest remains found at Khotan, Niya, Miran and Loulan. In the first two centuries of our era, Serindia appears to have functioned as no more than a transit zone." He posits a theory that Serindia only emerges as a monastic Buddhist entity after development of the agricultural system (t'un-t'ien), which began in the period of Chinese domination at the beginning of the 2nd century A.D. Citing comparable demographic data from the *Han-shu* and *Hou-Han shu*, he suggests that by the 3rd century Serindia had apparently developed an urban elite capable of supporting monastic Buddhism. At this time Serindia may have been capable of offering what he terms "contact Buddhism", which, being based in the neighboring region with China, could relate in a more systematic and less intermittent manner with China. "For two centuries Serindia appears to have played the role of a neutral transit zone, despite existing lines of communication ... and Han Buddhism is the result of "long distance transmission .... Contact Buddhism on the other hand, which is more integrated, is what happened in the 2nd half of the 3rd century when the oasis states had become strongholds of Buddhism." Zürcher (1990), pp. 170-182.

Uzbekistan region testify to the quantity, quality and importance of the Buddhist monasteries and art of western Central Asia. Much still needs to be studied, but the architecture, sculptures and paintings from Airtam, Kara-tepe, Fayaz-tepe, Dalverzin-tepe and Toprak Kala in particular offer significant remains that establish the existence of a remarkable and flourishing school in that area during the 1st-4th centuries A.D. The relatively secure dating of these sites, excavated under controlled archaeological conditions, fortunately affords chronological study of these materials, which in turn lends further stability to the study not only of Gandhāran art in general, but especially to Central Asian and Chinese Buddhist art.

The question of when Buddhism was established in eastern Central Asia is afforded some tentative evidence by the Kashgar stupas, which seem to suggest a 2nd-3rd century period of activity in that area, and by the bronze Buddha heads of Khotan, which appear to date between the mid-2nd century-mid-3rd century A.D., and are, in fact, most likely to be from the 2nd half of the 2nd century. The stupas of the Shan-shan kingdom appear to date a little later than the mid-2nd century stupa at Airtam. Those at Niya, Endere and Miran are probably earlier than the great stupa at Lou-lan, which may well have been constructed around the 2nd half of the 3rd century.

Of major import is the recent scholarly work on the history of the Shan-shan kingdom, a particularly painstaking undertaking which requires the combined efforts of linguists, historians and art historians. The date of the introduction of Kharoṣṭhī writing into the Shan-shan kingdom region is still not settled, but it appears to go hand-in-hand with the establishment of the Buddhist communities there. Chinese scholars at present tend to accept a date posterior to ca. 175 A.D., the date of the last Han period reports from Central Asia. In the periods of the Later Han, Three Kingdoms and Western Chin, Buddhism appears to be more developed in eastern Central Asia along the southern route sites than at the northern route sites, which, as will be discussed in detail in the sequel book, do not appear to have developed major Buddhist establishments and art much before the 3rd century A.D. However, in the 4th century and later, with the demise of Niya and Lou-lan in the Shan-shan kingdom by ca. mid-4th century and the greater ease of travel along the northern route, the northern route sites become more flourishing.

Among the specific issues discussed or raised in the chapters of this book, a number are noted here as emerging of primary consequence and worthy of further study.

1) The development of the form of the Central Asian stupa and its links with the forms appearing in the Bactrian, Gandhāran, and Kashmir areas is discussed in some detail, as well as the possibility of differences of form and type linked with movements in Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna Buddhism. This is obviously a large and important topic and requires intensive further research.

2) The Chinese style "pagoda" appears to be established in China by the late Later Han as witnessed in the Szechwan tile and by the "temple" of Tse Jung of ca. 194 A.D. in Kiangsu. Though the development of this Chinese style pagoda is not yet entirely clear, comparable sources in art seem to link it with the shrine structure as seen in the Mathurā Kushan school rather than with the Indian stupa *per se.*

3) Classification of the sculptures at Rawak stupa near Khotan presented here hopefully has led to a sharpened focus on the stylistic developments and dating of this superb body of sculptures. The detailed consideration of the stylistic links with the sculptures of Swat, Kara-tepe and China is a new approach to these works and adds to the realization of the important position of the Khotan school of Buddhist art in the late 3rd-5th century, a status which the Khotan bronze sculptures may indicate for the period ca. mid-2nd-mid-3rd century.

4) The importance of the warp-faced compound tabby silk in determining the dating of tombs and even of the Kharoṣṭhī script was brought out, but awaits more expert and even technical assessments for a solution with regard to dating.

5) The stylistic association of the Miran wall paintings of M III and M V with the paintings of Toprak Kala shows that Miran is not an isolated example, but relates to painting styles current in the western part of Central Asia around the mid-3rd century and can even be satisfactorily compared with paintings current in the centers of trade in the Roman West, such as Dura Europos. The connections with art of the Roman West and Persia is another pertinent element brought in from time to time in this book, but remains one which could readily be explored for more results.

6) The relation of the later group of temples and sculptures at Miran with 4th century Gandhāran works and sculptures in Central Asia and China aid in tentatively establishing a dating around the late 4th to early 5th century, but it is still critical to understand more thoroughly the movements of the 5th and 6th centuries in Central Asia in order to confirm this assessment.

7) The Lou-lan sculptures are an important link with specific Gandhāran works by exhibiting a style strongly related to that school as well as to Chinese art of the 3rd century. This seems to correspond to the usage of Kharoṣṭhī writing in the Shan-shan kingdom from around the 3rd to mid-4th century, but the explanations or reasons for this phenomenon are not yet entirely understood.

8) The new elements regarding the history of Shan-shan that have appeared from studies on deciphering the Kharoṣṭhī documents reveal more precisely the exact nature of the relation of Shan-shan with China, i.e., with the Ts'ao Wei, the Western Chin and the Former Liang, shedding further light on the degree of Chinese control at specific periods. There may still be debate on these issues among scholars, but the situation is emerging with more clarity than ever before. However, it is not certain

whether Shan-shan flourished more when China was not involved there, i.e., after ca. 175 and before the mid-3rd century, or when China was actively engaged with control of the region from ca. 263. Chinese control may have facilitated trade, one of the major, if not the most important, reasons for the Chinese to make the enormous financial and military expenditures to control the communication routes in eastern Central Asia. The history of Shan-shan also reflects on the dating of the sites such as Niya and Lou-lan and on the artifacts found at the sites and in the tombs. It appears that both Niya and Lou-lan may have continued at least into the mid-4th century as viable sites, rather than succumbing to demise in the late 3rd or early 4th century as first reasoned by Stein.

9) New insights into some of the Bāmiyān caves derive from a study of the relation of Bāmiyān art to the new materials from southern Uzbekistan. The relation of the Eastern Great Buddha with some works in China could be a factor in dating that colossus to ca. late 4th-early 5th century, a possibility which will be further explored in the sequel to this book, where the issue of the origins of the colossal Buddha and the art of the early cave temples in Kansu province will be addressed.

10) The Kara-tepe cave temples appear to hold one key to unlocking the problem of the central pillar caves in China, another subject of immense interest in the study of the early Buddhist art of China and one which will also further explored in the sequel book.

Though this book focuses on a relatively short period of time, it is one that is crucial for building the foundations on which to move ahead to investigate the next major period of the 4th-mid 5th century which has in the past been so vague that we hardly believed there was much Buddhist art remaining. From the new work by the Chinese in the past two decades, it now appears that indeed there are considerable artistic remains from this major, "pre-Yün-kang" period, one which is credited with the transforming of the foreign Buddhist religion into a more thoroughly Chinese one in the hands of Chinese Buddhists.

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ANRW	*Aufsteig und Niedergang der Römanischen Welt*
ASI	Archaeological Survey of India
ASU	*Antiquities of Southern Uzbekistan*
BEFEO	*Bulletin de L'École Française d'extrême-orient*
BMFEA	*Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities*
BSOAS	*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*
CHI	*Cambridge History of Iran*
CHC	*Cambridge History of China*
CHEIA	*The Cambridge History of Early Inner Asia*
CKMSCC	*Chung-kuo mei-shu ch'üan-chi*
CS	*Chin-shu*
CSTCC	*Ch'u san-tsang chi-chi*
Daizōkyō	*Taisho shinshū daizōkyō*
EWA	*Encyclopedia of World Art*
HCCA	*History of Civilizations of Central Asia*
HHS	*Hou-Han shu*
HS	*Han-shu*
IsMEO	Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente
MDAFA	Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique Francaise en Afghanistan
MRDTB	Memoires of the Reserach Department of the Tōyō Bunko
OITMD	*Orientalia Iosephi Tucci Memoriae Dicata*
SC	*Shih-chi*
SKC	*San-kuo chih*
TCTC	*Tzu-chih t'ung-chien*
YK	*Yün-kang*

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INDEX

Abbasakebchina stupa (Swat), 369
abhayā-mudrā, 52, 56, 60, 139, 381
Abhidharma philosophy, 23
acanthus leaves, 176
A-ch'u-fo kuo ching (Scripture of the Realm of Aksobhya Buddha), 24
Achaeminid Empire, 79, 162, 164
acrobats, 40
Aelia Flacilla (Queen of Constantinople), 219
Afghanistan, 13, 70-71. *See also* Begram; Haḍḍa
Āgamas, 23
Agrawala, P. K., 85n.130
Ahura Mazda, 189
Airtam, 81, 90, 147, 175-79, 190, 235, 252, 322, 373
Ajanta Cave IX, 192
Akiyama, Terukazu, 376n.102, 380
Akṣobhya Buddha, 26
Ak-terek, 316-17
Albaum, L. I., 191
Alexander the Great, 164
Amarāvatī, 70, 74, 310, 374
Amarāvatī-Nāgārjunakoṇḍa school, 294
Aṃgvaka, 339, 344-352, 352n.57
Amitābha Buddha, 26, 102, 142
Amitābha Pure Land, 101
Amitaśuddhasamyadsaṃbodhi Sūtra, 101
Amitāyus, 271
Amluk-darrah stupa (Swat), 369
An Chou, 355
aṇḍa (of a stupa), 254, 279
Andhras, 74
An Fa-hsien (Dharmabhadra?), 101
An Hsüan, 25, 90
An Kuo (King of Khotan), 330
An Shih-kao, 23-25, 90-91, 102, 138, 428
Anahita, 168n.8, 205, 230
Anak tomb (North Korea), 66, 234, 362
Ānanda, 36
Ānāpāna Mindfulness (see also *An-pan shou-i-ching*), 90-91
Andrews, F. H., 420
animal figures, 78, 422-23; bearded ram, 48; centaur, 274-75, 362, 381, 422; dragon, 58, 276, 361; elephant, 41-42, 383; horse, 52, 64, 274, 275, 383; lion, 85, 113, 114, 118, 123, 138; on mirrors, 119
An-pan shou-i ching (*Scripture of Ānāpāna Mindfulness*), 102
antler patterns, 78
Anyor Buddha, 140, 141
apsaras (fei-t'ien), 125, 126, 130-131
Archaeological Team of Lou-lan, 342, 399, 402, 419
Archaeological Team of Sinkiang, 402
arches, 371, 404-5
architecture, 66, 67, 237-39, 383
Ardashir I, 164, 166
Arhat, 253
Arka-kuduk Tim, 316
Arthur M. Sackler Museum, 71
Asian Art Museum of San Francisco: miniature gilt bronze shrine, 67-71, 72, 82, 110, 117, 297, 412; gilt bronze Bodhisattva, 319-20; gilt bronze Buddha dated 338 A.D., 82, 84, 134-35, 140-42, 148, 153, 203, 320, 407
Aśoka (see King Aśoka)
Aśokan pillars, 69
Aṣṭasahasrikā-prajñāpāramitā Sūtra, 24, 102
astrology and astral cults, 60n.100
attendants, in sculptures, 57-58
Avaivartika-cakra Sūtra, 110
Avalokiteśvara, 110

Bactria, 9, 51, 75, 90, 94, 164, 211, 428-429
Baghdad Museum, 81
Bahram V, 167
Bailey, H. W., 260
Bajaur, Pakistan, 219, 319
Balkh (Afghanistan), 281
Bāmiyān, 168, 431; arches at, 371, 404n.157; *Cave 24*, 184, 214-17, 238; *Cave 29*, 222-23; *Cave 51*, 209, 217-23, 238, 383; *Cave 111*, 198; *Cave 129*, 184, 189, 222, 233, 238; Cave *130*, 224; *Cave 152*, 224-25; *Cave 140*, 171, 200, 225-26, 238; *Cave 155*, 212, 228-34; *Cave 165*, 193, 227-28, 238, 381, 382, 385; *Cave 620*, 212; ceiling styles, 217, 224-25; historical background, 210-14; square tower of, 63n.103; wall paintings, 131, 221-23, 225-26;

Western Great Buddha, 212, 229; windows, 217. *See also* Eastern Great Buddha
beacon tower, 402
Begram (Afghanistan), 12, 13n.11; ivories, 39, 62, 85-86, 312
belt buckle, 127-30, 137, 141
Bergman, Folke, 338, 408, 409, 410
Bernard, P., 176n.19, 178n.23
bhadrakalpa, 124-125
Bhadrakalpāvadāna, 110
Bhamāla stupa (Taxila), 280, 282
bird carving (at K'ung-wang shan), 30
BODDO coin, 33, 40
Bodhgaya tower, 63
Bodhisattvas, 127-30, 309-11: contemplative, 124; Lou-lan, 413; standing, 152-53. *See also* Maitreya Bodhisattva
Book of Changes (See also *I Ching*), 106
Book of Zambasta, 261, 264
Brahmā, 215
Brāhmī script, 192, 260, 339, 368n.84, 380, 398
Brāhmī script stupa (Tun-huang), 415
British Museum, 116, 117, 286, 293, 307, 342n.36
bronze sculptures, 126-30, 133-53, 266-69. *See also* Fujii Yūrinkan Bodhisattva; Fujiki Buddha; Tokyo National Museum Buddha
Brough, John, 26n.41, 323, 340, 344, 345, 352n.57
Buddha, 253; of Bāmiyān caves, 220-21; bronze sculpture, 266-69; colossal, 71, 287-88, 304-5, 387-88, 390; crowned, 256n.29; dhyānāsana, 138; gilded, 22, 64, 73, 94; golden image, 102-103; Lou-lan sculptures, 405-7; on money trees, 56-61; reclining, 35; seated, 35, 45, 46, 47, 133-38, 139-43, 168, 184, 187-88; standing, 33-35, 37, 45, 46, 68, 132, 145, 149, 231-32, 288, 302, 304-9; white-robed, 70. *See also* Harvard Flame-shouldered Buddha
Buddhism: growth of, in Western Chin, 96; in Khotan, 322; images of, at K'ung-wang shan, 33-39; importance of western Central Asia to, 26; written evidence of, during Han, 13-15, 17-22
Buddhist art: bronze sculptures, 126-30, 133-53, 266-69; changes to, in Western Chin, 96; funerary, 112-19; of Han, 27, 29-49, 52-95; mirrors, 119-26; progenitors of, in China, 92-93; tomb bricks and figures, 130-33. *See also individual sites*
Bussagli, M., 376n.102
Butkara I. *See* Swat

Caḍota (*See also* Niya), 341, 368
Caduceus, 421
Caitya-vibhāga-vinayodbhāva-sūtra, 254
Calmadāna, 341, 368-369
cap, pointed, 38, 198
Caracalla (Roman emperor), 377
Carl, J., 218-21
Carma Monastery (Khotan), 259
carving techniques, 42-43; incised, 57, 84
catvāri sopānāni (of a stupa), 254, 279
ceiling patterns, 410
centaur motif, 274-75, 362, 381, 422
Central Asia: map of, 8. *See also* eastern Central Asia; western Central Asia
ceramics, 112-13. *See also* clay sculpture
Ch'ang [or An] Kuei (King of Lou-lan), 328
Ch'ang-an, 22, 26, 103-104, 106, 109, 111, 151, 341n.33, 352, 428
Ch'ang-li reservoir tomb, Kiangsu, 66n.108
ch'ang-shih, 335
Ch'en Hui, 24
Ch'eng (state in Yünnan and Szechwan), 104
Ch'eng-tu (Szechwan), 47, 56, 57
Ch'en-p'an, 248
Ch'iang (minority), 9, 12, 55, 103
Ch'ien-fo tung, 410
Ch'in Ching, 14
Ch'in Shih Huang-ti, 49, 80, 82
Ch'ing-hai, 9, 54-55, 58
Ch'ing-liang Terrace, 14
ch'ing-t'an (pure talk), 106
Ch'iung-lung shan, 101
Ch'u (dukedom), 15
Ch'u san-ts'ang chi chi, 102, 353
Ch'ü hsien, 43
Ch'ü shan, 44
chaitya (shrine), 63, 95, 373
Champa, 106
Chandaka, 124
Chandigarh Museum, 312
Chang Ch'ien, 7, 9, 324
Chang Chün (of Former Liang), 336
Chang family (of Kansu), 104, 336
Chang Kuei (of Former Liang), 336, 337n.23
Chang Ling, 99n.2
Chang Lu, 99n.2
chang-shih (chief clerk), 12
Chang-yeh commandery, 9

Chaṅkuṇa's stupa (Kashmir), 280, 282-83
channavira, 39
Chao Ming, prince, 66n.107
Chao P'o-nu, 241
Chao Yü, 19
Charklik, 330n.13, 354n.64, 369
chattra. *See* umbrellas (of a stupa)
Chen-ta, 355
Cheng-hsing (era), 351n.55
Cheng-yüan (era), 351n.55
Cherchen, 10n.6, 369
Chi Shen-chou san-pao kan-t'ung lu (by Tao Hsüan), 14
Chia-hsiang hsien (Shantung), 67
Chia-p'ing (era), 334, 348
Chia-ting (Szechwan), 47, 56
Chiang-ning (Kiangsu), 114
Chiang-p'u (Kiangsu), 114
Chiao-chih wu-hu man (tribes), 12n.10
Chiao-ho (Yarkhoto), 207
Chiao-wei P'eng Lu tomb, 87, 148
chiao-wei title, 125, 127
Chief Officer of the Western Regions (*See also* hsi-yüchang-shih), 12
Chieh (minority), 103
Chieh-shou Mausoleum, 14
Chien-ch'u ssu, 103
Chien-heng (era), 130
Chien-hsing, 334, 335n.26
Chien-k'ang, 83n. 127
Chien-yeh, 99, 104
Chien-yüan (era), 352n.57
Chih Ch'an. *See* Lokakṣema
Chih Ch'ien (Chih Yüeh), 24-25, 26n.42, 101-102
Chih Liang, 24, 25, 101
Chih Yao, 25
Chih Yüeh. *See* Chih Ch'ien
Chin (dynasty), 97
Chin-hsing, 108
Chin-shu, 106, 120, 335, 353
Chin-t'a ssu (cave temple, Kansu), 173, 387, 391
Chinese and Swedish Northwest Investigation Team, 323
Chinese Archaeological and Investigation Teams, 323
Chinese Archaeological Team of Sinkiang Province, 338
Ching K'o, 49
Ching-an hsien (Kiangsu) 125-26
Ching-chüeh, 242
Chionites, 167, 241n.2
Chiu-ch'üan (Kansu), 54, 109; commandery, 9
Cho-lung Palace (Loyang), 18
Chonen, 264
Chu Chiang-yen, 102
Chu Fa-hu. *See* Dharmarakṣa
Chu Fa-lan (Dharmaratna?), 14-15, 23n.28
Chu Fa-sheng, 111
Chu Fo yao chi ching, 111n.40
Chu Shih-hsing, 107-8, 261, 296, 322, 358, 368n.84
Chu Shu-lan, 108, 111
Chu Shuo-fo, 24
Chu Ta-li, 25
Chu-chü-po. *See* Karghalik
Chü-mi (Chira-Keriya tract), 330-31
Chü-mo (or Ch'ieh-mo), 369
Chü-shih ch'ien-pu (Turfan), 207, 353, 354
Chung hsien (Szechwan): Buddhalike figurine (from Tomb No. 5 at T'u-ching), 132, 140, 141; money tree Buddhas (from cliff tomb No. 14), 127, 140
Chung-nan shan, 109
Chung-shan (Hopei), 91, 108-9
citadels, circular, 204-5
clay sculpture, 173, 203, 267, 270-72
cloth, 94, 271n.56, 305n.99, 342-43, 364-67; batik, 364, 365-66, 378; cotton, 275-76; from Khotan, 272-76; from Lou-lan sites, 419, 420-23; rosette motif, 274-75; from Shampula, 322; silk, 276, 322, 420-23; wave pattern, 275-76; wool, 273-75, 421-22
clothing, of sculptures: capes, 193; coats, 86; dhoti, 149; of Fujii Yūrinkan Bodhisattva, 147-48; of guardian figures, 314; Kushan style, 40-41; robe design of, 35; scallop design, 299; scarf, 129, 132, 148-49, 152; sleeve design of, 35. *See also* drapery
cloud pattern, 303, 422, 423
coins: Afrigdian, 207; BODDO, 40; flame motif on, 79; "Heraus," 80, 90, 169n.14; of Huviṣka, 79n.123, 215; of Hormizd, 79n. 123; Indo-Sasanian, 121; knife type (Chinese), 59; of Kaniṣka I, 33, 34, 40, 46, 79n.123, 199n.48, 365; of Kaniṣka III, 200; Khorezmian, 206n.54; Kushana, 33, 45, 266; Kushanshahs, 241n.2; and money trees, 56; mudrā style on, 307; of Nahapāna, Western Kṣatrapa, 307n.100; Sakamano Boudo

didarachm, 40; Sino-Kharoṣṭhī, 257, 257n.32, 277, 316, 339; Soter Megas, 197n.42, 199n.48; T'ang (618 - 906), 277; of Toramana, 284; of Vaharam, 79n.123; of Vāsudeva, 79n.123, 207; of Vima II Kaḍphises, 79n.123, 87, 197n.42; *wu-chu* type, 59, 64n.104, 277, 319, 397, 398; *yen-huan wu-chu* type, 59
Confucius, 5, 18
Confucianism, 97, 100, 106
Conrady, 410
contemplation, pose of, 36
cornucopia, 364-65
Cribb, J., 80, 90, 166n.6, 169n.14, 257

Dalverzin-tepe, 322, 388; Bodhisattva, 149, 390; clay heads, 270; drapery, 193; garment pattern, 194; head, 38, 82, 90, 141, 150, 151, 218; jewelry of, 148; Temple No. 1, 196-99, 205, 269; Temple No. 2, 195, 199-204, 208, 216, 226, 231, 235, 271
dancers, 40
Dandan Uilik, 256, 294, 295, 357
Delos, 422
Demetria, 168n.9
Denike, B. P., 169
Devnimori sculptures, 233-34
Dharmakāla (T'an-ko-chia-lo), 100
Dharmaksema, 389
Dharmapada, 102, 260-61, 339, 340
Dharmaphala (T'an-kuo), 25
Dharmarājika stupa (Taxila), 249, 252, 311, 374n.99
Dharmarakṣa (Ch'ih [or Chu] Fa-hu), 96, 104, 108, 109-11, 138, 151-52, 358, 428
Dharmaratna. *See* Chu Fa-lan
Dharmasatya, 100-101
Dharmendra (T'an-ti), 101
dhyāna, 24, 102
dhyāna-mudrā, 78-79, 91, 118, 119, 126, 137
dhyānāsana. *See* meditation posture
diamond motif, 193
Dīghanikāya, 253
Dilberjin, 177n.21
Dionysus, 364
Dioscuri, 177n.21
Dīpaṃkara, 81, 91-92, 91n. 135, 142, 149, 223, 231, 271, 297, 365, 391
Dīpaṃkara-Jātaka, 91n.135
Disturbance of the Eight Princes, 103
Divyāvadāna, 254, 279
donor-worshipers, 86-89, 412
Double-peaked Gośṛṅga Mountain, 263
dragon motif, 58, 276, 361
drapery: of Asian Art Museum sculpture, 69; in Bāmiyān caves, 219; cloud pattern, 303; comb pattern, 303, 311; of Eastern Great Buddha, 231; of Fayaz-tepe sculpture, 193-94, 195; of Fujiki Buddha, 140-41; of Harvard Buddha, 75-78; of Khalchayan sculptures, 173-74; of Kushana period Buddhas, 52-53; of Lou-lan Buddhas, 406; of Mien-yang sculpture, 59; of Miran sculpture, 382; of P'eng-shan Buddha, 57; of Ping-ling ssu Buddha, 232; of Rawak sculptures, 194, 288-89, 291-92, 293, 296-301, 303, 311-12; on standing Buddha, 34; of Termez sculpture, 203; on Tokyo National Museum Buddha, 136; of Toprak Kala sculpture, 208; on vessels, 117, 119; wave pattern, 303, 304
Drum Lake Monastery (Khotan), 264
Duke Ch'eng of Chou, 355
Duldul Akur site, 83, 83n. 128
Dura Europos, 201, 219, 235, 273, 381, 383, 385, 431
Dutreuil de Rhins, 339, 340

Earth Goddess, 295
eastern Central Asia: and Chinese Buddhism, 93; defined, 7n.2; dominated by Hsiung-nu, 11; Endere, 367-69; history of, 241-44, 323-55; Karghalik, 255-57; Kashgar, 247-54; Khotan, 257-321; Lou-lan, 392-425; maps of, 245, 326; Miran, 370-92; Niya, 357-67; sculptural characteristics of, 83; trade routes, 244-46; Yarkand, 255. *See also* Shan-shan kingdom
Eastern Chin (317-420), 83n.127, 97, 103, 104, 118
Eastern Great Buddha (Bāmiyān), 149, 184, 212, 224, 228-34, 236, 320, 362
E-ch'eng (Hupei) (*See also* Wu-ch'ang), 99, 113, 120, 123, 126
Edwards, Richard, 49
Egypt, 265, 377, 384
Eilenberg stupas (Metropolitan Museum of Art), 400n.149
elephant stone (K'ung-wang shan), 41-42
elephant, 41-42, 383
embassies, 104, 106

Emperor An (r. 107-125), 248
Emperor Constantius II (of Constantinople; r.337-361 A.D.), 306
Emperor Hsiao-ming (r. 58-76 A.D.), 14
Emperor Huan (r. 147-167), 18, 23, 43, 90, 92, 331, 342nn.35, 36
Emperor Hui (r. 290-306), 103
Emperor Ling (r. 168-189), 18, 23, 43, 90, 92, 331, 342nn.35, 36
Emperor Kuang-wu (r. 25-58 A.D.), 11
Emperor Ming (r. 58-75), 13, 14, 15, 18, 66n.107; of Wei (r. 220 - 226), 99, 101, 242, 248
Emperor Sun Hao (r. 264-280), 102, 103
Emperor Wen of Wei (r. 220 - 226), 99
Emperor Wu of Western Chin (r. 265-290), 103, 242-44, 248, 259, 338, 358, 384, 395
Emperor Wu-ti of Former Han, 7, 9, 160
Endere, 106, 183, 252, 339; stupa at, 368-69, 424
Enoki, K., 324, 328, 329n.13, 339n.31, 352n.57, 395
eyes, of sculptures, 81, 141, 174, 267, 306, 362

Fa-Ching ching (Scripture of the Dharma Mirror; See also *Ugradattaparipṛcchā*), 25
facial types, of sculptures, 32, 33
Fa-hsien, 125, 210, 262-63, 354, 389, 392, 395
Fa-hu (Dharmaraksa), 111n.40
Fa-i, 262
Fa-lan. *See* Chu Fa-lan
Fan Yeh, 330
Fan-kuang ching (Scripture of the Emission of Rays), 108
Farhad-Beg-yailaki, 309
Fayazov, R. F., 191
Fayaz-tepe, 236, 372, 374; Buddha, 271, 272; drapery, 290; monastery site, 191-92; Buddha niche at, 82, 184; sculpture, 82, 194-96; stupas, 237-38, 280, 282; wall paintings, 193-94, 228
feet, of sculptures, 37, 364
feng bird, 120, 123, 125, 276
Feng Ch'eng-chün, 329n.13
Ferghana, 9, 104, 242, 243
First Concentration, 36
Firuzabad, Iran, 418
Five Activities, 60n.100
Five Barbarian Nations (Wu-hu-kuo), 103
Five Bushels of Rice Movement, 97
Five Elements, 97n.2
flags, 191
flame motif, 79, 91-92, 224, 308. *See also* Harvard flame-shouldered Buddha
flower vase motif, 85-86
FO stupa at Lou-lan), 402
fold patterns, 77-78; linear, 87. *See also* drapery
Folkens Museum Etnografiska (Stockholm), 402, 413
foreigners, 94, 95; dress of, 88
Former Ch'in, 352-54
Former Han, 5-10, 43, 241-42, 394
Former Liang, 104, 243, 336-37
fo-shou ching (mirrors), 119
Fo-t'u-teng, 107n.24
Foucher, A., 222
four commanderies east of the Yellow River, 9
Four Direction Buddhas, 124-25
Four Encounters, 70, 71
Franz, H. G., 63n.103, 278, 280
Freer Gallery, 195
French Archaeological Mission, 210
Friar Bala Bodhisattva, 76n.118
friezes, 171-74, 176-78, 184, 377-78. *See also* Airtam
Fu-chiang River (Szechwan), 47
Fu Chieh-tzu, 327, 328
Fu Chien (r. 357-384) of Former Ch'in, 336, 352-54
Fu I, 14
Fujii Yūrinkan Bodhisattva, 37, 72n.114, 110, 143-52, 425; body style, 381; dating of, 425; drapery folds of, 84, 290; facial features, 194; garment style, 363; hand of, 37; head style, 294; incised lines of, 177; jewelry of, 202; and Khotan, 270; and Lou-lan sculpture, 414; mustache type on, 81, 267; scarf, 129; and Toprak Kala sculpture, 208, 236
Fujiki (collection) Buddha, 121, 139-43, 269
Fujiki Shoichi, 139
Fu-ju-t'an, 108
funerary art, 94, 112-19, 205
funerary practices, 47. *See also* tombs
Fu-sheng tree, 56
fu-t'u (Buddha), 14, 15, 17, 17n.17
fu-t'u-chih-jen-tz'u, 17, 17n.17
fu-t'u ssu, 17n.17
fu-t'u tz'u, 17n.17
fu-tu-tzu, 20
Future Buddha (*See also* Maitreya), 152

Gandhāra, 167-68, 428-29; Buddhist imagery and, 46- 47; centaur from, 274; defined, 75; halos, 309; Jātaka tales in, 38-39; map of, 51; painting from, 376, 409; sculptural style of, 144, 148, 172, 230, 366, 426; stone heads from, 377, 388, 390; stupas of, 280
Gāndhārī, 26, 350
Gardner, D., 353n.60, 355n.65
garrisons, 10, 396, 397
Gautama Buddha, 3
geometric designs, 410
Geta, 377
Ghirshman, R., 176n.20
gilding, 133, 144, 411
Gītamitra, 110, 262
Gomati monastery (Khotan), 262
grave goods, 186
Great Miracle of Śrāvastī, 71, 91-92, 230, 290, 293-95, 308, 364-65, 366, 405-6, 409
Great Wall, 10, 241
Great Yüeh-chih (Ta Yüeh-chih), 7, 165
Greater Scripture of the 12 Gateways, 24
Greece, 312
Gropp, Gerd, 278, 305n.99
Grünwedel, 246
guardian figure, 39, 77, 89, 295-96, 313-14, 320, 383, 413-14
Guma, 255-56
Gumattira Monastery (Khotan), 259
Gupta sculpture, 200, 301, 315
Gurga, 258n.32

Hackin, J., 210, 222, 229
Hadda (Afghanistan), 195, 201, 202, 230, 310, 365, 388, 390, 418
hair lines, of sculptures, 60, 69, 82, 135, 142, 268, 306, 310; at Bāmiyān, 226; at Fayaz-tepe, 195; at Khalchayan, 174
Hai-t'ou, 337, 397
halos, 124; at Bāmiyān, 216, 218-19; body, 84, 126, 187, 365, 403n.155, 405-6, 417, 425; cloud motif, 307; flame, 189; head, 39, 69, 118, 121, 126, 139, 142, 144, 405-6; jewel-shaped, 220; laurel wreath motif, 294; of Rawak sculptures, 307-9; tree above, 219
Hambis, L., 209n.59
Hami, 11
Hamuza Memorial Art Institute, 196
Han dynasty: Buddhism, 429n. 199; Buddhist art during, 27, 29-49, 52-95; evidence of Buddhism in, 13-15, 17-22; Former (Western), 5, 7, 9-10; Later (Eastern), 11-13; maps of, 16, 28, 50; relations with West, 5, 7, 9-13; and Shan-shan kingdom, 324-31; translation work during, 22-26
Han-shu, 9n. 3, 10n. 7, 11, 19, 19n. 23, 24, 31n.49, 255, 324, 327-28, 394
hands, of sculptures, 33-34, 46, 52-53, 57, 68-69, 78-79, 139, 406
Hang chou ceramics, 76
Hangchou Municipal Museum, 76, 115, 117
Hārītī statue, 312
Harper, Prudence, 269n.55
harmikā, 253
Harvard Flame-shouldered Buddha, 71-94, 264, 428; dating and provenance of, 89-94; and Dalverzin-tepe sculpture, 199; drapery folds, 118, 119, 141, 194; ear shape, 273; facial features, 221; garments of, 129; head, 121, 177; and Khalchayan sculpture, 174-75; and Khotan, 267n.52, 268; and Niya woodwork, 362; technique and style of, 73-89; and Tokyo National Museum Buddha, 133, 134, 137; uṣṇīṣa, 153
Harvard University, 71
Harwan stupa (Kashmir), 85, 271, 284-85, 422
Harwan tiles, 86
Hastnagar Buddha, 188, 231, 236
Hatra sculpture, 89, 193, 274, 276
hats, 381
head shape, of sculptures, 57, 80-83, 129, 141, 146-47, 153, 424; of Dalverzin-tepe, 201; of Fayaz-tepe, 195; from Khalchayan, 174
Hedin, Sven, 246; at Kara-dong, 318; and L.A. site, 328, 329n.13, 399, 402; Lou-lan excavations, 323, 338, 392-95, 407, 410, 412
Heicho (Korean monk), 210, 212; trans. of diary, 212-13n.62
Heliocles, 199n.48
Hellenistic art, 74, 94, 149-50, 164, 172, 195, 208, 377
Heng-yang hsien tomb (Hunan), 52, 141
Hepthalites, 167, 204, 240
Herakles, 265, 266, 364
Heraos clan, 173
"Heraus" (or "Heraos") coins, 80, 90, 169-70n.14
Hermes, 421
Higuchi, T., 210, 229
Hīnayāna Buddhism, 64, 107; established in

China, 25; in Khotan, 261, 313; at Miran, 391; Sarvāstivādin school, 248; stupas, 254; texts, 23-25
Hippodrome obelisk (Constantinople), 233
Ho Yen, 100, 106
Ho, Wai-Kam, 113n.45, 115n.50, 117n.55, 118
Ho-ch'uan hsien (Szechwan), 52; Tomb No. 1, 88, 89
Ho-chia shan: money tree Buddha, 39; 121, 123, 127, 131, 135, 136, 137, 270; Tomb HM No. 1, 59-61
Ho-hsi area (Kansu), 11
ho-hsi ssu-chün. *See* four commandaries
Holinger, Inner Mongolia, 41n.68
honeysuckle motif, 78n.121
horse, 52, 64, 274, 275, 383
hostages, 11, 327, 331, 335-36, 345, 352n.57
Hou-Han shu, 10, 15, 19-20, 330-31, 331n. 14
Hou Ts'an, 324, 333n.17, 335
Hsi-p'ing (era), 44, 330
Hsia Nai, 324, 331n.39
Hsia-p'ei [or p'i], 19, 29
Hsiang-yang, 108
Hsiao-shan (Chekiang), 115
Hsien-hsi (era), 334
Hsien-ning (era), 350
Hsien-pi, 12n. 10, 103, 349
Hsin Li-hsiang, 44
Hsiu-hsing pen-ch'i ching, 102
Hsiu- hsing tao ti ching (Scripture of the Stages of the Way of Cultivation and Practice), 110
Hsiu-mi-t'o (king of Shan-shan), 351n.55, 353-54
Hsiung-nu, 5, 7, 9, 164, 241; and Lou-lan, 394; power of, 11, 242; and Western Chin, 103; in Yarkand, 255
Hsi-wang-mu, 29-32, 31n.49, 41n.68, 42, 42n.70, 45, 46, 88, 94; cult of, 60n.100; drapery folds in depiction of, 53, 71; elephant associated with, 42; and flame motif, 79; head shape, 153; image on money trees, 56, 59; on mirrors, 121, 122; and Taoism, 45
hsi-yü ch'ang-shih (*See also* Protector General of the Western Regions), 12, 243, 330-31, 333, 335, 337
hsi-yü tu-hu, 10
Hsü chou, 43
Hsü-i hsien (Kiangsu), 130
Hsü-lai ching, 101
Hsü Mo, 99
Hsüan-tsang, 168, 210, 212-13, 229, 248, 255, 256n.29, 260, 263, 277n.62, 280
Hu chou (Chekiang), 114
hua-hsiang shih (picture stones), 43
Huai River, 15, 25
Hsüeh Wei-ch'ao, 44
Huan-chün, 44
Huang-ch'u (era), 332
Hui-ch'ang, 108
Hui-pien, 108
Hui-yüan, 83, 83n. 127
Hulsewé, A.F.P., 324n.1, 329n.13
hun-p'ing vessel, 96, 113, 113n.45, 115-19
Huns, 167
Huo Ch'ü-ping (general), 9
Huviṣka, 79n.123, 165

I Ching (Classic of Changes), 5
"i" image, 14
I-hsiu, 371
I-hsün, 10n.6, 328, 330n.13, 371
Ikṣvākus (dynasty in south India), 74
I-nan (Shantung): region, 43; tomb, 31n.49, 42n.70, 43, 65, 67, 71, 77
India, 54, 74-75, 142, 146
Indian Museum, Calcultta, 317
Indisches Kunst Museum (Berlin), 406
Indra, 215, 216
I-p'ing region, 58
Iron Plate River, 325
Isis, cult of, 265-66
I-wu: hsien, 348; tu-wei, 348

Jade Gate (*See also* Yü-men kuan), 394
Jamālgarhī stupa, 249, 252
James, Jean, 31n.49
Japan, 119-21
Jātakas, 23, 38, 46, 71, 95, 189, 417
jatāmukuṭa, 129
Jauliāñ Monastery (Taxila), 283, 290, 292, 411; bronze reliquary stupa, 129; main stupa, 250; stupa A11, 425
Jen Kung, 44
jen-tz'u (temples of the Buddha), 17-18
jewelry, 147-48, 202, 215-16, 309
jiṭumgha (*jiṭugha*), 344, 346, 349
Julia Domna, 377

K'ang Chü, 25
K'ang Fa-lang, 108

K'ang Meng-hsiang, 25
K'ang Seng-hui, 24, 100, 101-3, 126, 138
k'uei-feng mirrors, 120, 122-26
K'un-lun mountains, 31n. 49
K'ung-wang shan, 27-29, 49, 52; Buddhist images, 33-39, 69, 84, 121, 140; elephant stone of, 41-42; guardians and worshippers in, 39-41; Kushan style figures, 40-41; Mahāsattva-Jātaka, 37-39, 45, 46; monk images in, 71; Parinirvāṇa scene, 35-37, 42, 45-46, 70, 153; and popular religious belief, 29-33; sculptural heads, 80; secular figures in, 40; technique and historical conditions of, 42-45
Kabul Museum, 189, 217, 221
Kalawān stupa, 235, 250
Kampyr-tepe, 194
Kan Ying, 12
Kanakamuni (Buddha), 124, 221
Kaniṣka I, 34n.53, 40, 45, 46, 79, 79n.123, 192, 194, 199n.48, 248n.14. *See also* coins; reliquaries
Kaniṣka II, 166
Kaniṣka's stupa, 21, 33, 280-81
Kansu Provincial Museum, 338
Kansu, 9, 11, 55-64, 243, 336; "corridor", 5, 9; stone stupas, 401n.149
Kao Ch'ang (Turfan), 337
Kao Li, 83, 83n.127
Kao Wen, 54n.88
Kao-yang Gate, 14
Kara-dong, site and wall paintings, 215, 222, 318-22, 390, 381, 426
karaṇḍaka, 253
Karashahr, 10nn.6 and 7, 12, 99, 104, 106, 243, 354n.64, 429
Kara-tepe, 429, 431; Buddha, 215, 290, 403n.155; complex C caves, 48, 185-86; drapery of, 231; inscriptions, 181; stupa, 252, 360, 401; stupa drawing, 424; temples, 177n.21, 179, 181-90, 234, 238, 252; wall paintings, 52, 216
Karghalik, 255-57
Karle, 192
Kashgar, 12n.10, 241, 247-54; stupas, 249-54
Kashmir, 426
Kāśyapa (Buddha), 124
Kāśyapa Mātaṅga, 14-15, 23n.28, 124, 221
Kauśambī Year 83 Buddhas, 78, 78n.121, 139, 149
Kazakhstan, 162
Kerch, 209n.59
Keriya. 318, 321
Khakanning-shahri (Tegurman) stupa (Kashgar), 251
Khalchayan sculptures, 80-82, 89-90, 169, 171-75, 273
Kharoṣṭhī script, 25, 26, 106, 192, 235, 240, 261, 385, 379-80, 420; documents in, 323, 324, 332, 338-43, 356-57, 359, 363, 367, 393, 395, 397-98, 424, 431
Khema. 341
Khora, 83, 136
Khorezm region, 7n.2, 168, 204-10
Khotan Museum, 308
Khotaṃna (Khotan), 341
Khotan, 9, 13, 55, 104. 106-7, 109, 150, 184, 201, 241, 322, 394; Ak-terek and Siyelik, 316-17; Bodhisattva, 153; Buddha, 57, 60, 82-83, 136, 199, 221; clay head, 391; coins, 257; conquered, 248; defeats Yarkand, 255; history of, 257-60; inscriptions from, 339; Kara-dong, 318-21; literary sources on, 260-65; Rawak, 276-316; Śaka script, 260, 261; sculpture from, 265-72; sends tribute, 99; and Szechwan, 55; textiles from, 272-76; and Western Chin, 104, 106, 107
Kiangsu, 28
Kidarites, 240
King Aśoka, 83n.127; reliquary stupa of (A-yü-wang t'a), 103
King Hsien of Yarkand, 255
King K'ang of Yarkand, 255
King of Kauśambī, 264
King Shan-hsi of Khotan, 258
King Suddhodana, 124
King Udayana's [Buddha] image, 14
King Yen of Yarkand, 255
King's New Monastery (Khotan), 262-63, 264
Kizil Debe, 250, 252
Kizil, 38, 38n. 60, 46, 71, 83; *Cave 17*, 293; *Cave 38*, 294, 387, 388; *Cave 83*, 388, 391, 418; *Cave 138*, 386; jewelry in sculptures, 216, 228; reliquary box from, 423; wall paintings, 321
Klementz, Dimitri, 246n.11

Klimburg-Salter, Deborah, 210, 212, 221n.73, 223, 229
Koguryŏ tombs (North Korea), 66, 66n. 108, 223-24, 233, 362
Korezm. *See* Khorezm
Koslov, Colonel, 247n.11
Koy-Krylgan Kala, 204-5, 235
Krakuchhanda (Buddha), 124, 221
Kroraina, 341, 355, 395
Ku K'ai-chih, 418, 422
Kuan-fo-t'o ching-she, 107n.24
Kuang-ling, 19
Kuanyin, 412
Kucha, 10n. 6, 104, 242, 255, 339, 394
Kūjula Kaḍphises, 41, 165, 169n.14, 258n.32
Ku-kung Museum, 388
Kumagai, N., 376n.102
Kumārajīva, 24, 244, 248, 254, 353
kumbha, 253-54, 279
Kumtura, 147
Kunala stupa, 250
Kuo Hsiang, 106
Kurghan Tim, 250, 252, 360
Kuruk Darya (Peacock River), 246, 325
Kushan dynasty, 7, 26, 40, 80, 240; art, 75, 410; coins of, 87; drapery pattern, 60; founded, 165-66; monks from, 26; sculpture, 275; trade with China, 48. *See also* Mathurā school
Kushana Gandhāran reliquary stupa, 373
ku-tsang vessel, 113
Kyoto National Museum Buddha, 145, 148, 270
Kyoto University, 210

L.A.-L.K. *See* Lou-lan
lacquer ware, 12, 416, 419
Lady Hsü, 15
Lakṣmī, 365
Lalchak main stupa (Taxila), 251
Lalitavistara, 111
lamp figures, 145
Lan-t'ai, 15
lanternendecke ceilings, 66, 67
Lao-Chuang studies, 106
Lao-tzu, 18, 31
Later Chao gilt bronze Buddha dated 338 (*See also* Asian Art Museum), 5, 15, 19, 22, 44, 89
Later Han Dynasty, 11-13, 15, 18, 22, 24-26, 29, 31, 34-35, 43, 43n.71, 47, 58, 59, 94, 330, 394, 429
lattice motif, 410
laurel leaf motif, 78, 409
Lee, Junghee, 36n.58, 124
Lei-t'ai tomb, Wu-wei (Kansu), 64-67, 274
Li Huang-li, 9
Li Hung-fu, 29, 30, 32
Li Po, 337, 399; letter of, 323
li shih (guardian), 39
Li Yul Annals, 259, 260, 263
Liang-chou (Kansu), 12, 12n. 10, 99, 108, 352; stone stupas, 99, 271
Lien-ch'i ssu, 127
Lien-yün-kang (Kiangsu), 29
Lim Young-ae, 278, 285, 308, 390n. 127
Lin Mei-ts'un, 257, 258n.32, 324; Lin Mei-ts'un: on Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions, 339, 342, 343, 368n.84; on Lou-lan, 329n.13, 331n.14, 397, 421n.193; on Shan-shan kings, 347n.48, 350, 354; on Yüeh-chih, 26n.42
Lin-hai city museum, 130
Little Kushan Dynasty, 240
Little Yüeh-chih, 240
Liu Pei, 97
Liu Yao, 20, 103
Lo Che-wen, 62n.102
Lo-shan city (Szechwan), 47
Lob nor, 104, 241, 318, 394. *See also* Lou-lan; Shan-shan
Lokakṣema (Chih Lou-chia-ch'an), 24, 25, 90, 428
Lo-p'u (*See also* Shampula), 13, 362, 422, 423
Loriyan Tangai Buddha, 231, 251, 294
Loriyan Tangai stupa, 294
lotus blossoms, 85-86, 118, 219, 308, 319, 410; on pedestal, 125, 126; in sculptures, 61-62; in tomb painting, 65-66
Lotus Sūtra (See also *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Sūtra*), 111
Loubo-Lesnichecko, Dr., 420
lou-ko pavilion, 63-64. *See also* stupa
lou-ko-t'a (*See also* stupa), 21-22, 61-64, 95
lou-ko-tao (*See also* stupa), 20-22, 61
Lou-lan, kingdom of, 9, 12, 13, 106; Bodhisattvas, 129; Buddha, 140, 141; demise of, 236; discovery of, 392-94; documents from, 333, 393n. 129, 395, 395nn. 135-136; drapery folds in images from, 53-54; FO stupa, 402; grave sites with remains of lacquer, mirrors and textiles, 419-23; history of, 395-96; jewelry, 148; L.A.-L.Q., 396; L.A. site, 325, 355, 365, 399-407, 424; L.A. site

stupa, 401, 424; L.B. site and scuptures, 407-18; L.C. site, 419-23; L.C. site textiles, 420-23; L.E. site, 325, 327n.5, 328, 396-97; L.I. site, 397-98; L.K., 318, 325, 337, 397; L.L., 397; L.M., 398; L.Q., 396; lintel with Buddha niches, 52, 136-67, 195, 402-7; and Rawak, 279; sculpture from, 81, 431; stupas of, 21, 183, 252, 283; and Szechwan, 55; wood carvings, 85, 294; wooden reliquary stupas, 271. *See also* Shan-shan kingdom
Loyang: Buddhist activities in, 14, 15, 22-26, 100-101, 103 107n.24, 108-9, 122; destroyed, 103-4; Dharmarakṣa in, 111; foreigners in, 26; as translation center, 22-23, 93, 94, 340n.33
Lü Kuang, 244, 353
Lu Shang, 49
Lu-she (Mo-she) Sanghārāma, 264
Lucknow Museum, 69
Lukchun, 394
Lu-ling-kuang tien fu, 66n.107
lunar lodgings, 60n.100
Lung-ta, 43
Luristan design, 123

Ma Hao Buddha, 49-54, 57, 71, 141, 190, 381; Cave IX, 47-49, 52-56, 131, 186, 266, 406
Ma Yung, 324, 329-30n.13, 336, 337n.23, 339n.31, 346, 347-50, 352n.57
Maeda, Robert, 115
magic, 100
Mahākāśyapa, 221
mahā-maṇi-ratnāni (of a stupa), 254
Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta, 253
Mahāsāṃghīka-Lokottaravādins, 254
Mahāsāṃghīka monastery, 342n.36
Mahāsattva-Jātaka (Sacrifice to the Starving Tigress), 37-39, 42
Mahāyāna Buddhism, 64, 107, 253; in Central Asia, 343; established in China, 25-26; at Miran, 391; stupas, 254; texts, 24-25
Mahiri, 344, 345, 346, 350, 352
Maillard, M., 265n.50
Maitreya Bodhisattva, 131, 144, 151-52, 270, 415, 417
Maitreya Buddha, 195, 216, 221, 290, 298, 306
Maitreyabhisambodhi Sūtra. See *Mi-lo ch'eng Fo ching*
Maitreyamūlapraṇidhi Sūtra. See *Mi-lo pen-yüan ching*
Maitreyaparipṛcchā (Scripture of the Questions and Former Vows of the Bodhisattva Maitreya), 110
Man-chün, 44
Māṇikyāla stupa, 249, 252
Marshall, Sir John, 278, 282, 375n.101
Masson, M. E., 169, 175, 176n.19, 179
Masson, V. M., 206n.54
Māt, temple of (Mathurā), 205, 235
Mātaṅga. *See* Kāśyapa Mātaṅga
Ma-t'i ssu cave temple (Kansu), 190, 309
Mathurā school: art of, 53-54, 383; sculptures, 34, 57, 69, 81, 118, 231, 268, 289, 301, 306, 406, 415; shrines, 63; stone stupa, 400, 401
Matsubara Saburō, 72n.114
Mauri Tim stupa, 183, 251-54, 257, 360, 401, 424
medhī (of a stupa), 254, 279
meditation posture (dhyānāsana), 73, 78-79
meditation practices, 90
Meng Fan-jen, 12n.10, 276, 324, 330n.13, 331n.14, 342, 346, 359n.73, 367, 420, 421n.193
Mercury, 422
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 117, 227, 284, 286, 294, 300, 305, 309, 310, 315, 388, 401
Mien-yang, 59-61
Mi-hsien, Hopei, 67, 153
Mi-lo ch'eng Fo ching, 110n. 36
Mi-lo pen-yüan ching, 110n. 36
Min-ch'ih (Honan), 110
Min-feng [hsien] (Sinkiang), 350, 357
Min river (Szechwan), 47-48, 54, 55-58, 61
Ming-hsiang chi (by Wang Yen), 14
minority peoples, 55
Miran, 106: composition of, 370-72; dating of, 384-85; drapery folds of, 152; and Fujii Yūrinkan Bodhisattva, 150, 151; garrison at, 10; head styles, 218; and Khalchayan style, 174; M II, 272-391, 385-89, 407, 426; M III, 36, 53, 69, 118, 184, 192, 227, 267, 268, 291-92, 371-85, 422, 430; M III stupa, 372-76; M V, 118, 172, 192, 208-9, 214, 147, 222, 371-85, 422, 430; M V stupa, 372-76; M VI-XII 370-71; M XIII, 371, 389-91; M XIV, 279, 371, 389-91; MXV, 371, 389-91, 421; style and technique, 42, 380-84; and Szechwan, 55; wall paintings, 142, 146, 267, 275, 376-85. *See also* I-hsün

mirrors, 12, 96, 119-26, 218
Miyaji, Akira, 210, 222, 229
Mizuno Seiichi, 17, 72n.114, 139n.87, 143-44, 152
Mohṛā Morādu (Taxila) Buddhas, 188, 236, 250, 375
Moji, 255
Mokuila, 255
Mokṣala, 261-62
monasteries, 191-92, 237, 259
money tree Buddhas, 56-61, 127, 142, 152, 201, 269; at Ho-chia shan, 39; mustache type on, 81; P'eng-shan, 89. *See also* Royal Ontario Museum
Mongolia, 12
monks, 23-24, 101-102
mouldings, 178, 192, 214, 375
Mounds of Rodents (Khotan), 264
Mount K'un-lun, 31n.49
Mūlasarvāstivādins, 253, 401
Musée Guimet, 217, 222, 230, 406
Museum of Central Asian Antiquities, 376
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 124, 125, 129
Museum of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region, 338
musicians and musical instruments, 48, 89
mustache, on sculptures, 60, 81, 147, 174, 218, 267, 362

Nagahiro, Toshio, 17n.17, 72n.114
Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, 70, 74, 230
Nagasawa, K., 324, 352n.57
Nagharakhanah, 264
Nagoya University, 210
Nahapāna (of Western Kṣatrapas), 307n.100
Nan-ch'i hsien, 58
Nanking, 114
Nanking Kao-ch'ang Tomb No. 1, 116
Nan-yang (Honan) 416
Naqsh-i-Rustam, 230
Narain, A. K., 165n.6
National Museum of Korea, 165, 186, 271, 376
National Museum, New Delhi, 376, 378, 389, 413
Near East, 373
New Text School, 100, 106
niches, in sculptures, 32, 45, 226; at Fayaz-tepe, 194-96; of Lou-lan, 402-7, 412-13; of Toprak Kala, 207
Nieh Ch'eng-yüan, 111n.40
Nina (possibly Niya), 341
Ning-chia-cha Tomb No. 5 (Chiu-ch'üan, Kansu), 128-29
Nisa, 67
Nitta collection, 86n.131
Niya, 12, 106, 357-67; clay seals, 363; documents from, 333, 339; dragon images of, 58; furniture legs, 275; paintings and textiles, 363-67; sculpture from, 81, 234; stupa, 183, 252, 359-60, 424; Tomb 59 MNM 001, 359n.73, 364, 366-67; wood carvings, 85, 294, 361-63
Niya River, 357
Noin Ula (Mongolia), 145, 193
Northern Liang, 244, 301, 354, 418
Northern Wei, 104, 244, 354-55
northwest Prākrit, 26, 94. *See also* Prākrit

Oglakty, 423
Okhsho, 175, 177n.21
O-lao-lo-ka site, 277n.62
Old Text School, 97
Oldenberg, Sergei, 246, 247n.11
O-mei hsien (Szechwan), sculpture from, 74, 80, 81, 89
omens, 41n.68
Ordek, 392-93
ordination ceremony, 100
Ordos: animal plaques, 78; region, 9
Orissa terracottas, 69
Orlova, M. A., 209n.58
orthodox Buddhist art, 154-55
Ōtani Expedition, 111n.40, 247, 265, 266, 271, 277, 286, 323, 338, 371, 376, 399

P'ei hsien, 43
P'eng Lu, 127
P'eng-ch'eng (Hsü-chou), 15, 18, 19, 29
P'eng-shan: Buddha in ceramic money tree base from, 47, 48n.78, 54, 56-58, 60, 88, 89, 118,141, 270, 362, 410
P'i-hsien (Szechwan) 57, 79
P'ing-an tile, 131-32
P'ing-yang (Shansi), 103
P'i-shan kingdom, 255
pagoda. *See* stupa
Pai-ma ssu (White Horse Temple, Loyang), 13-14, 15

painting, 319-21; from Khalchayan, 171; at Miran, 376-85; from Niya, 363; from Rawak, 313-14; of western Central Asia, 237
Paitava (Afghanistan) Buddha, 75
Pallas Athena figure, 149
Palmyra, 12, 13n. 11, 71, 147, 229, 232, 295-96, 312; stone carvings, 176
Pan Ch'ao, 11-12, 242, 248, 255, 258, 330, 394
Pan Yung, 11-12, 242, 330, 335, 394
Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra, 24, 353
Pāñcika, 365
Pan-shun man (tribes), 12n.10
paper documents, 397, 398
Paramārthasaṃurti-satyanirdeśa, 110
parasol, in sculpture, 83, 84
Parihaspura (Kashmir): Chaṅkuna's stupa, 282-83
Parinirvāṇa, 35-37, 39, 46, 70, 71, 95, 153, 221
Parthia, 428
Parthian empire, 22, 26, 46, 94, 164; art of, 32, 74, 94, 234, 418; drapery style, 312; monks from, 26, 100-101; sculpture, 76, 81, 174, 230; trade by, 90
Parthians, 22
Pārvatī, 178n.23
pearl border, 70
pedestal, 85-89; braided rope design, 221; Harvard Buddha, 92; Kushan, 85; lion-lotus, 113, 114, , 118, 123, 138; lotus, 124, 219; Shotorak, 87; of standing Bodhisattva, 153; of Tokyo National Museum Buddha, 136; vine design, 221
Pei-shih, 354, 355n.65
Pelliot, Paul, 83, 246, 249, 371
Pepiya, 344, 347n.48, 350
Peroz, 167
Persia, 123, 373, 425, 431
Peshawar Museum, 284
Pharo, 194
phoenix bird, 120
pi disc, 58
Pi Lung, 355
picture stones (*See also* hua-hsiang shih), 43
pillars, 69, 403-4
Ping-ling ssu cave temples, Kansu: *Cave 169*, 59, 222, 232-33, 234, 272, 299, 302, 308, 305, 315, 388, 415
Pippla monastery (Taxila), 374
Po Fa-tso, 111
Po hsien (Anhui), 43, 77, 80
Po Yen, 101
Po Yüan, 111, 112
Po-chou-san-mei ching (*Pratyutpannasamādhi Sūtra*), 24
Po-jo tao-hsing p'in (*Tao-hsing p'in*), 24
Po-ka-i city, 264
Pompeii, 65n.106, 171, 409
popular art, 154-55
popular beliefs: in Later Han, 29-33
portraiture, dynastic, 173
posture, of sculptures, 70, 73, 78-79
pothī: from M II, Miran, 386
pottery, 132
Prajñāpāramitā (Wisdom Scriptures), 107-8, 110, 111, 261, 262, 358
Prakīrṇaka-caitya-lakṣaṇa, 254
Prākrit language, 26, 26n. 41, 90, 106, 345, 350
Prātimokṣa rules, 25, 100
Pratyeka Buddha, 253
Prejevalsky, Nikolai, 246n.11
Prince Mahāsattva, 37-38
Prince Ying of Ch'u, 15, 17-19, 22, 29
Protector General of the Western Regions (*See also* hsi-yü tu-hu), 10, 11
Pugachenkova, G. A., 80, 169, 171-73, 175n.18, 176n.19, 179n.25
Pure Land, 102, 117, 119
pūrṇaghaṭa (vase of plenty), 85
pūrṇghaṭa motif, 410
Puruṣapura, 192

Queen Maya, 71
Queen Mother of the West. *See* Hsi-wang-mu

Rabatak stone inscription (Afghanistan), 166n.6, 197n.42
Rāhula, 91n.135
Rapson, E. J., 323, 343-52
Rawak, 430; dating of, 278; discovery of, 276-77; drapery of sculpture, 194, 296-98, 303; guardian figure, 216; Mahāyāna influence, 313; painting, 313-14, 322; sculptures, 285-313, 322; stupa, 192, 278-85; Style I, 188, 204, 209, 287-96, 314-15, 382, 407; Style II, 296-98; Style III, 298-99, 415; Style IV, 299-301; Style V, 301-2; Style VI, 69, 302-3, 390. *See also* Great Miracle of Śrāvastī
Regel, Albert, 246n.11
reliquary of King Kaniṣka, 79, 85

relief, 42
Representation of Famous Images, 293
Rhi, Ju-hyung, 293
ribbons, 40
Riboud, Krishna, 420
Rice, David Talbot, 291
ritual space, 35
Roman Empire, 12; art of, 94, 149-50, 195, 294
Rosenfield, John, 165n.6
Roth, Gustav, 253
Rowland, Benjamin, 28, 210, 229, 376n.102
Royal Ontario Museum money tree Buddha, 61, 127, 135, 137, 140, 201
Ryūkoku University, 323

Sāca, 341, 368
Saddharmapuṇḍarīka (Lotus Sūtra), 110
Sakamano Boudo didrachm, 40
Śakas, 164, 165, 241, 259, 260, 292
Śākyamuni, 14, 36, 91-92, 124, 379; in Bāmiyān caves, 220. *See also* Gautama Buddha
Samarkand, 167n.8
Sāñchī, 203
saṅgha of the four quarters, 26
Saṅgharakṣa, 110
saṅghāṭī, 77, 78n.120, 84, 113, 140, 231
San-kuo chih, 17n 17, 20-21, 99, 332
Sanp'an shan, Hopei, 41n.68
San-pao kan-t'ung lu, 103
Santruq, King of Hatra, 81
Śāriputra, 253
śarīra, 21, 254
Sarmarkand, 243
Sarvāstivādins, 23
Sasanians, 164, 166-67, 181, 197, 240; art of, 215, 234, 418
Scripture of Ānāpāna Mindfulness, 24, 102
Scripture of 42 Chapters, 13, 14
Scripture of the Removal of Misfortune, 101
sculpture: at Dalverzin-tepe, 198-204; at Fayaz-tepe, 194-96; incised line, 298-99; from Khotan, 265-72; from Miran, 387-89; from Rawak, 285-313; stone core technique, 233; of Toprak Kala, 207-9; of western Central Asia, 235-36
Scythians. *See* Śakas
seals, 363
Seleucid Empire, 164
Seng-yu, 102
Septimius Severus (Roman emperor), 377, 380, 384
Serapis and Harpocrates figure, 53, 265
Serapis figure, 150, 266
Serindia, 7, 93
Seven Buddhas of the Past, 142, 152, 403
Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove, 100
Sha chou (Kansu), 337n. 5
Shah-jiki-dheri: Kaniṣka's Stupa, 280
Shami bronze sculpture, 174, 267
Shampula (*See also* Lo-p'u), 322, 367
Shang period, 41
Shan-shan chün, 347 ff
Shan-shan chün-wei seal, 347 ff
Shan-shan kingdom, 54, 58, 146, 430; created, 242; decline of, 392; history of, 324-55; Kharoṣṭhī script in, 235, 338-43; kings of, 341, 343-52; map of, 325; and Mathurā school, 54; sends emissaries, 99; and Western Chin, 104, 106
Shao-hsiang (Chekiang), 113, 130
Shang-yü (Chekiang), 114
Shantung province, 31, 40, 43, 43n. 71
Shāpūr I, 164, 166
Shāpūr II, 167, 215n.66, 240, 269
Shāpūr III, 294
Sharma, R. C., 78n.121
She-li (śarīra), 41
She Mo-t'eng (*See also* Kāśyapa Mātaṅga), 14-15
shen-jen, 14
shen-shou ching (mirrors), 119, 120-22
Sheng hsien (Chekiang), 113-14
Shih-chi, 9n. 3, 324
Shih-chia chuang (Hopei), 72n.114
Shih Ch'ung, 104
Shih-liu-kuo ch'in-ch'iu, 353
Shih Lo, 103-4
Shih, Hsio-yen, 67
shih-chung, 344, 346, 349, 350
Shih-fang (Szechwan) pagoda relief tile, 21, 61-64, 95
Shih-tzu-wan cave tomb I, 48n.78, 52, 57
Shinyama, Japan, 121; tomb mirror, 140
Shodija, 178
Shotorak, Afghanistan, 78, 87, 88, 236, 302, 403n.155
shou tso-ch'i ch'ien jen Chang-yeh chang

(military title), 64n.104
Shou-leng-yen san-mei ching (*Śūraṃgama-samādhi*), 24
shrines, 63-64, 67-71, 95, 408-11
Shu Han, 47, 49n. 80, 52, 54, 55, 97, 127. *See also* Three Kingdoms
Shui-nan ssu, 108
Shui-pei ssu, 108
Shu-le, 12n. 10, 242, 247. *See also* Kashgar
Sian (*See also* Ch'ang-an), 122
Sian Museum, 195, 340n.33
Siberia, 12
Siddhārtha, 124
Silk Road, 10, 12; changes in art of, 426; described, 159-61; through Ch'ing-hai, 54-55; during Han dynasty, 331; Ho-hsi corridor, 61; importance to China, 150; and Lou-lan, 394; and Shan-shan kingdom, 358
silk, 12, 16, 259, 276, 366-67, 420-23
silver medallion of Tyche, 174, 377, 380
Sinkiang, 7, 7n. 2, 93
Sinkiang Archaeological Group, 359
Sino-French Archaeological Expedition, 318
Sino-Kharoṣṭhī coins. *See* coins
Śiva, 178n.23, 417
Siyelik, 317
snakes, 66n.108
Sogdiana, 7n.2, 9, 90, 167; writing, 398, 399
So-mo-je Monastery, 264
Soper, Alexander, 68n.110
Soter Megas coins, 197n.42, 199n.48
Southeast Asia, 13
Southern Ch'i, 14
Spooner excavation, 281
śrāmaṇas (Buddhist monks), 17, 18
Śrāvastī Buddha, 75, 78, 85, 149. *See also* Great Miracle of Śrāvastī
Ssu and Huai River Valleys, 19
Ssu-ma family, 97, 103
Ssu-ma Jui, 104
Ssu-ma Yen, 55, 97
Stavisky, B. J., 179
Stein, Aurel, 104, 106, 145, 246, 323; Ak-terek excavation, 316-17; finds coins, 258n.32; discovers LE. site, 325; Endere excavation, 367;on Fa-hsien, 354; Kara-dong excavation, 318; Kashgar expeditions, 249-51; Khotan expeditions, 259, 270; L.A. site excavations, 328, 399; Lou-lan excavations, 338, 393-94, 396, 397-98, 403, 407, 410, 412, 415, 419; Miran excavations, 370-73, 375n.102, 376-79, 386; Niya excavations, 357-60, 383; Rawak excavations, 276-77, 279, 285, 286, 287, 301, 302, 309, 313, 316; on Shan-shan kingdom, 330n.13; in Yarkand area, 255; finds Topa Tim, 256
Strelkov, A. S., 179
Stūpa-lakṣana-kārikā-vivecana, 254
stupas: at Airtam, 178; in Bāmiyān caves, 217; circular base, 190, 237, 249, 252, 372; cruciform base, 192, 227, 238, 278, 280, 282-83; domed, 373-74; drawing of, 183-84; at Endere, 368-69; Gandhāran, 280; hemispherical, 62; of Kaniṣka, 21 (*See also* Shahjiki-dheri); of Kashgar, 249-54; at Khotan, 270-71; layered (lou-ko), 21; at Lou-lan, 400-402, 424; miniature, 284, 400, 401; at Miran, 370-76; at Niya, 359-60; Northern Liang, 171, 206, 226; plaques of, 284-85; platform, 360; at Rawak, 278-85; rectangular base, 250, 374; reliquary, 252, 270-72, 283-84, 285, 372-73, 411n.169; square base, 184, 190, 227, 250, 253, 360, 374; square platform, 253; staircases of, 281-82, 283; with "stellate" or "star-shaped" plan, 280-81; stepped square base, 190; storied (lou-ko-tao), 21-22, 61-64, 95; styles of, 253-54, 256-57; at Subashi, 203, 369; terra cotta, 284-85; terrace, 281; of Tse Jung, 20-22; umbrellas of, 21, 284; wooden, 283, 411
Subashi, 203, 369
Sukhāvatīvyūha, 102, 110
Sulica, 350, 354, 358
Sumitra (*See also* Hsiu-mi-t'o), 354
summoning the soul, 118
sun and moon motif, 66n.108, 131
Sun Ch'üan (emperor), 97, 99, 102
Sun Hao (emperor), 102, 103
Sung Yün, 280, 355, 369, 392
"Supernatural Book," 18
Śūraṃgamasamādhi Sūtra, 24, 101, 102, 110, 111
Surkh Kotal, 177nn.21, 22, 178
Sūryasoma, 248
Sūtra in 42 Sections (See also Scripture in 42 Chapters), 23n.28, 102
Swat, 75, 146, 150 428-29; Butkara I, 114, 118, 139, 149, 231, 297, 301, 312, 374, 390; drapery folds in sculpture, 57, 77, 231; Gandhāran school, 53; hair style in sculpture, 269; imagery from, 149; and Miran,

385; and Rawak, 315; seated Buddha, 140; stone Buddha, 271
Syria, 12, 421
Syro-Egyptian paintings, 209n.59
Szechwan, 47-54, 428

T'ai-ho (era) 352n.57
T'ai-k'ang (era), 115, 125, 130, 335, 350
T'ai-p'ing ching, 44
T'ai-p'ing Tao, 44
T'ai-p'ing Taoism, 31
T'ai-shih (era), 334-349
T'ai-yen, 354
T'an-wu-te-chieh-mo (*Dharmaguptakaprātimokṣa*), 101
T'an-yao caves (at Yün-kang), 214, 388
T'ang dynasty (618-906), 29
T'ao Ch'ien (magistrate), 19, 20
T'eng-hsien (Shantung) 41n.68
T'ien-chu (India), 14
T'ien-ti shan cave temples (Kansu), 228
T'o-pa, 213
T'u-ching (Chung hsien, Szechwan), 132
t'un-t'ien chiao wei, 10
T'ung-shan relief, Kiangsu, 117
ta-ch'i fu-t'u ssu, 19
Ta Yüeh-chih, 248
Ta-yeh (era), 347
Tachibana, Z., 323, 337, 337n.25, 371, 395n.136, 399
Taddei, M., 91
Tadjikistan, 7n.2, 162, 167
Tai kingdom, 213
Tajaka, 344, 345, 347n.48, 350
Takht-i-Sanguin, 177n.21
tamped earth terrace, 65
Tan-yang (south Anhui), 19, 20
Tang-i-Sarvak, Iran, 32, 33
Tao-an, 23, 24, 83, 83n. 127, 100, 108, 353
Tao-hsüan, 14, 103, 107n.24
Taoism, 44, 97, 100
Taoistic religious elements, 32
Tao-te ching, 18
Tao-tzu-p'ing Tomb No. 1, Hunan, 34, 205
Tapa-i-Shotur (Haḍḍa, Afghanistan), 365
Tapa Sardar (Afghanistan): Buddhas, 219-20, 280, 285
Tapa-i-Shotur (Afghanistan), 201, 365, 418
Taq-i-Bustan (Iran): Great Grotto, 294-95
Tarim Basin, 242, 244-46, 339
Tarzi, Z., 210
tasyābhinavāṇdasyopari harmikā (of a stupa), 254
Ta-tu River (Szechwan), 47
Taxila, 118, 224, 227, 236, 269, 280, 282, 290, 311, 315, 372, 374, 375, 411
Tegurman stupa (Kashgar), 251, 254, 257, 360, 401
Temple of Bel (Palmyra), 205, 235
Temple of Māt (Mathurā), 205
Temple of the Bactrian Goddess, 196
Temple of Vaiśravaṇa, 263
temples: at Airtam, 176-78; at Dalverzin-tepe, 196-204; of Kara-tepe, 181-89
Ten Direction Buddhas, 403
Termez region, 47, 80, 82, 179; Airtam, 175-79; clay sculptures from, 57, 203; Dalverzin-tepe, 196-204; Fayaz-tepe, 191-96; history of, 167-68; Kara-tepe, 179-90; Khalchayan, 169, 171-75; map of, 180
textiles (*See also* Lo'pu; Niya; Lou-lan), 12-13, 430
Thomas, F. W., 351
Three Kingdoms, 54, 97-103, 429; and eastern Central Asia, 243; and Khotan, 258-59l map of, 98
Three Mysteries, 106
Ti (minority), 103
Ti-chia-p'o-fu-na Saṅghārāma, 263-64
Ting Hsing, 331
toad carving (at K'ung-wang shan), 30
Tocharia, 9n. 3
Tokharians, 241
Tŏkhungri tomb (North Korea), 223-24, 233, 234, 362
Tokyo National Museum, 83, 121, 265; Buddha, 133-38, 140, 142, 152, 153, 198, 267, 307, 387, 406; mirrors, 123, 124, 126
Tolstov, S. P., 204, 206
tombs: bricks of, 130-31; ceilings of, 65, 66-67; shafts of, 48; stone, at I-nan, 65; of Szechwan and Kansu, 47-64; Tou Hsien, 11; vaulted, 65
Tomgraka, 350
Tongsu, tomb of at Anak, North Korea, 234
Topa Tim (Kashgar), 249, 256
Top-i-Rustam stupa (Balkh), 251, 280, 283
Toprak Kala, 146-47, 150, 151, 168, 184, 194, 206-10, 221, 236, 294, 378, 380, 414, 430
Tou Hsien, 11
Tou Ku (general), 11, 242

tower temple, 63n.103
tower, square, 62-63
Toyuk cave temples, 111, 214
trade, 3, 265, 358
translations and translators, 3, 22-26, 93, 101, 109, 138
Transoxiana, 7. *See also* western Central Asia
tree motif, 70, 384
triad configuration, 126
tribute system, 10, 11, 243
Trinkler expedition, 256, 277, 286-87, 295, 302, 313
Ts'ai Yin, 14
Ts'ang Tz'u, 99, 243, 332-33
Ts'ang-yüan, 108
Ts'ao family, 43; tomb M2, 43, 45, 77, 80, 89
Ts'ao P'ei, 97
Ts'ao Ts'ao, 19, 97, 99
Ts'ao Wei, 97, 99-100, 330-32, 334-35, 348, 352n.57, 424. *See also* Three Kingdoms
Ts'ung-ling mountains (Pamirs), 247
Tse Jung (military officer), 17n. 17, 19-22, 29, 61-62, 64; shrine of, 95, 430
Tsukamoto Zenryū, 15n.15, 17-18, 23n.28, 101; on importance of Szechwan, 55
Tsung-li chung-ching mu-lu (The *An-lu* catalogu of Tao An), 23
Tumshuk, 83, 218, 241, 426
Tung Cho, 25
Tung-hai (Eastern Sea): chün, 44; miao (Eastern Sea Temple), 44; miao-pei (stele), 29; prefecture, 29; region, 43-4
Tung-wang-kung (King Father of the East), 31, 41n.68; on mirrors, 121, 122
Tung-yüan ts'un, Anhui, 43
Tun-huang (Kansu),106, 109, 333, 358; *Cave 254*, 38, 70, 99, 106, 111, 206; *Cave 257*, 226; *Cave 259*, 171, 299; *Cave 272*, 216, 219, 300, 301, 319, 387; *Cave 275*, 319, 307, 310, 311, 387; commandery established, 9; limes, 396; and Lou-lan, 409; t'ai shou, 243
Turfan, 9-10, 11, 12, 197n.41, 241, 280, 394-95
Turgunov, B., 175, 177, 178, 196-97, 199, 202
Turkmenistan, 7n.2
tu-tu, 243, 335
tu-wei, 25
Tyche, 174, 365, 377, 380
Tzu-ho. *See* Karghalik

Ubal statue (Hatra), 76, 78, 89-90, 193
Übersee Museum, Bremen 286
Udayana, 264
Uehara Kazu, 66
Ugradattapariprcchā (*Fa-Ching ching* [Questions of Ugradatta]), 25, 100
umbrellas (chattra) of a stupa, 21, 61, 253, 271, 284, 411
upāsakas (Buddhist laypersons), 17
uṣnīṣa, 33, 57, 60, 82-83, 83n.126, 113, 118, 121, 127, 135-36, 268; kapardin style, 5, 7, 113, 118
Uzbekistan, 7n.2, 167. *See also* Bactria

Vairocana Buddha, 305n.99
Vairocana's Monastery (Khotan), 263
Vaiśravaṇa, 263, 295, 414
vajra motif, 422
Vajrapāṇi, 215, 220, 365
Valerian (Roman emperor), 164
varṣa-sthālī (of a stupa), 253-54
Vasmana, 324, 339, 346, 350
Vāsudeva (Po-tiao), 99, 165
Vāsudeva I, 41
vedikā (of a stupa), 253-54
vessels, 112-19
Victory of Ardashir I relief, 418
Vighna (Wei-ch'i-nan), 102
vihāra, 385, 386
Vijaya Jaya (of Khotan), 259, 264
Vijaya Sambhava (of Khotan), 259
Vijaya Vīrya (of Khotan), 259
Vima I Tak[to], 165, 166n.6
Vima II Kaḍphises, 40-41, 45, 79, 165, 197n.42. *See also* coins
Vima Kaḍphises, 372
Vimlakīrti Sūtra (also *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa Sūtra*), 102, 110, 111
Vinaya Kṣudraka-vastu, 253, 254, 283, 401
vinaya, 25, 253
vine motif, 214, 226
Viśvāntara Jātaka, 146, 147, 379, 380-81, 382, 383, 384, 410
vitarka-mudrā, 216
Von Le Coq, Albert, 246

Wa-kuan ssu, 83n. 127
wall paintings: of Bāmiyān, 221-23, 320; of Eastern Great Buddha niche, 233; at Fayaz-

tepe, 193-94; from Karadong, 318-21; at Kara-tepe, 183, 188-89; from Temple of Bel, 205. *See also* Miran
walled cities (ch'eng), 325, 396, 397
Wan Tu-kuei, 355
Wang Chung-shu, 113n.45, 116, 120, 123
Wang Kuo-wei, 324, 329n.13, 333n.17
Wang Mang, 11, 242, 248, 255
Wang Pi, 100, 106
Wang Yen, 14
Wang Yen-shou, 66n.107
Wardak vase, 342n.36, 343
watch tower, 62
wave pattern, 422
Wei Ch'ing (general), 9
Wei (kingdom): mirrors from, 120
Wei-Lüeh, 394
Wei Shou, 9n.3
Wei-shu, 9n. 3, 14, 17, 17n. 17, 101, 336
Wei. *See* Ts'ao Wei
Wei-t'u-ch'i, 328
Wen-hsüan, 66n.107
Wen-shu shan, Kansu, 214, 311, 319, 406, 410
Wen-ti chi, 332
western Central Asia: art of, 146; architecture of, 237-39; artistic relations to China, 74; Bāmiyān, 210-34; defined, 7n.2; historical background of, 162-68; Khorezm region, 204-10; maps of, 163, 170; and Miran, 385; painting from, 237; sculpture from, 235-36; Termez region, 168-204
Western Chin (dynasty; 265-317 A.D.), 55, 97, 103-12, 119, 333, 335, 346, 348, 350, 384, 424, 429
Western Liang, 244
Western Regions, 5, 6, 7, 7n.2, 12, 12n.10. 14, 99, 108-9, 241, 243, 248, 255, 324
White Horse Monastery (Ch'ang-an), 109
Whitfield, Roderick, 278
wood carving, 85, 361-63, 402-7, 408-9, 425
Wu (family tombs and shrines), 31n.49, 40, 43n. 71
Wu (kingdom), 97, 101-103, 114; mirrors of, 126; tomb bricks from, 130. *See also* Three Kingdoms
Wu-ch'a-lo (Mokṣala?), 108
Wu-ch'ang (Hupeh) (*See also* E-ch'eng), 87, 99, 102, 127
wu-chi chiao-wei (management of the Western Regions), 99, 243, 330, 332-33, 337
Wu-chi Colonel. *See* wu-chi chiao-wei
Wu Cho, 54, 55
wu-chu coins. *See* coins
Wu family shrine, Shantung, 86
Wu hsien (Kiangsu), 116-17
Wu Hung, 31n.49, 44-45, 113n.45, 116nn.53-54, 117n.55, 18-19; on Hsi-wang-mu, 60n.100; on mirrors, 121, 122n.66, 126
Wu-lei, 10, 10n. 7
Wu-liang ch'ing-ching p'ing-teng chüeh ching (*Amitaśuddhasamyadsambodhi Sūtra?*), 101
Wu-liang-shou ching (*Sukkhāvatīvyūha Sūtra*), 100
Wu-ni, 329n.13
Wu-sun (state), 9
Wu-wei (Kansu) 64-67; commandery, 9

Xiumoba, 258n.32

Yakṣi images, 147
Yang shou censor, 20
Yang-kuan Gate, 246
Yangtse River, 20
Yarkand, 241, 255
Yashiro Yukio, 72n.114, 144n.95
yasti (of a stupa), 253-54
Yellow Emperor, 15, 17-19, 22, 31, 44
Yellow Turban: Rebellion, 12n.10, 18, 44, 97, 331; Taoists, 18
Yen-ch'i (Karashahr), 394
Yen Fo-t'iao, 25
yin-yang, 60n.100, 94, 97n.2
Yogācārabhūmi, 110
Yoshikawa, Itsuji, 222, 229
Yotkan, 259
Yüan Meng, 324, 346
Yüan-feng (era), 327
Yüan Ying, 350
Yüeh ware, 112-13, 116, 140
Yüeh-chih, 22, 46, 94, 164-65, 241, 341n.33; and Hsiung-nu, 7; in Loyang, 26; sculpture representing, 39; trade by, 90, 358
yūga-yaṣṭi (of a stupa), 254
Yuji, D., 267
Yüan-k'ang (era), 111
Yü-men (Kansu) 337; gate, 10, 241, 246, 394; ta-hu-chün, 337
Yu-ni, 371
Yün-kang cave temples (Shansi), 217, 228, 388, 403n.155
Yü-t'ai shan, 27

Yü-t'ien. *See* Khotan
Yü-yao, 115
Yung-an (era), 128
Yung-chia (era), 107, 244, 334
Yung-shou (era), 44
Yung Pass (Loyang), 15

Zambasta. See *Book of Zambasta*
Zeus, 307n.100, 365
Zorastrian religion, 167, 189, 197
Zorastrian Temple, 206
Zürcher, E., 15n.15, 23n.28, 93, 165n.6, 168n.8, 429n.199

PLATES
(Color)

Pl. I Flame-shouldered Buddha, gilt bronze, ca. 2nd half of the 2nd century A.D., Later Han, H. 12 1/2'', W. 9'', The Sackler Museum of Art, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Grenville L. Winthrop Collection. Courtesy of the Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Harvard University Art Museums.

a

b

Pl. II a,b Miniature Shrine, a) front view with Buddha and b) side view with scenes of the Buddha's Life: Birth and Parinitvāna, gilt bronze, ca. late 2nd – early 3rd century A.D., Later Han – Three Kingdoms period, H. 3", W. 1 1/4", The Asian Art Museum of San Francisco, Avery Brundage Collection (B60B745).

Pl. III Bodhisattva (probably Maitreya), said to have come from San-yüan hsien, Shensi, gilt bronze, ca. last quarter of the 3rd century, Western Chin, H. 33.3 cm, Fujii Yūrinkan, Kyoto (photo: M. Rhie).

Pl. IV Head of a prince or king with pointed and spangled hat, clay, from the "King's Hall", Buddhist Temple No. 1, Dalverzin Tepe, southern Uzbekistan, early 2nd century A.D., H. 49.5 cm (after *ASU*, Fig. 113).

Pl. V Head of a Buddha, gilt bronze, said to come from Khotan, H. 17 cm, Ōtani Mission, Tokyo National Museum (photo: M. Rhie).

Pl. VI Head of a Buddha from the aureole of R. 12, Rawak Stupa, Khotan, clay, Style I. ca. late 3rd – 4th century A.D., Stein Collection (R.xii.1), The British Museum, London (photo: M. Rhie).

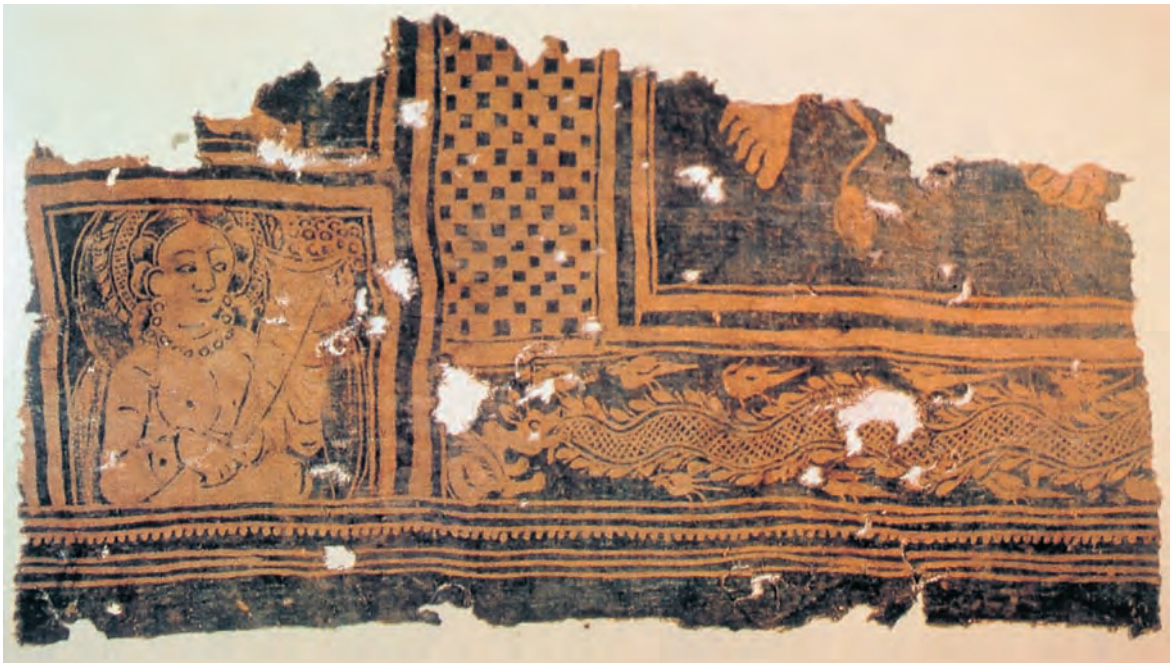
Pl. VII Head of Bodhisattva, from Rawak Stupa, Khotan, clay, Style VI, ca. late 4th – early 5th century A.D., H. about 7", Trinkler Expedition (D. 28), Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (photo: M. Rhie).

a *b*

Pl. VIII a,b Pair of Miniature Stupas, bronze, probably from Gandhāra or Kashmir region, ca. 3rd – 4th century A.D., H. about 3'', Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Eilenburg Collection (photo: M. Rhie).

Pl. IX D paṃkara, probably from Swat, Pakistan, stone, mid-4th century A.D., H. about life size, formerly Spink and Son, Ltd., London (photo: M. Rhie).

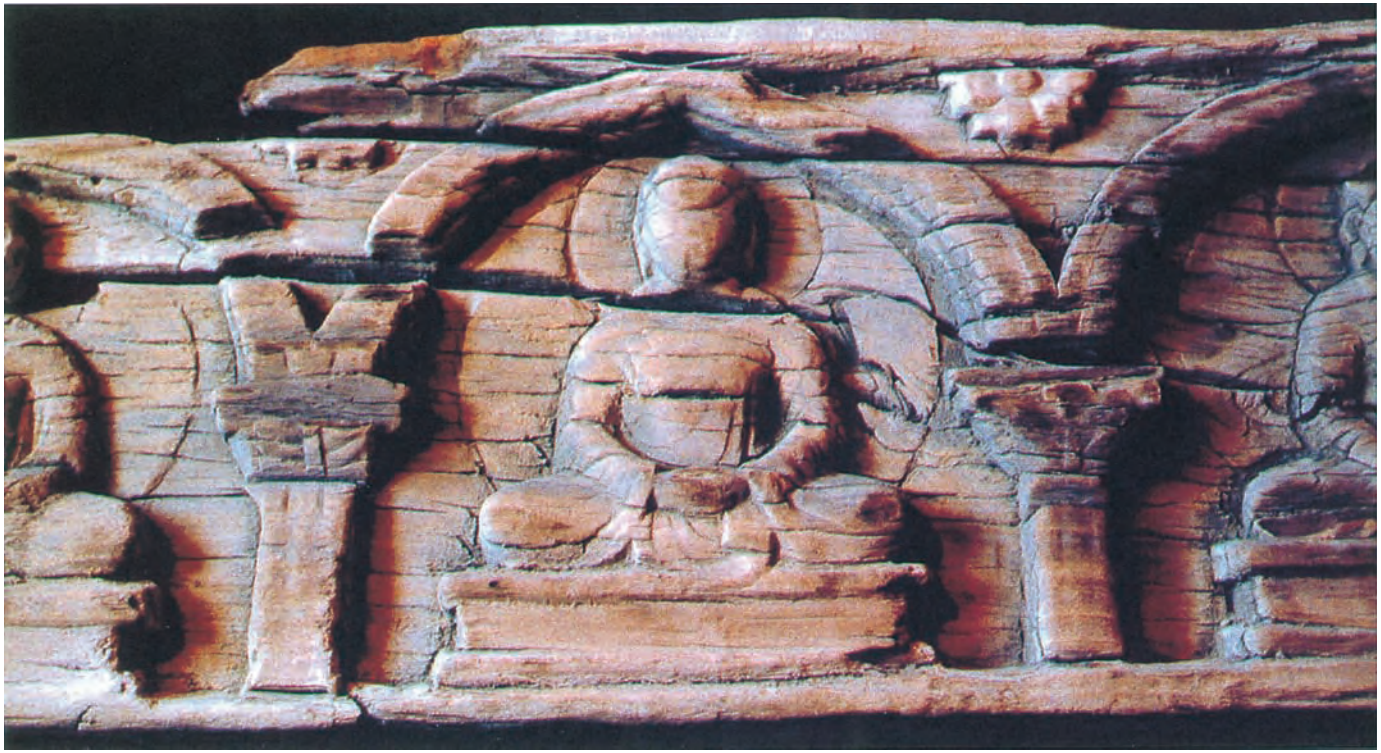
Pl. X Pair of furniture legs, painted wood, from Niya, Shan-shan kingdom, 3rd century A.D., H. 34.6 cm (female) and 34.5 cm (male), Stein Collection (n.xiii.3), The British Museum, London (photo: M. Rhie).



Pl. XI Goddess with cornucopia and other scenes, fragment of "batik" cotton textile with wax resist dye, from tomb 59MNM 001 at Min-feng, Niya, ca. 3rd – early 4th century A.D., L. 86 cm, H. 45 cm (after *Hsin-chiang wei-wu erh tzu-chih-ch'ü po-wu-kuan* (1975), Fig. 35).

Pl. XII View of Stupa Shrine M III, Miran site, Shan-shan kingdom, ca. mid-3rd century A.D.

Pl. XIII Detail of the Buddha, wall painting, Stupa Shrine M III, Miran site, Shan-shan kingdom, ca. mid-3rd century A.D., National Museum, New Delhi, Stein Collection (photo: M. Rhie).



Pl. XIV Relief with Buddha niches, detail from fragment found by Sven Hedin at Lou-lan center (Stein's L.A. site II, Hedin's site F), poplar wood, mid-3rd century A.D., L. 107 cm, W. 22 cm, D. 6.5 cm, Folkens Museum Etnografiska, Stockholm (photo: M. Rhie).

Pl. XV Guardian figure, detail, found by Sven Hedin at L.B. II, Lou-lan, poplar wood, mid-3rd century A.D., H. 93 cm, W. 55 cm, Folkens Museum Etnografiska, Stockholm (photo: M. Rhie).

Pl. XVI Textile fragment, warp-faced compound tabby silk with design of birds, chimeras, cloud motifs and Chinese characters ''yung ch'ang'', from Lou-lan, L.C. tomb No. 2, Later Han or 3rd century A.D. (after *Yin jan chih hsiu*, I, Fig. 81).

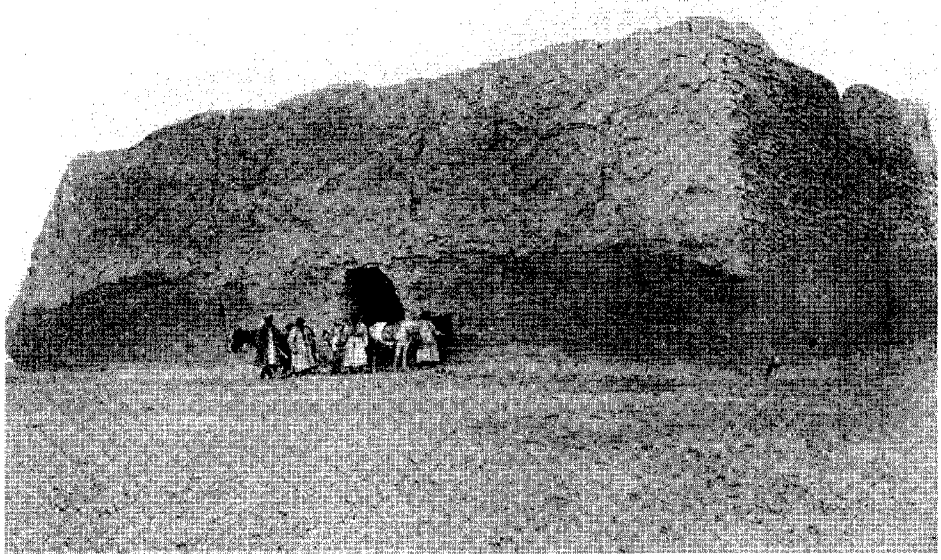


Fig. 1.1 a The Yü-men kuan (Jade Gate), the ancient fort (T.XIV), gate through west wall, Tun-huang limes, western Kansu (after Stein (1921), II, Fig. 184)

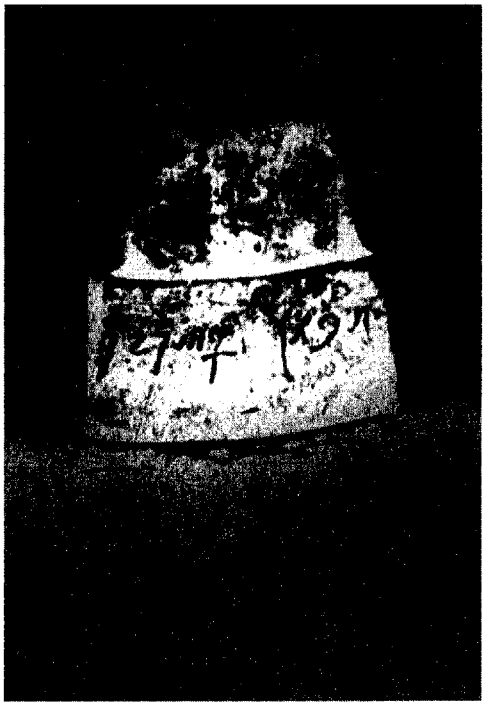


Fig. 1.1 b Stone fragments with Kharoṣṭhī writing from a curb encirling a well, said to have come from Loyang (after Brough (1961), Pl. 1)

Fig. 1.2 Drawing of the relief carvings on the western end of K'ung-wang shan, Lien-yün-kang, Kiangsu, Later (Eastern) Han, ca. second half of 2nd century A.D (after Lien-yün-kang shih po-wu-kuan (1981), p. 2)

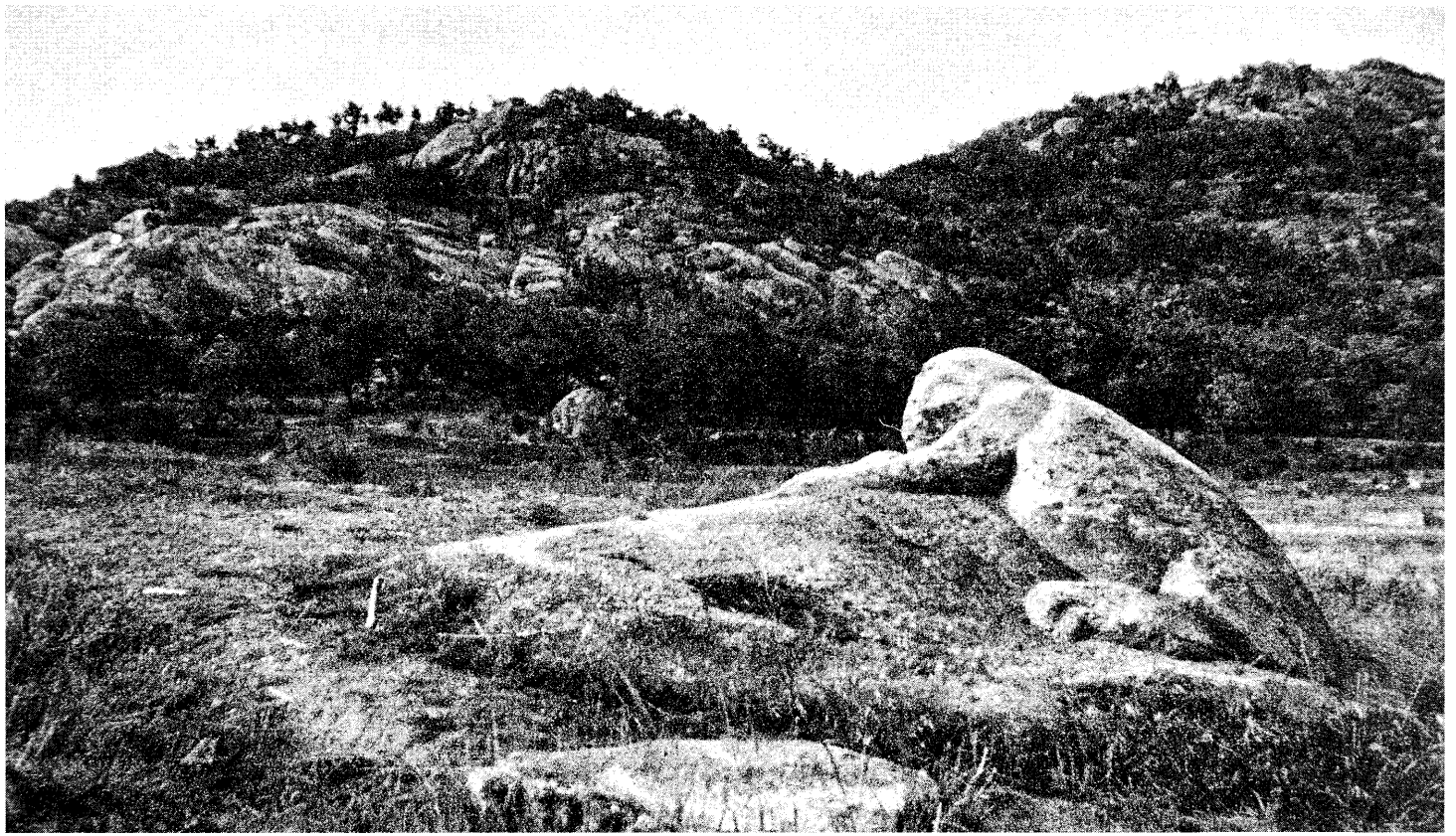


Fig. 1.3 View of the cliffs at K'ung-wang shan with "Toad" Stone in the foreground, stone dia approx. 2.9 m, toad length 2.4 m, width 2.2 m, H. 90 cm, K'ung- wang shan, Kiangsu, Later Han, ca. 2nd half of 2nd century A.D. (after "New Discovery" (1982), p. 43, lower right).

Fig. 1.4a Image of Hsi-wang-mu (Queen Mother of the West), X68, K'ung-wang shan, Kiangsu, Later Han, H. 114 cm., W. 95 cm. (after Li Hung-fu (1982), p. 66, Fig. 1)

Fig. 1.4b Seated male figure in Han dress, X66, K'ung-wang shan, Kiangsu, Later Han (after Lien-yün-kang shih po-wu-kuan (1981), Pl. 2, Fig. 2)

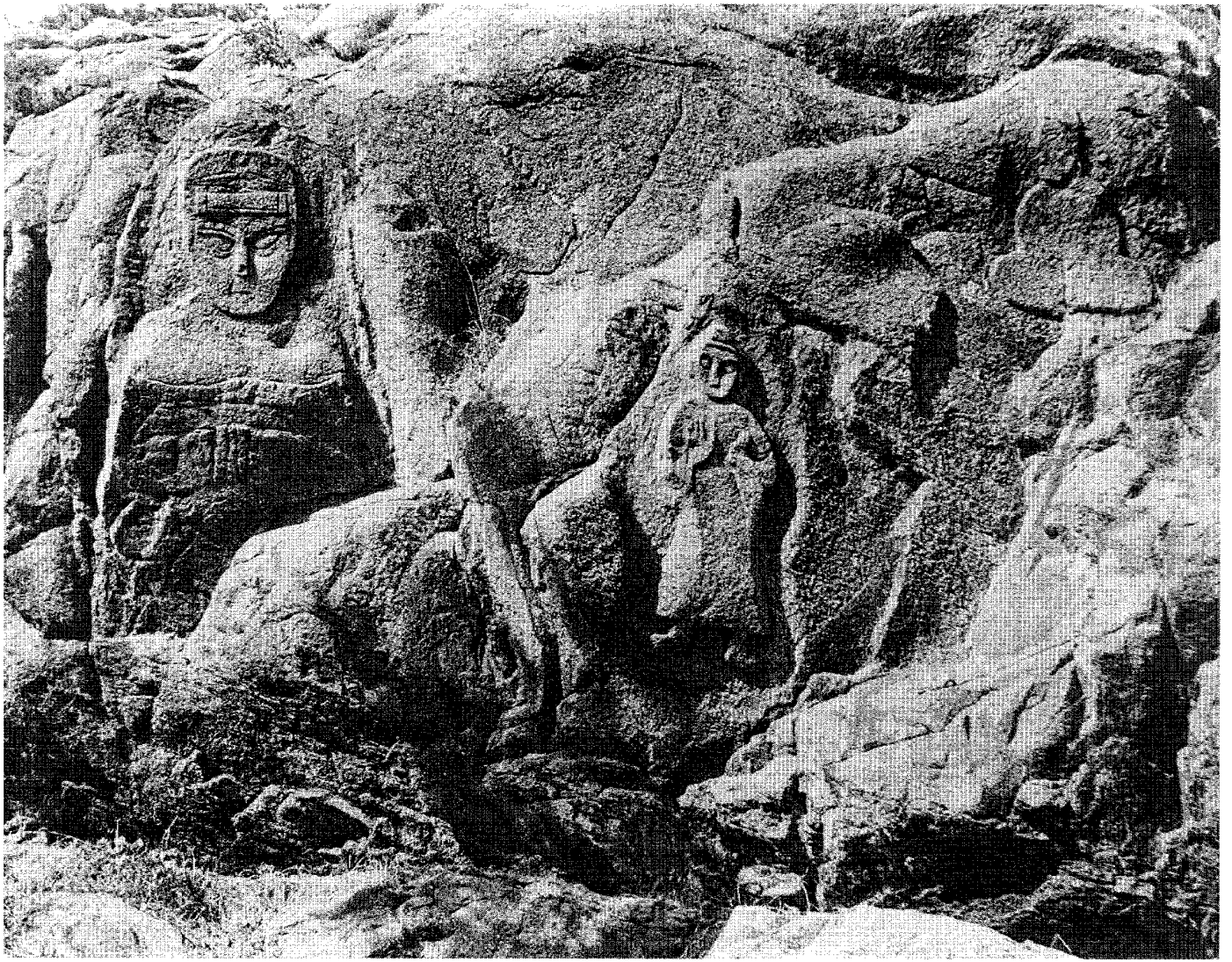


Fig. 1.5 Figure X1 (guardian) and X2 (Buddha) at the western end of the cliff, K'ung-wang shan, Kiangsu, Later Han (after "New Discovery", p. 42, upper)

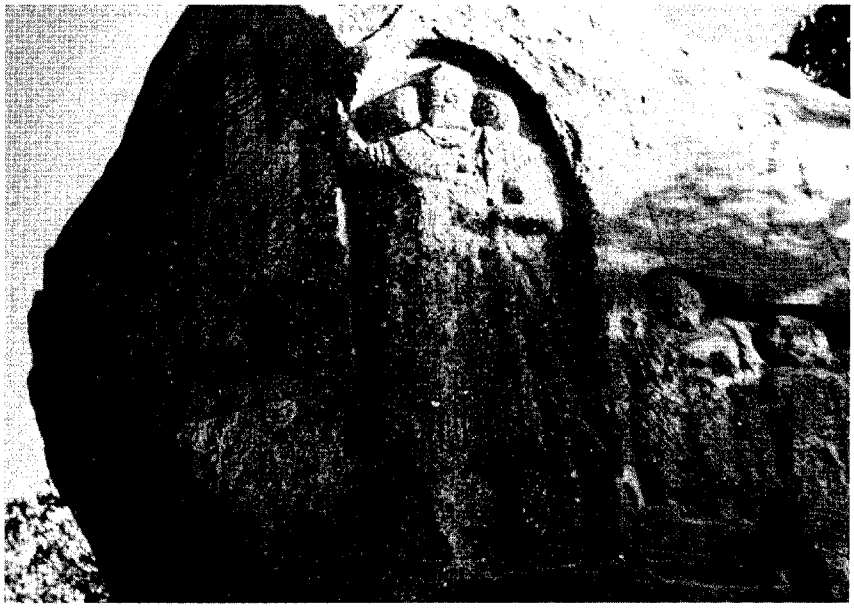


Fig. 1.6 a,b Rock-cut reliefs at Tang-i-Sarvak, Elymais, Iran, Parthian, ca. 150-225 A.D. (after Colledge (1986), Pls. Xc and XIb)

Fig. 1.7 Standing Buddha (X2), western end of K'ung-wang shan, Kiangsu, Later Han, (after Pu Lien-sheng (1982), p. 61, Fig. 1)

Fig. 1.8 Charioteer, from Tomb No. 1 at Tao-tzu-p'ing, Heng-yang hsien, Hunan, late Later Han, (after Hunan sheng po-wu-kuan (1981), Pl. 3, Fig. 1)

Fig. 1.9 Seated Buddha (X76), central area of K'ung-wang shan, Kiangsu, Later Han, ca. second half of 2nd century A.D. (after "New Discovery", p. 43, upper)

Fig. 1.10 Parinirvāṇa (X4-X60), central front area of K'ung-wang shan, Kiangsu, Later Han, Length 4.6 m x H. 2.3 m. (after "New Discovery", p. 43, middle)

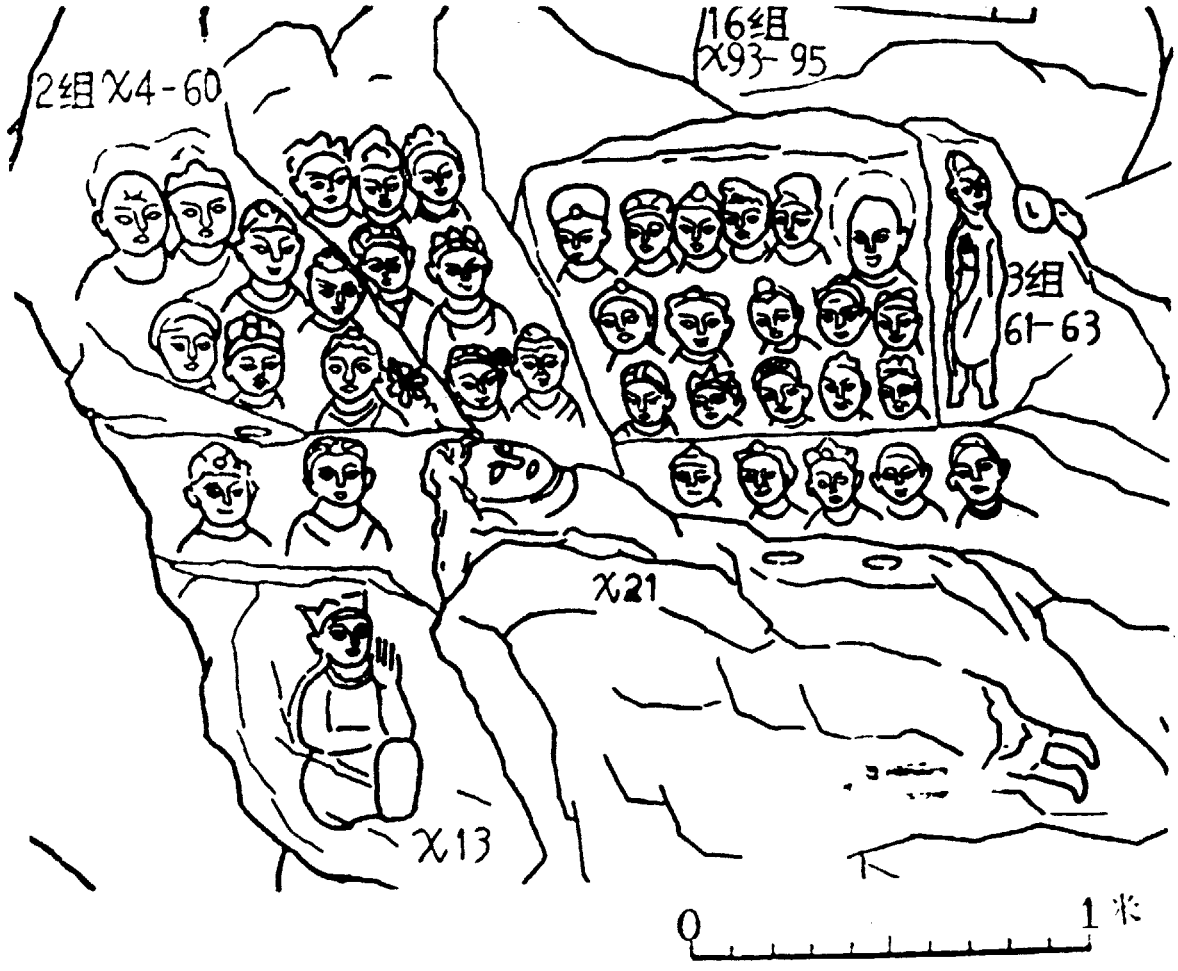


Fig. 1.11 Drawing of 1.10 (after Lien-yün-kang shih po-wu- kuan (1981), p. 3, Fig. 2)

Fig. 1.12 Standing Buddha (X61), K'ung-wang shan, Kiang-su, Later Han-Three Kingdoms (after Lien-yün-kang shih po-wu-kuan (1981), Pl. 4, Fig. 3)

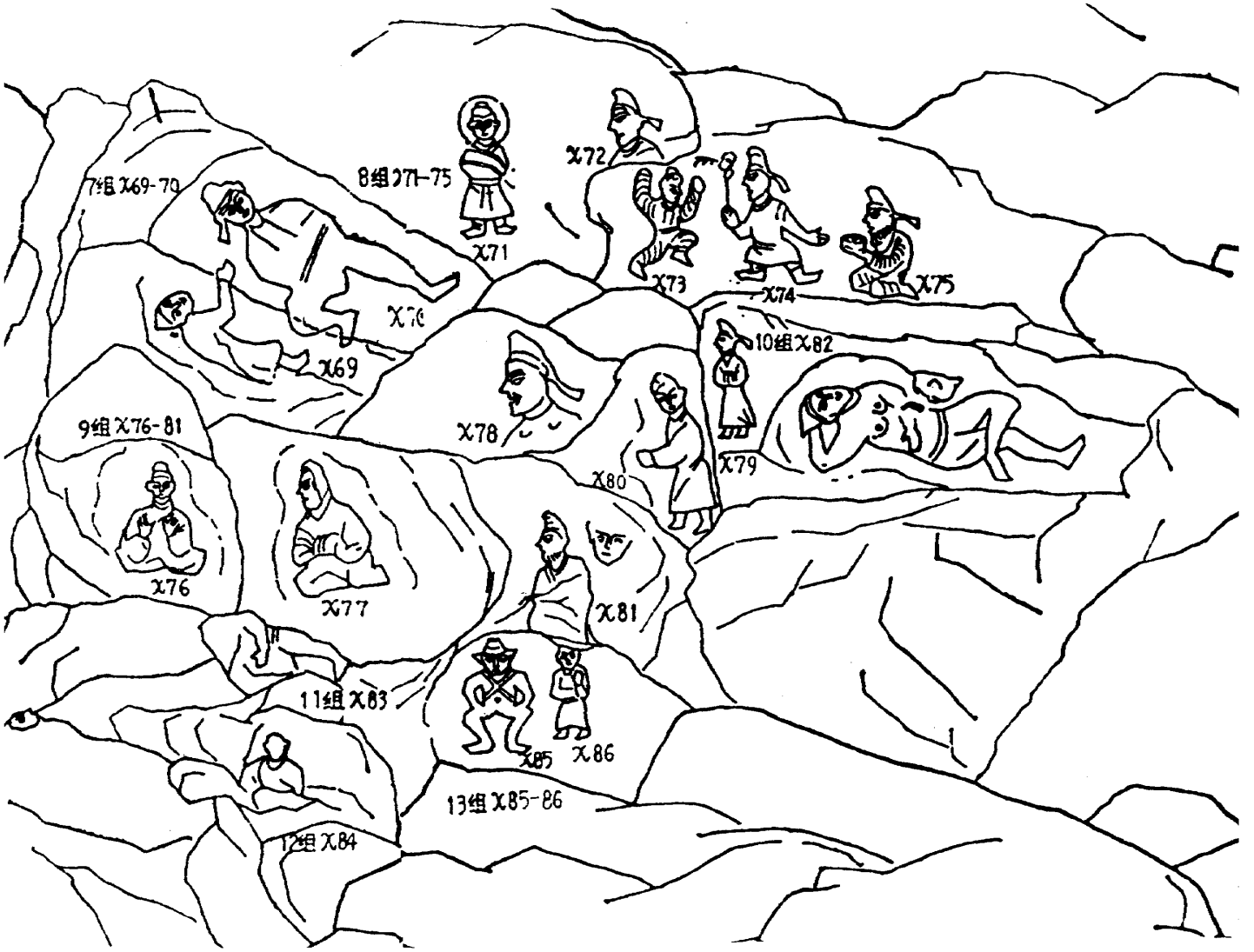
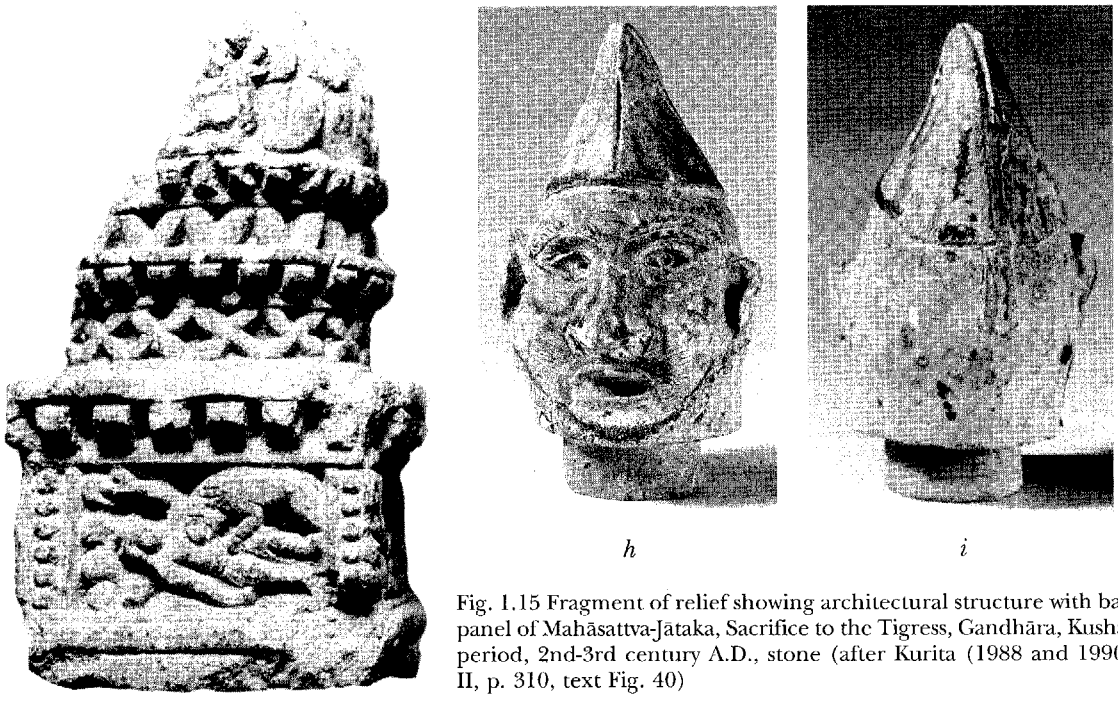


Fig. 1.13 Drawing of images at the eastern end of the cliff at K'ung-wang shan, Kiangsu, Later Han (after Lien- yün-kang shih po-wu-kuan (1981), p. 2, Fig. 1)

Fig. 1.14 Prince Sacrificing Himself to the Tigress (Mahāsattva-Jātaka), eastern end of K'ung-wang shan, Kiangsu, Later Han (after Lien-yün-kang shih po-wu-kuan (1981), Pl. 3, Fig. 1)



h *i*

Fig. 1.15 Fragment of relief showing architectural structure with base panel of Mahāsattva-Jātaka, Sacrifice to the Tigress, Gandhāra, Kushan period, 2nd-3rd century A.D., stone (after Kurita (1988 and 1990), II, p. 310, text Fig. 40)

Fig. 1.16 Rubbing of Figures a) X85, b) X65, c) X75, d) X73, e) X 79, f) X71, g) X74, K'ung-wang shan, Kiangsu, Later Han (after "New Discovery", p. 42, lower, and Lien-yün-kang shih po-wu-kuan (1981), Figs. 3, 8)

←
Fig. 1.16 h, i Head of a man, ceramic, from Shang-yü, Chekiang, H. 19.7 cm, Later Han (after Ho Yün-ao (1993), Fig. 107)

Fig. 1.17 King Vima II Kadphises standing at an altar, Kushana, ca. 90/100-100/110 A.D. (after Rosenfield (1967), Pl. II, Fig. 29, the obverse)

a

b

c

d

e

Fig. 1.18 Coins of Vima II Kadphises (r. between ca. 90/100 - 100/110 A.D.) and Kaniṣka I (r. ca. 100/110-126/136 A.D.) a) Vima, enthroned king; b) Vima, king seated with legs locked; c) Vima; d) Vima, bust portrait with high helmet; e) Vima, portrait in square frame.

Fig. 1.18 f) Kaniṣka I, gold stater inscribed "BODDO" g) Kaniṣka I, copper didrachm inscribed "Sakamano Boudo"

Fig. 1.18 h) Standing Buddha, reverse of g) (a-e after Rosenfield (1967), Pl. II, Figs. 19, 20, 23, 21, 27; f and g after Ingholt and Lyons (1957), Figs. III 2 and 3); g after Cribb (1984), p. 51)

Fig. 1.19 Elephant Stone, K'ung-wang shan, Kiangsu, Later Han (after Lien-yün-kang shih po-wu-kuan (1981), Pl. 3, Fig. 2)

Fig. 1.20 a Guardian (ink rubbing), at the entrance of Tomb M2 of the Ts'ao family, Tung-yüan ts'un, Po hsien, Anhui, ca. 160 A.D. or later (probably before ca. 180-190 A.D.) (after Powers (1991), Fig. 118)

Fig. 1.20 b Relief Panel (ink rubbing), middle room, west wall, north side, stone tomb at I-nan, Shantung, ca. 193 A.D. (after Ts'eng Chao-yü, *et al* (1956), Pl. 60)

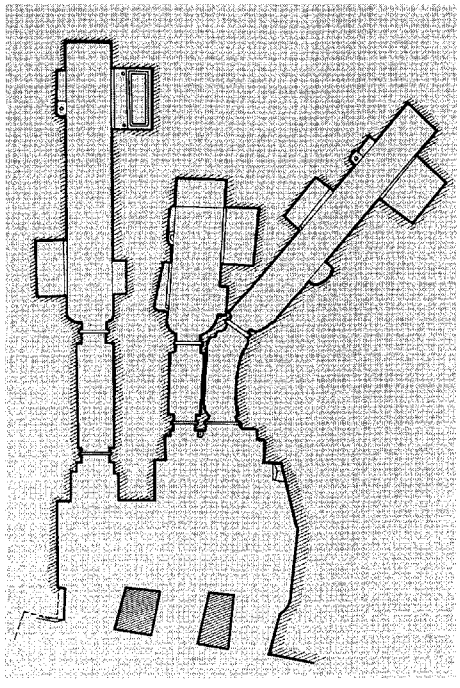
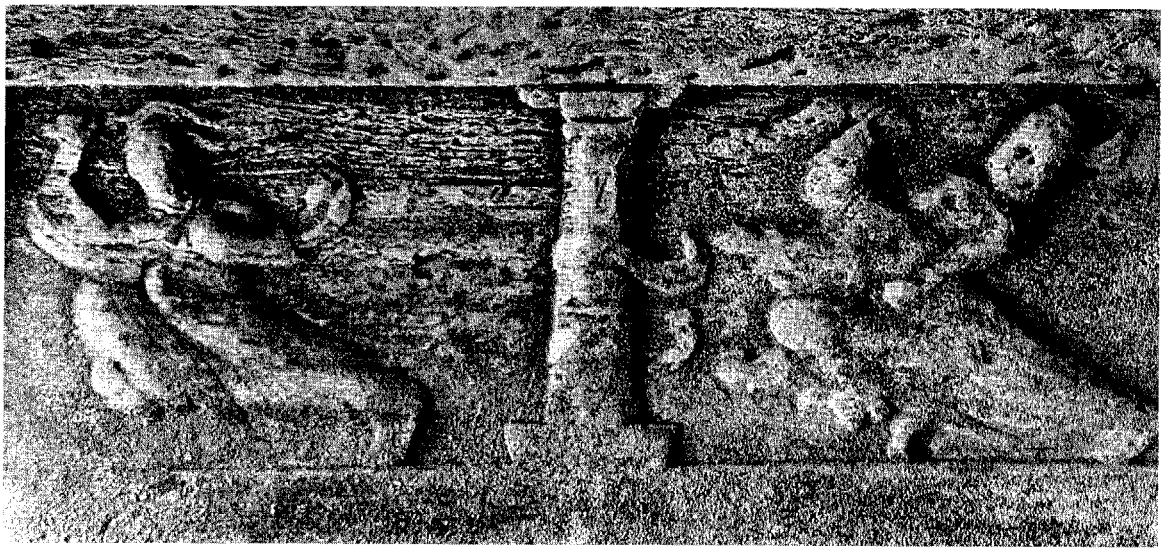
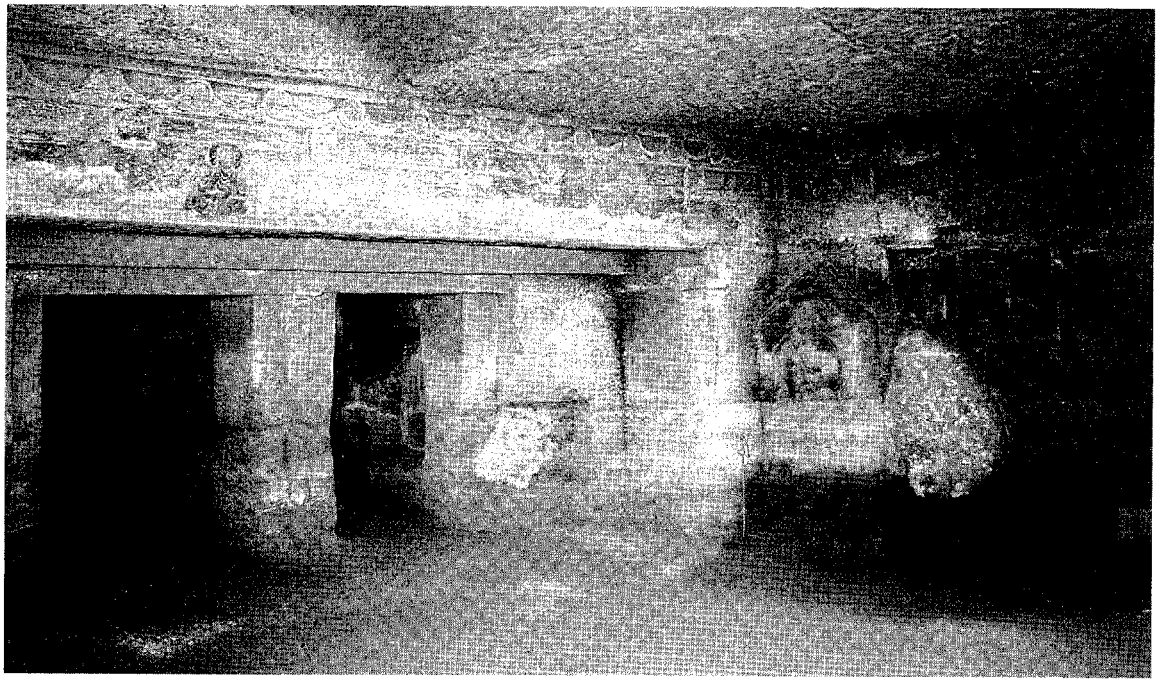


Fig. 1.21 Plan of Tomb (Cave IX) at Ma Hao, near Lo-shan city, Szechwan (after Lim (1987), p. 195)



a



b

Fig. 1.22 a,b Reliefs, interior of Cave IX, Ma Hao, Szechwan, Later Han-Shu Han, late 2nd-first half of 3rd century A.D. a) left wall with scenes of Ch'in Wang (after *Ch'in Han tiao-su*, Fig. 107); b) rear lintel with seated Buddha (after Lim (1987), p. 198, upper)

Fig. 1.23 Seated Buddha, relief on rear lintel, Cave IX, Ma Hao, Szechwan, Later Han-Shu Han, late 2nd-first half of 3rd century A.D., H. 37 cm (after *Ch'in Han tiao-su*, Fig. 106)

Fig. 1.24 Seated Buddha, relief in Tomb No. 1, Shih-tzu-wan No. 1 group, near Lo-shan city, Szechwan, Later Han-Shu Han, late 2nd-first half of 3rd century A.D., H. 28 cm. (after Ho Yün-ao (1993), Fig. 2)

Fig. 1.25 Hsi-wang-mu (Queen Mother of the West) and other figures, clay tile, from a tomb in the Ch'eng-tu area, Szechwan, Later Han-Shu Han, late 2nd-first half of 3rd century A.D., Szechwan Provincial Museum (after Lim (1987), Pl. 63)

Fig. 1.26 a (above), b (opposite page) Seated Buddha and two attendants, base of a "money tree" from a tomb at P'eng-shan, Szechwan, green glaze ceramic ware, late Later Han, H. 21.3 cm., Nanking Museum (after *Ch'in Han tiao-su*, Pl. 127)

Fig. 1.27 Seated Buddha triad, from Jamalpur Mound, Mathurā, Central India, State Museum Lucknow (No. B.14), stone, ca. mid-2nd century A.D. (after Sharma (1984), Fig. 106)

Fig. 1.28 Seated Buddha with attendants, Bukhara I, Swat, Kushana period, ca. 2nd century A.D., Swat Museum, Saidu Sharif (S771) (photo M. Rhie, 1975)

Fig. 1.29 Head, clay, from Khotan, probably 2nd-3rd century A.D., H. 6.6 cm., No. 3959, Ōtani Expedition group (after Kukrup Chungang Pakmulgwan (1986), Fig. 49, right)

a

Fig. 1.30 a-d Relief (ink rubbing), from Tomb No. 1, Ho-ch'uan hsien, Szechwan, late Later Han, a) figure with bowl and flowers; b) dragon and tiger in lintel; c and d) reliefs. (after Chung-ch'ing shih po-wu-kuan, *et al* (1977), Figs. 7, 9, 17, 18)

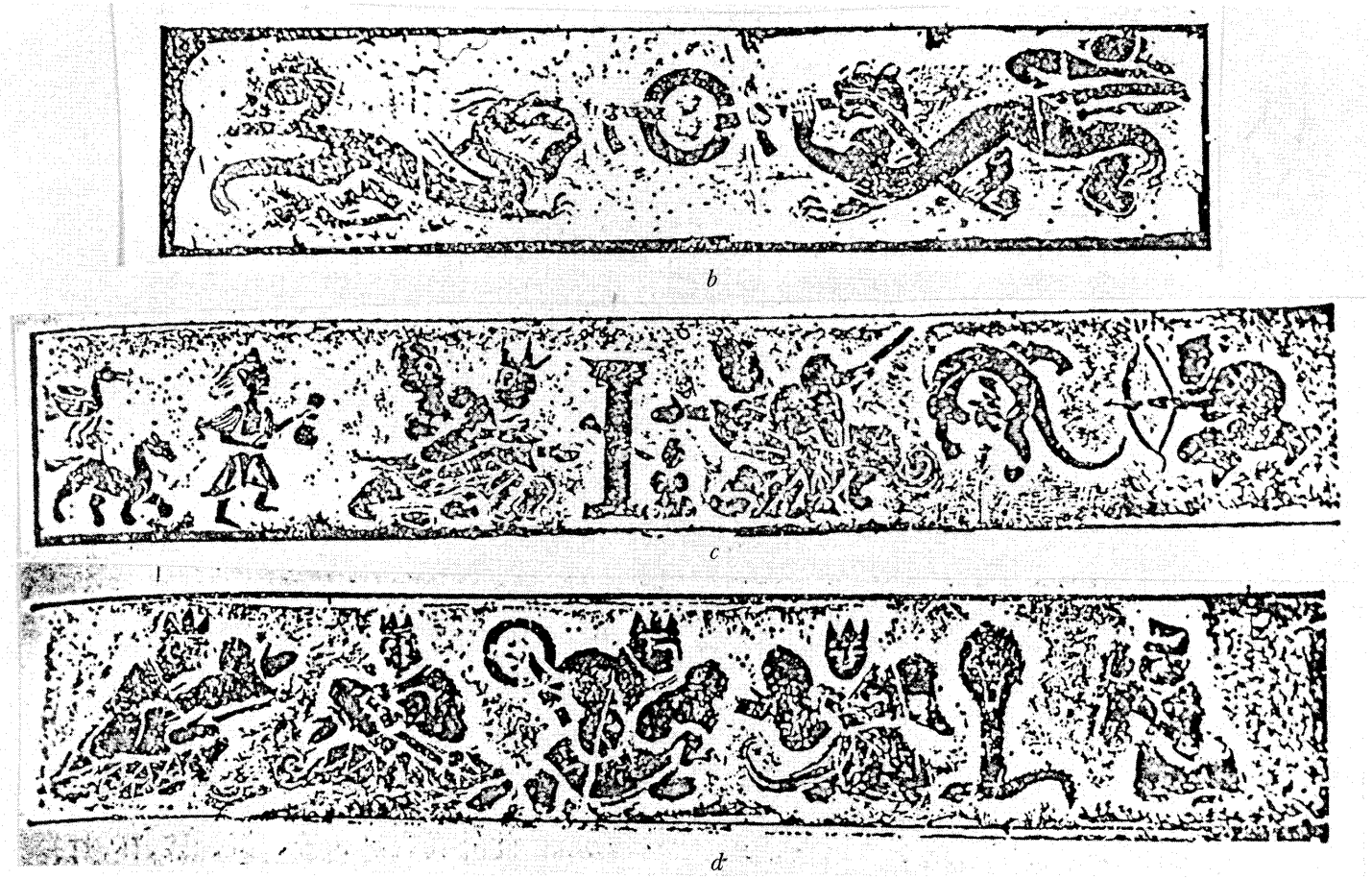
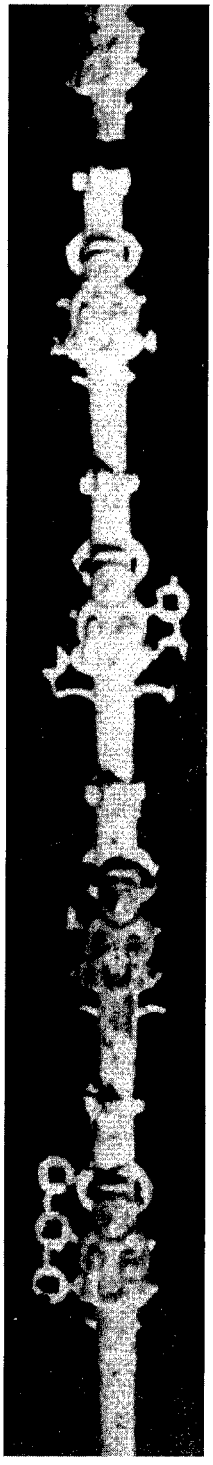
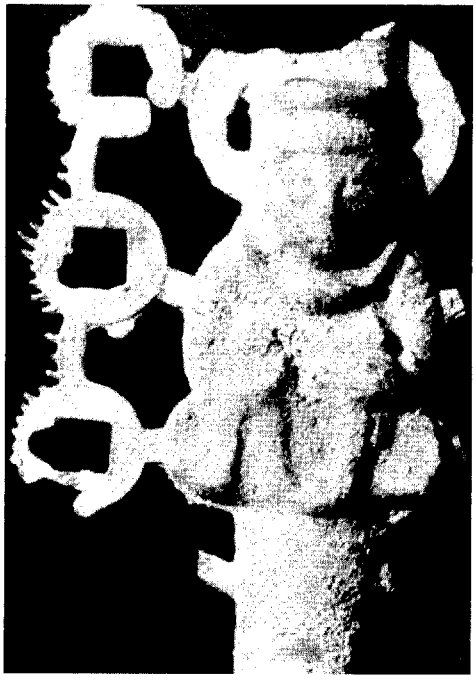


Fig. 1.30 a-d Relief (ink rubbing), from Tomb No. 1, Ho-ch'uan hsien, Szechwan, late Later Han, a) figure with bowl and flowers; b) dragon and tiger in lintel; c and d) reliefs. (after Chung-ch'ing shih po-wu-kuan, *et al* (1977), Figs. 7, 9, 17, 18)





b

Fig. 1.31 a-g Fragments from a "money tree", bronze, from Tomb HM1 at Ho-chia shan, Mien-yang, Szechwan. a) five seated Buddhas on stem (total H. 76 cm); b) detail of a seated Buddha (H. 6.5 cm) (after Ho Chih-kuo (1991), Pl. 1, Figs. 1 and 2)

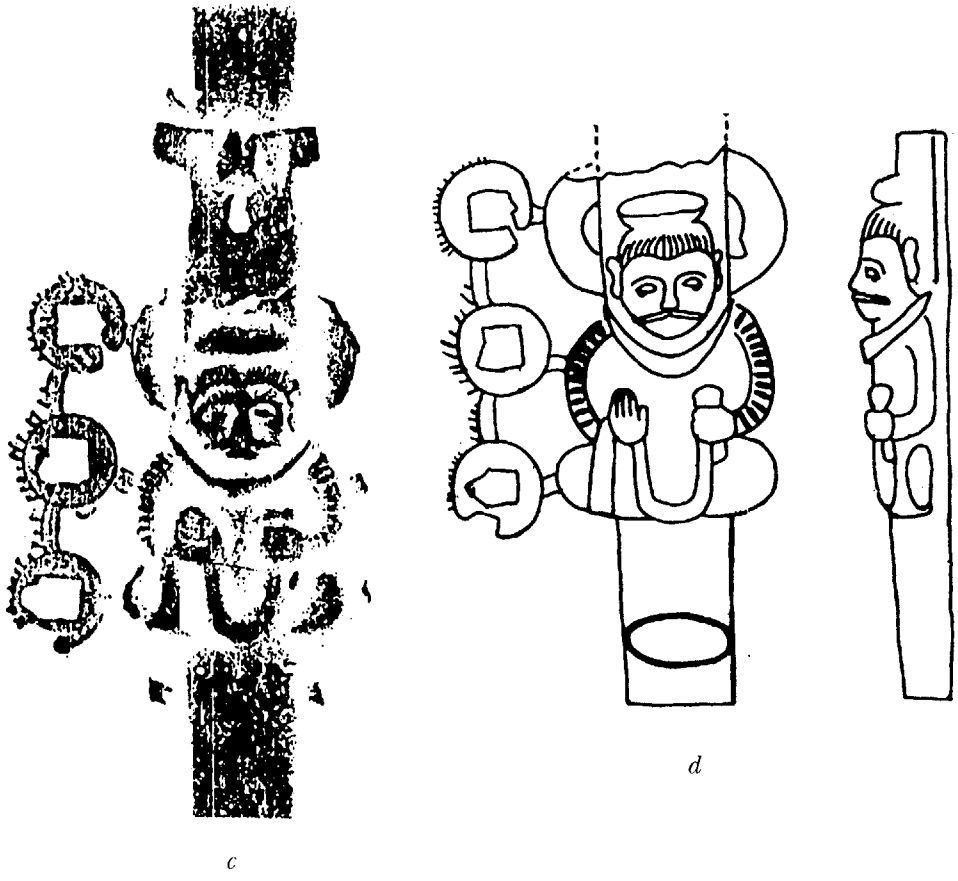
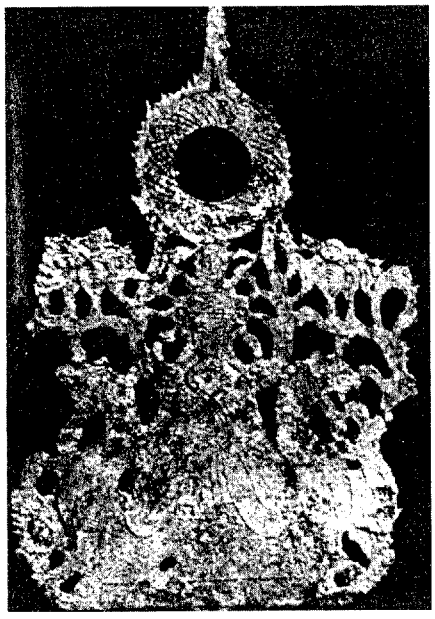


Fig. 1.31 c-d Fragments from a "money tree", bronze, from Tomb HM1 at Ho-chia shan, Mien-yang, Szechwan. c) rubbing of a seated Buddha; d) drawing of a Buddha (after Ho Chih-kuo (1991), p. 6, Fig. 19; Wu Cho (1992), p. 40, Fig. 1)



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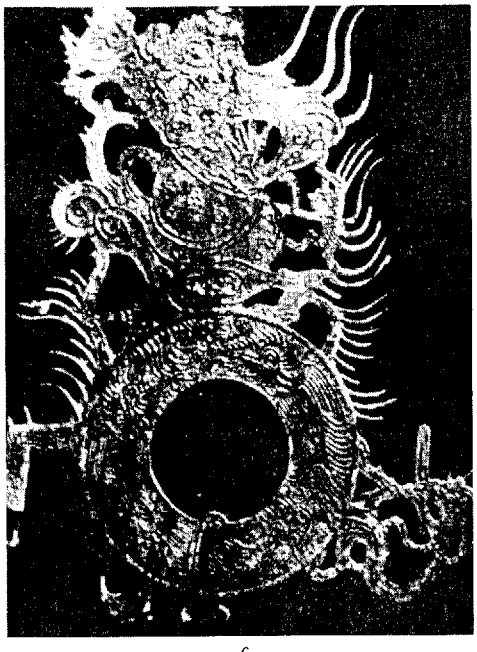

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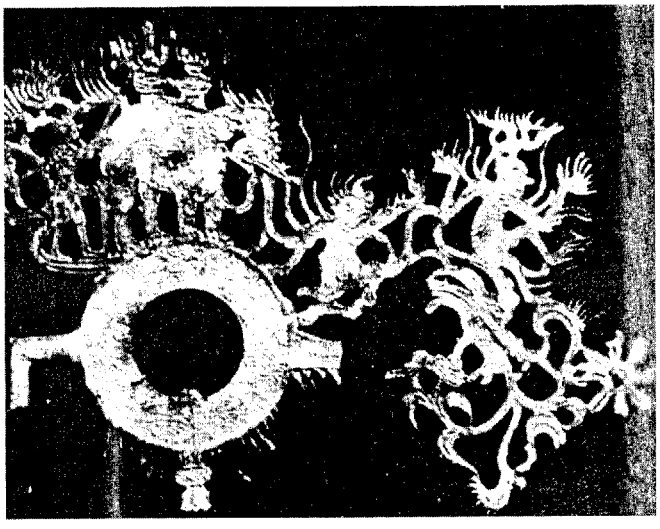


g

Fig. 1.31 e-g Fragments from a "money tree", bronze, from Tomb HM1 at Ho-chia shan, Mien-yang, Szechwan. e) Hsi- wang-mu; f) "li-shih"; g) elephant. (after Ho Chih-kuo (1991), Pl. 4, Figs. 2, 1, 4)

Fig. 1.32 Seated Buddha, fragment from a money tree, bronze, probably from Szechwan (possibly from same site as Fig. 1.31), ca. late Later Han, total H. 15.5 cm, H. of Buddha figure 6.5 cm, courtesy of the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto

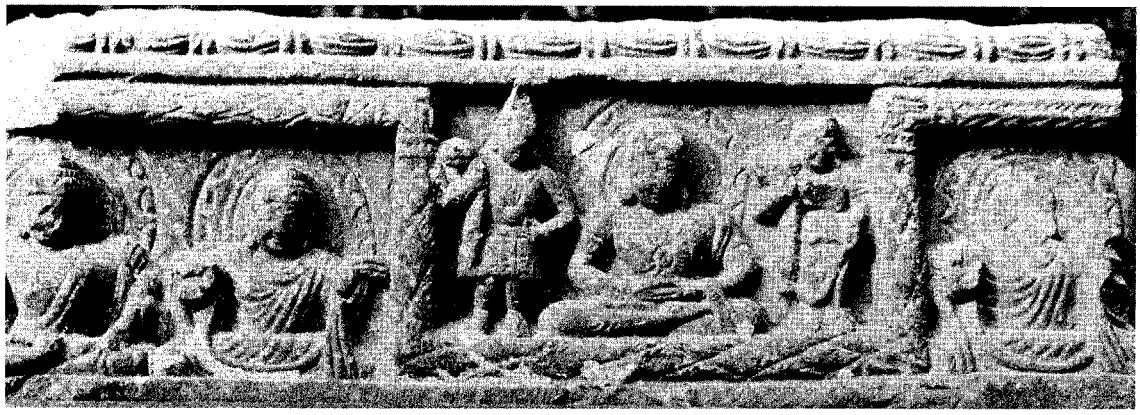
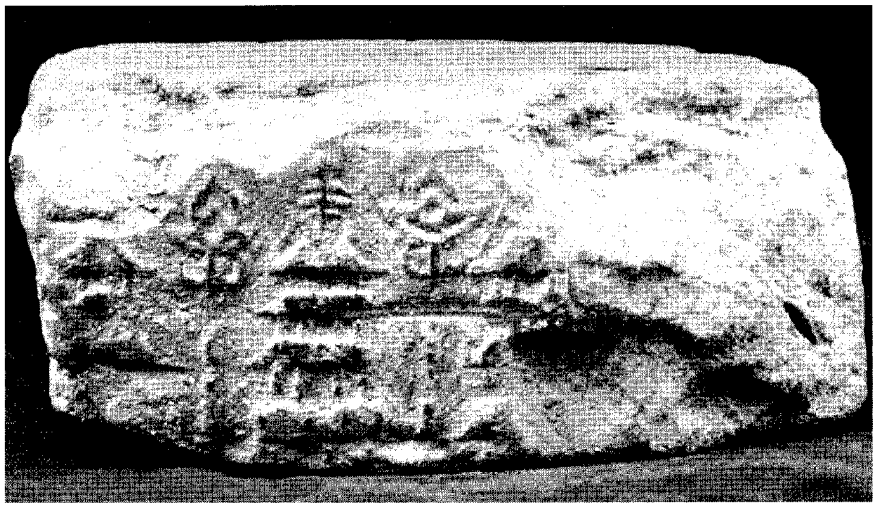
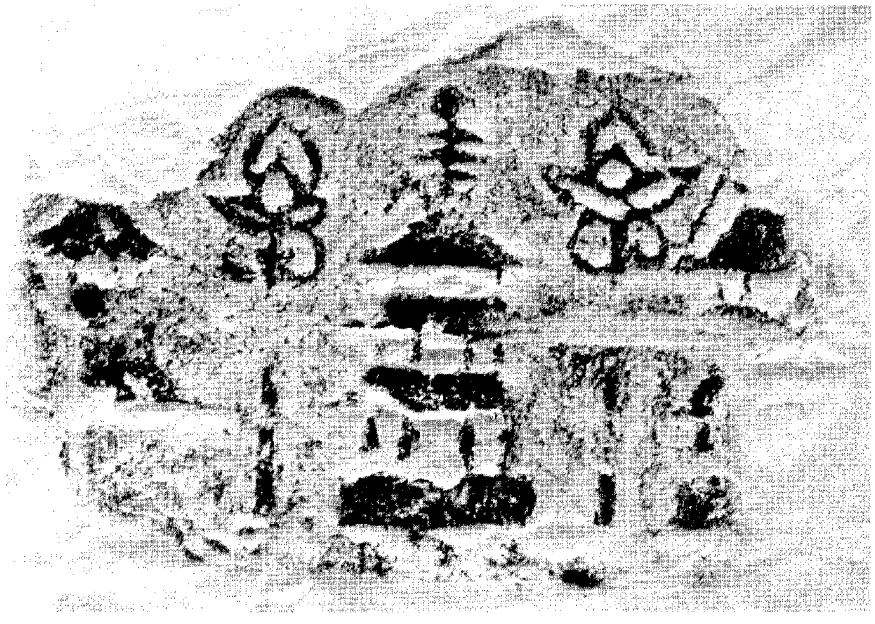


Fig. 1.33 a Lintel with Buddhist Reliefs, from Mathurā, Kushana period, ca. 2nd-3rd century A.D., stone (after Rosenfield (1967), Fig. 37)

Fig. 1.33 b Seated Buddha and attendants, Butkara I, Swat, Kushana period, 2nd-3rd century A.D. (photo M. Rhie)



a



b

Fig. 1.34 a,b a) Tile and b) Rubbing with design of lou-ko-t'a storied pagoda and lotus flowers, from Shih-fang, Tsao-yung hsiang, Pai-kuo ts'un, Ma-tui tzu, Szechwan, 21 x 15 x 7.5 cm., Szechwan sheng po-wu-kuan (after Ho Yün-ao (1993), Fig. 3)

Fig. 1.35a Relief of a storied shrine, back of a railing pillar from Mathurā, ca. mid 2nd century A.D. (after Vogel (1930), Pl. XXIII, c)

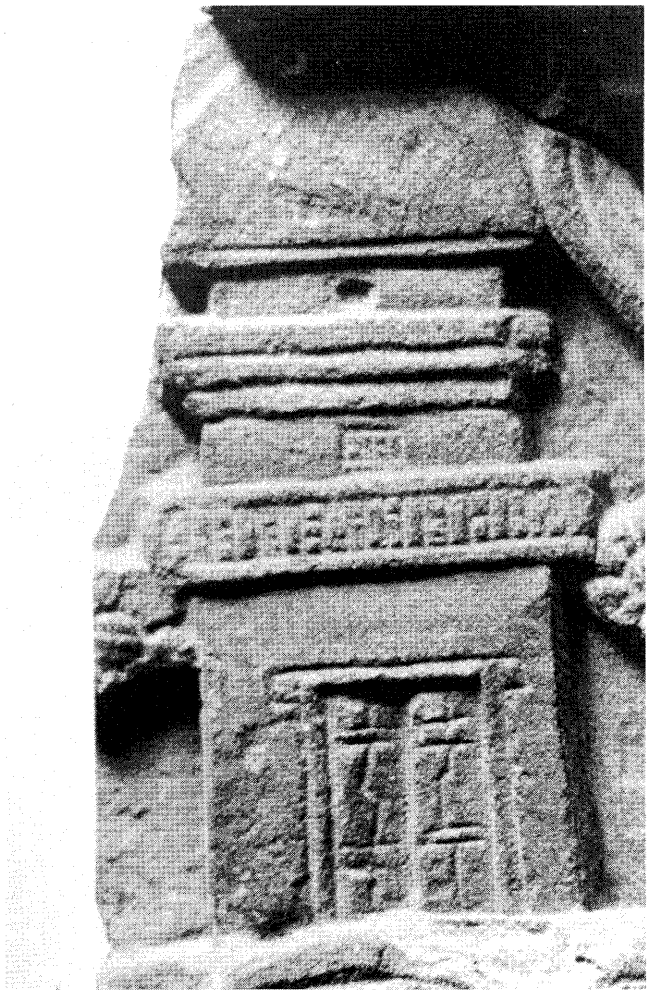


Fig. 1.35b Relief fragment from image pedestal, Mathurā, ca. 2nd century A.D., Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (after Franz (1978), Fig. 1)

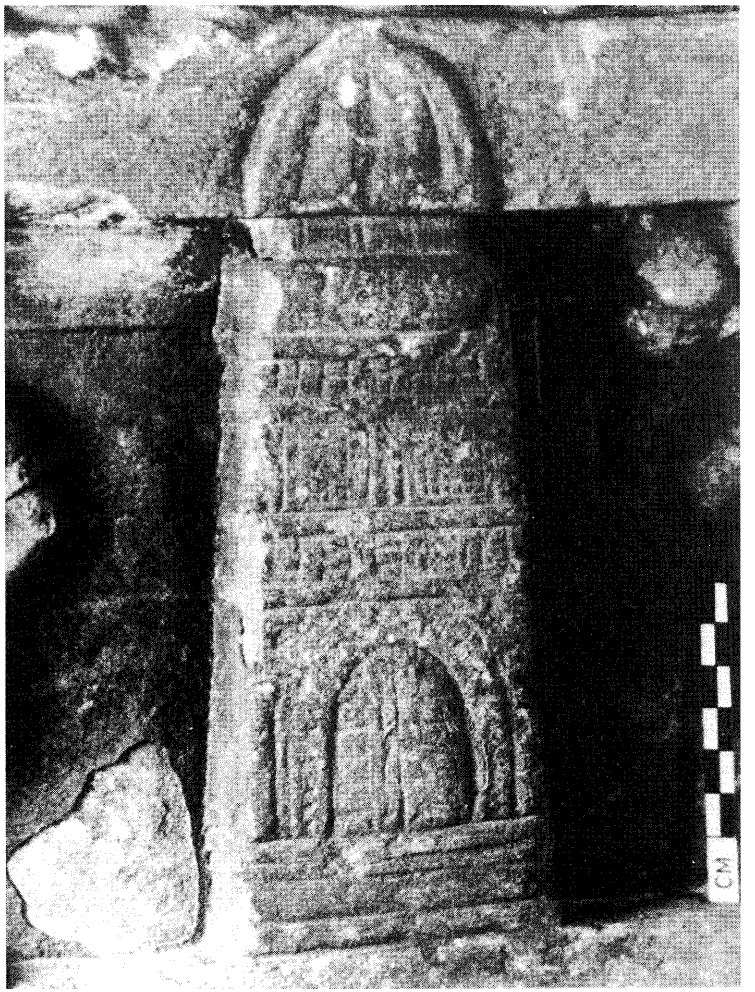


Fig. 1.35c Relief from the center of an image pedestal, Mathurā, ca. 2nd century A.D., University Museum, Aligarh (after Franz (1978), Fig. 2)

Fig. 1.35d Relief of shrine worshipped by two attendants, from a torana crossbeam, Mathurā, Mathurā Museum, sandstone, ca. mid 1st century A.D. (photo M. Rhie, 1996)

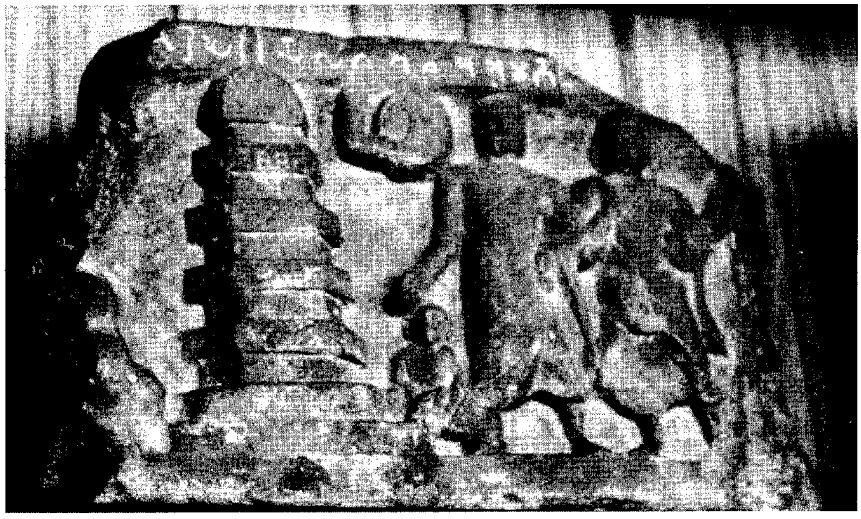


Fig. 1.35 e Relief fragment with tower shrine and two monks, Mathurā, red sandstone, Kushana period, Russek Collection, Zürich (photo M. Rhie, 1997)

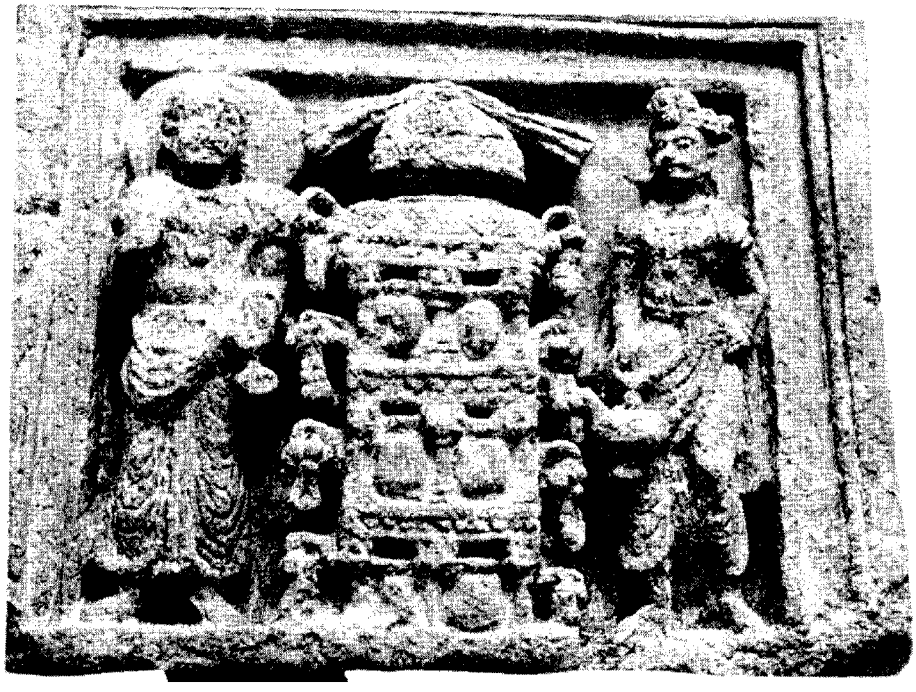


Fig. 1.36 Relief, Gandhāra, Kushana period, 2nd-3rd century A.D. (after Kurita (1988 and 1990), II, p. 312, text Fig. 45)

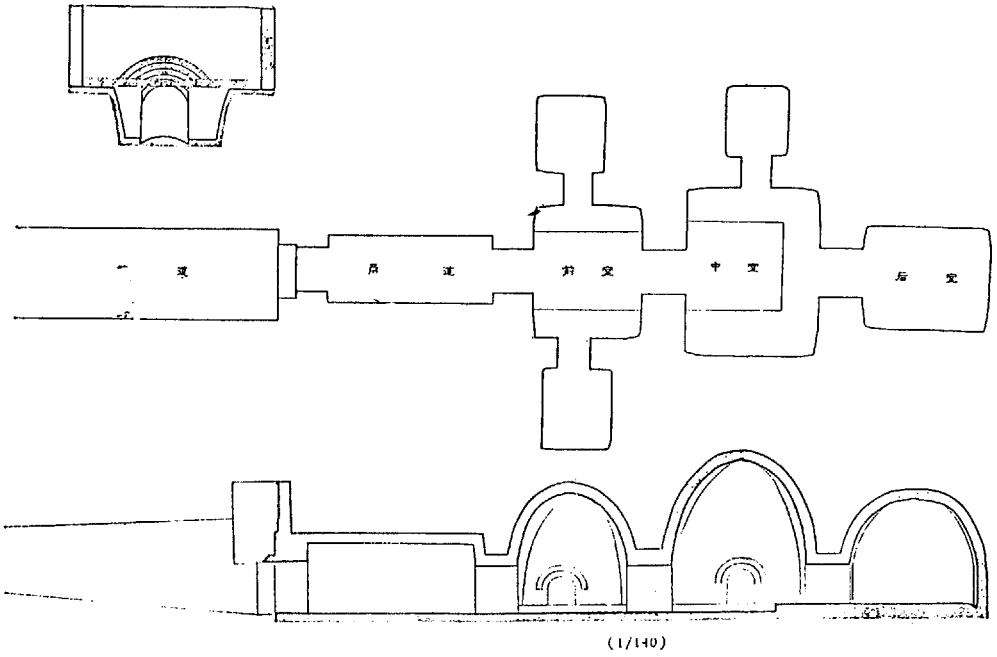


Fig. 1.37 a) Plan and elevation

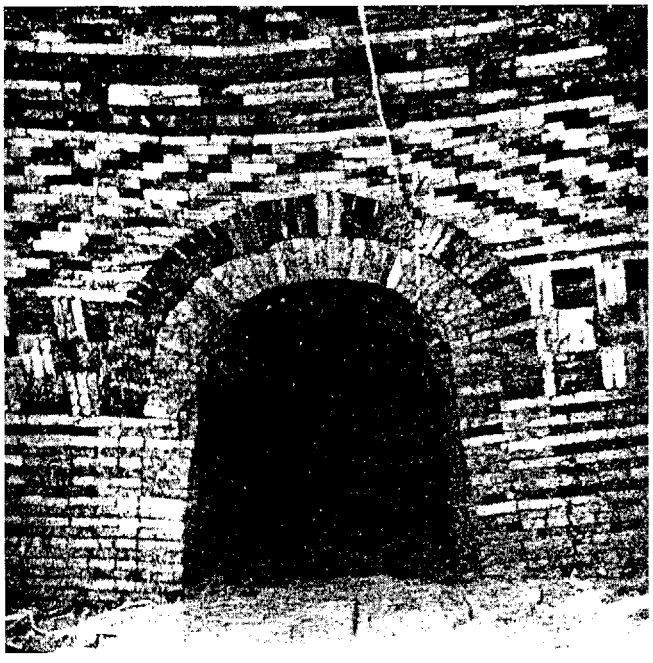


Fig. 1.37 b) Arched opening

Figs. 1.37 a-e Brick tomb in the Lei-t'ai terrace, Wu Wei, Kansu, Later Han, ca. 186-219 A.D. (Figs. a-d after Kansu sheng po-wu-kuan (1974), text Fig. 1 and Pl. 2 Figs. 1,4, and 3)

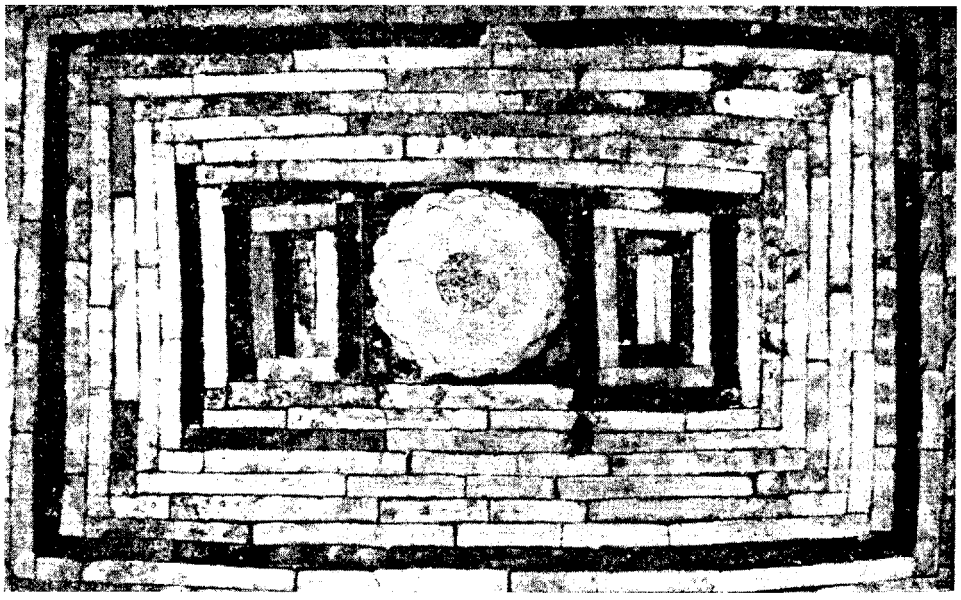


Fig. 1.37 c) Ceiling of rear chamber

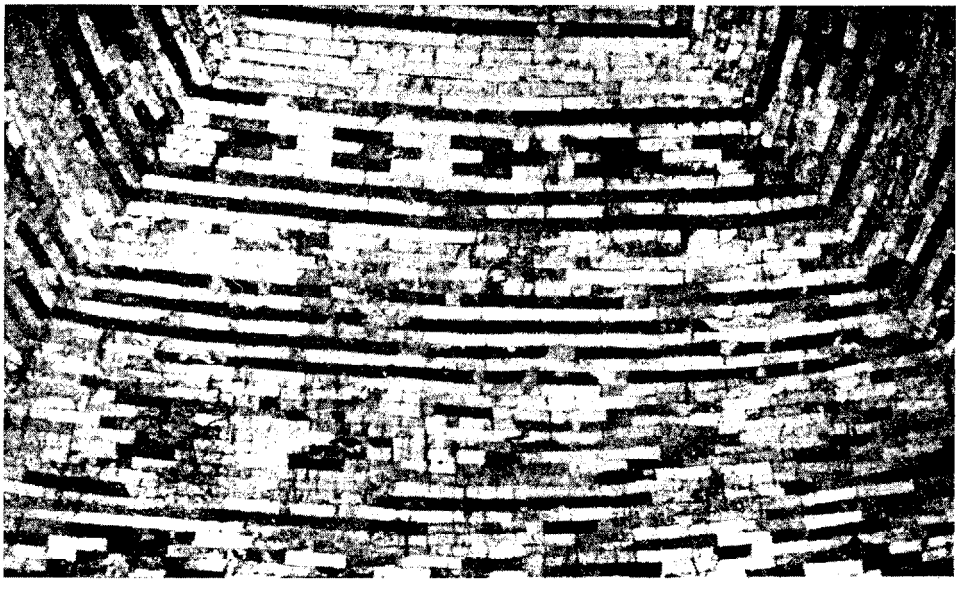


Fig. 1.37 d) Corbelled walls and ceiling of rear chamber, west wall

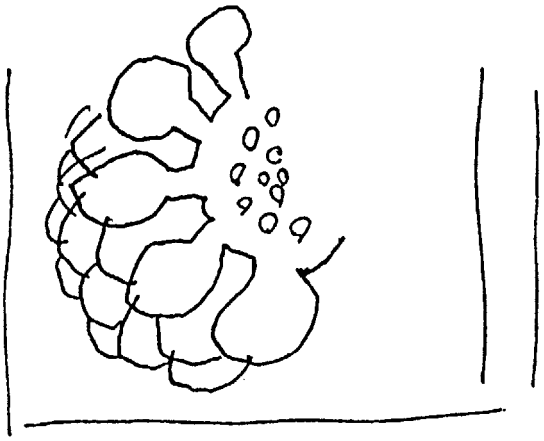


Fig. 1.37 e) Sketch of lotus (M. Rhie)

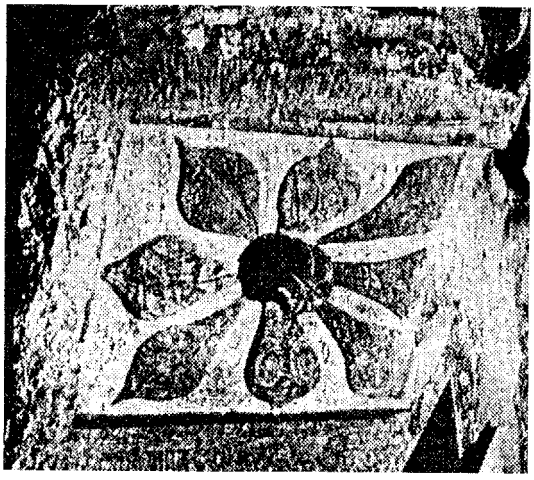


Fig. 1.37 f) Front hall, tomb at I-nan, Shantung

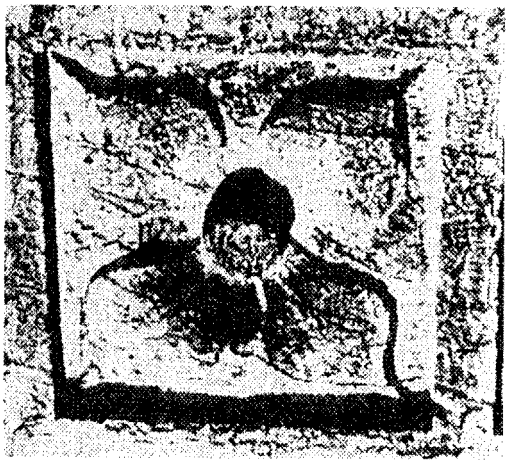


Fig. 1.37 g) Middle room, tomb at I-nan, Shantung

Figs. 1.37 f-i Various Later Han tomb ceilings with lotus design (after Uehara (1994), Figs. 4, 6, 8, 9)

Fig. 1.37 h) Tomb at Chia-hsiang hsien, Sung-shan, Shantung

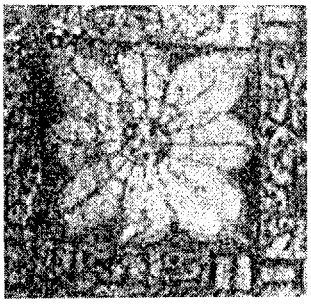
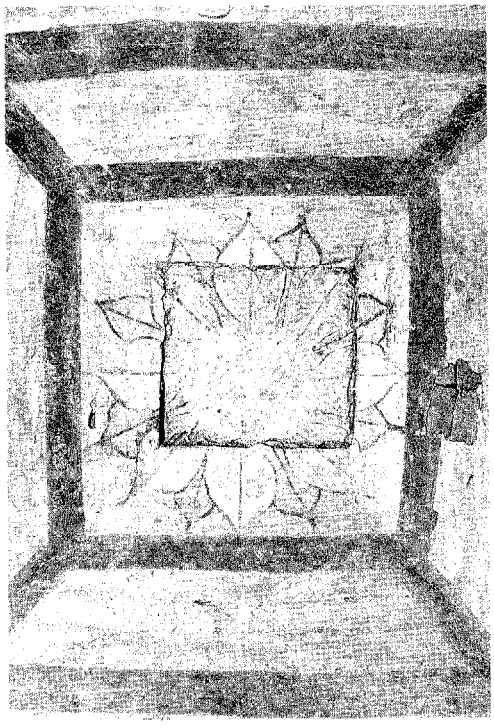
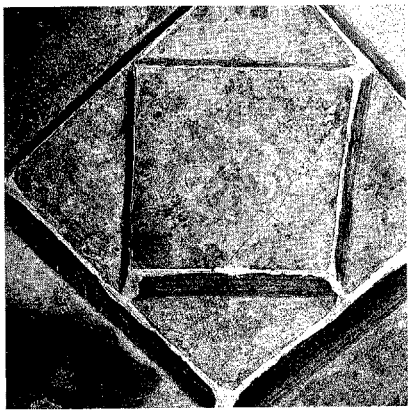


Fig. 1.37 i) Tomb at Mi-hsien, Hopei



j



k

Fig. 1.37 j and k Tomb ceiling with painted lotus. j) Ting-chia-cha Tomb No. 5, Chiu-ch'üan, Kansu, Wei-Chin period ca. 2nd half of 3rd century A.D. (after Kansu sheng po-wu-kuan (1989, p. 29); k) Lanternendecke ceiling of tomb of Tung Shou at Anak, near Pyŏngyang, North Korea, dated 357 A.D. (after Uehara (1994), Color Fig. 3)

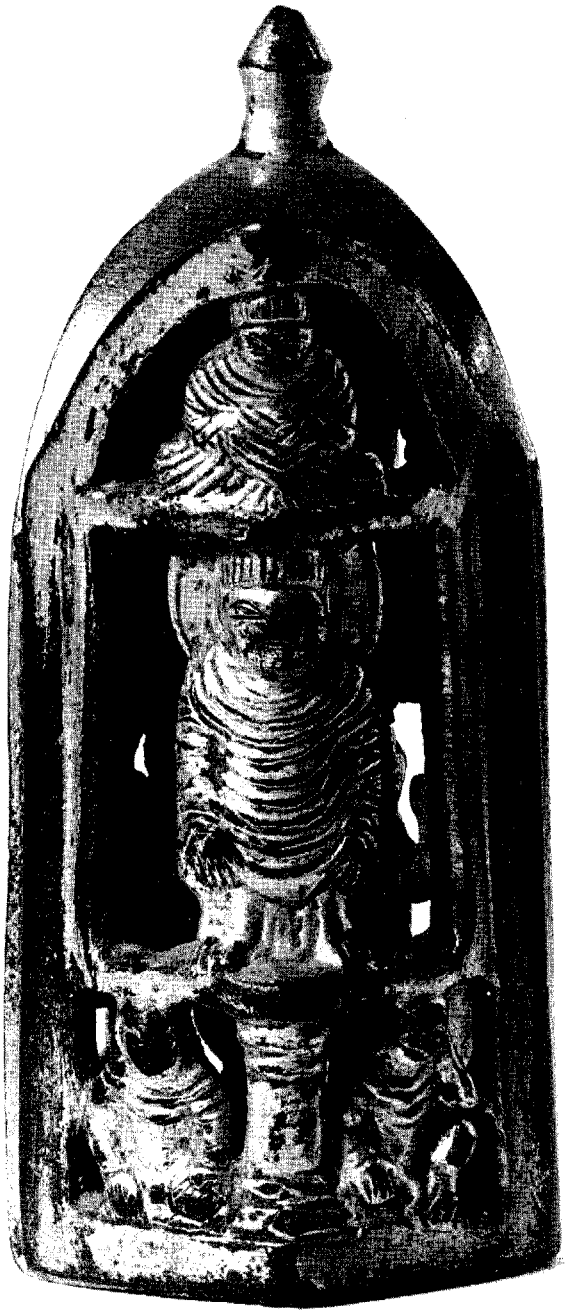


Fig. 1.38 Miniature Buddhist Shrine, front side with standing Buddha, gilt bronze, 2nd-3rd century A.D., H. 3 in., W. 1 1/4 in., courtesy Asian Art Museum, San Francisco, Avery Brundage Collection (B60B745)

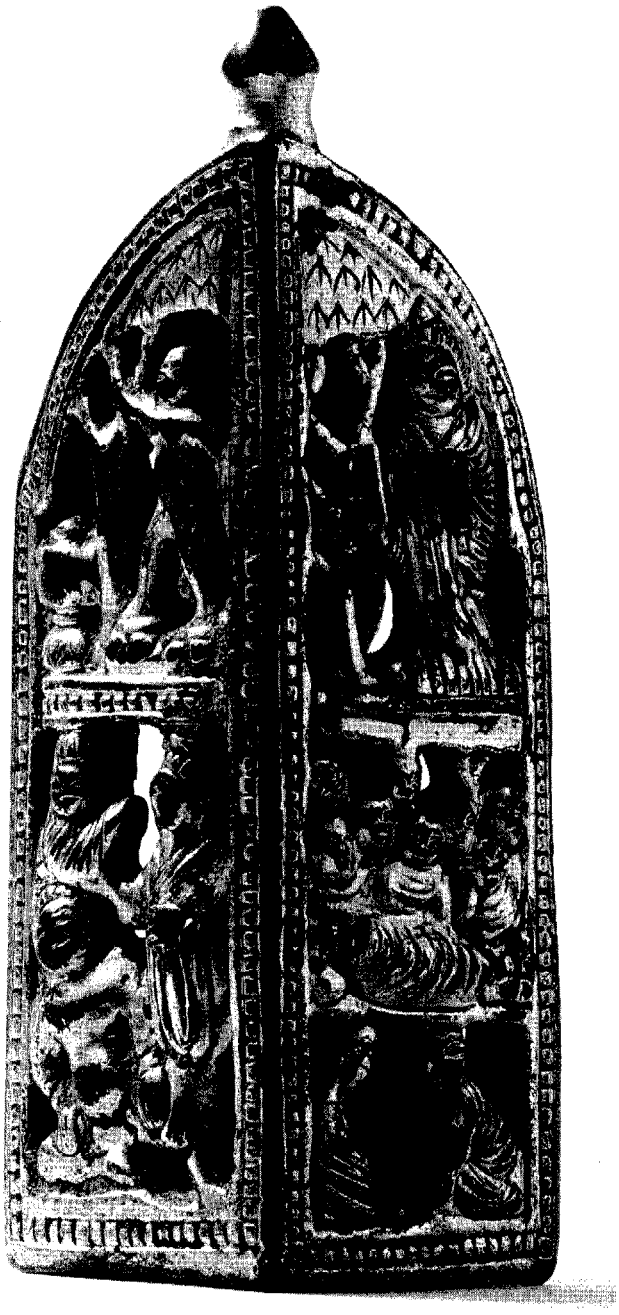


Fig. 1.39 Miniature Buddhist Shrine, back side with Life Scenes, gilt bronze, courtesy Asian Art Museum, San Francisco, Avery Brundage Collection (B60B745)

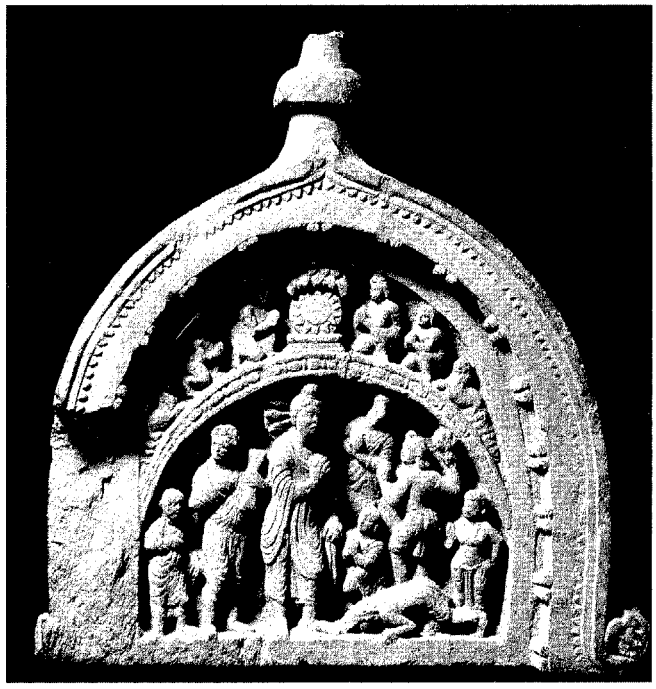


Fig. 1.40 Top of a gable relief, from Gandhāra, Kushana period, ca. 2nd-3rd century A.D. (after Kurita, (1988 and 1990), I, Fig. 6)

Fig. 1.41 Buddhas of the Past and Maitreya, lintel carving, Mathurā, stone, Kushana period, ca. 2nd century A.D. (photo M. Rhie)

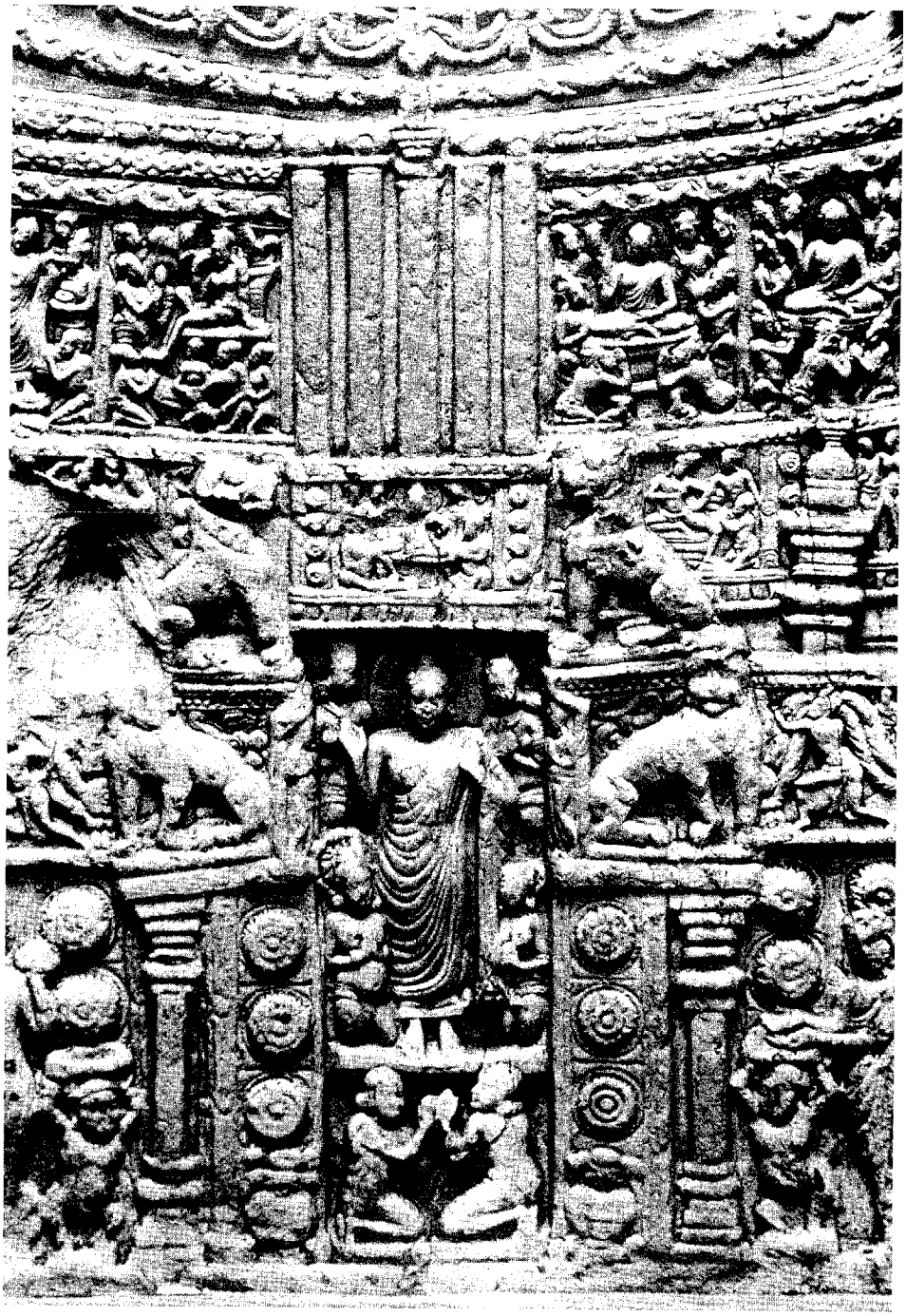


Fig. 1.42 Stupa slab with Buddha and attendants in relief, from Amarāvatī, stone, 2nd century A.D. (after Zimmer (1955), Fig. 98)

Fig. 1.43 a Relief of veiled women, stone, Palmyra, Syria, 1st century A.D., in situ. (after Ghirshman (1962), Fig. 96)

Fig. 1.43 b Relief from the tomb at I-nan, Shantung (after Shih (1959), Fig. 7)

Fig. 1.44 Flame-shouldered Buddha in dhyānāsana, gilded bronze, H. 12 1/2 in., W. in front 9 in. (in back 6 1/8 in.), Wgt. 12 lbs. 2 oz., Grenville L. Winthrop Bequest, Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts (courtesy of the Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Harvard University Art Museums)

Fig. 1.45 Three-quarters view of Fig. 1.44 (courtesy of the Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Harvard University Art Museums)

Fig. 1.46 Charioteer, from near the site of Shih Huang-ti, near Sian, Ch'in Dynasty (220-206 B.C.), bronze, (after *Ch'in Han tiao-su,* p. 30 Fig. 30)

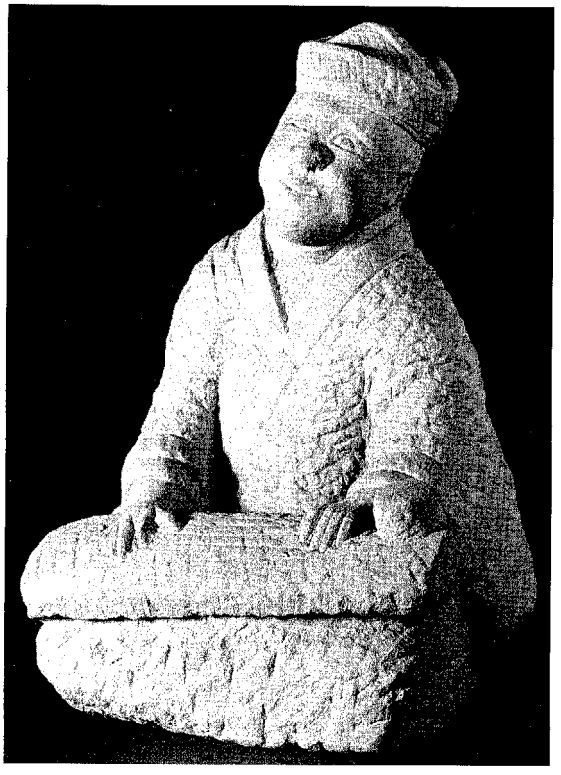


Fig. 1.47 Seated man playing a ch'in (zither), from a tomb in Shuang-fu hsiang, O-mei hsien, central Szechwan, stone, Later Han, H. 22 1/2 inches (55 cm), Szechwan Provincial Museum (after *Ch'in Han tiao-su,* Pl. 99)

Fig. 1.48 Seated Buddha, dated Later Chao Chien-wu 4th year (338 A.D.), gilt bronze, H. 15 1/2 in., Asian Art Museum, San Francisco, Brundage Collection (B60B745)

Fig. 1.49 Seated Buddha with flaming shoulders, from Paitava, Afghanistan, schist stone, H. to joint 41 cm., National Museum of Afghanistan, Kabul (photo Y. Rhie, 1975)

Fig. 1.50 a Seated dhyānāsana Buddha, from Śrāvastī, dated Year 36 (ca. 136 or 213 A.D.), sandstone, Mathurā school, National Museum, New Delhi

Fig. 1.50 b Detail of ceramic vessel (hun-p'ing), Western Chin, 2nd half of 3rd century A.D. (after Ho Yün- ao (1993), Fig. 98 left)

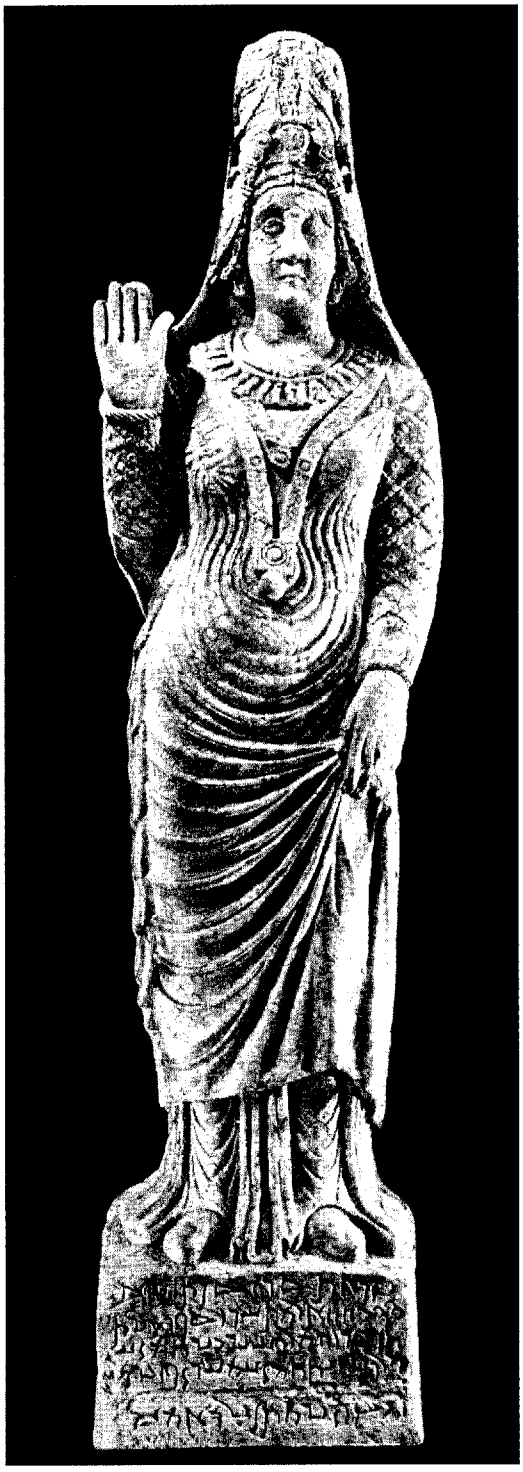


Fig. 1.51 Ubal, daughter of Jabal, from Temple IV, Hatra, Iraq, ca. 137 A.D., stone, H. 5' 7", Baghdad Museum (after Ghirshman (1962), Fig. 106)

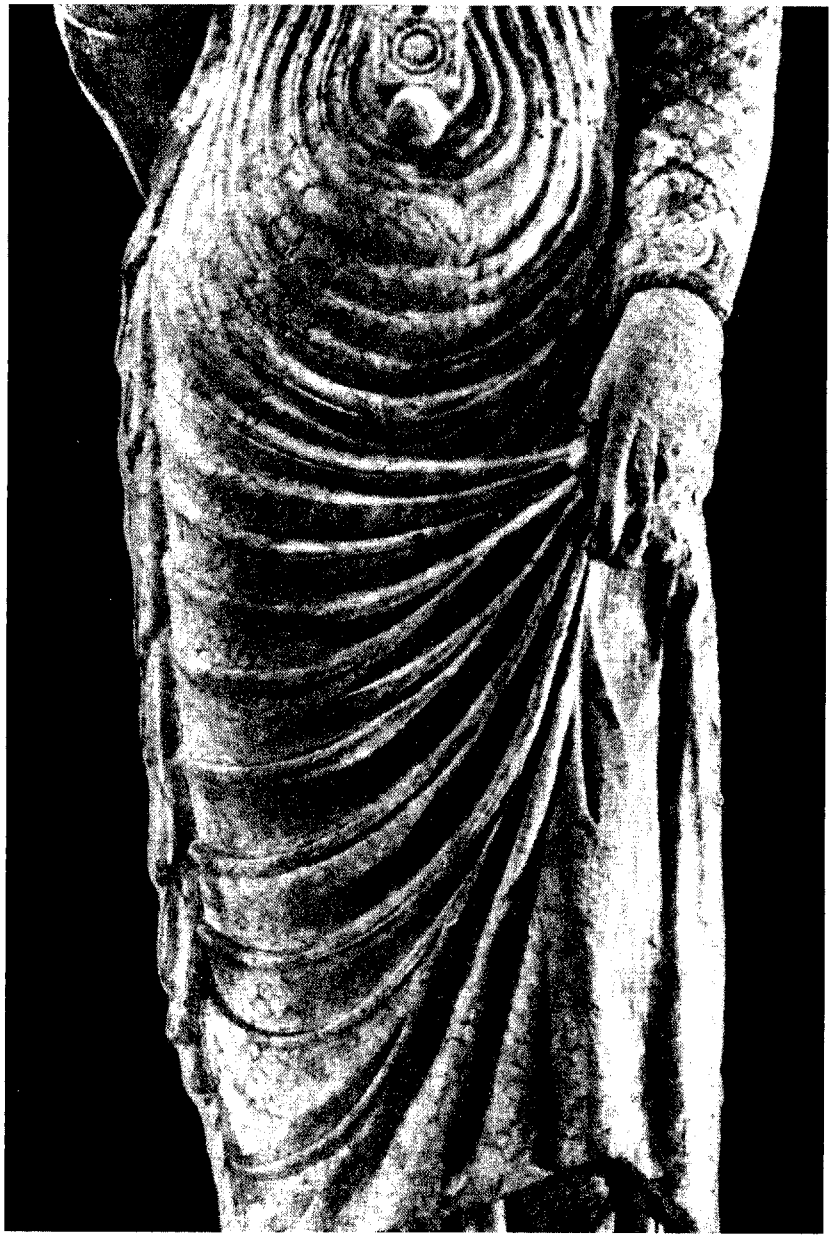


Fig. 1.52 Detail of Fig. 1.51.

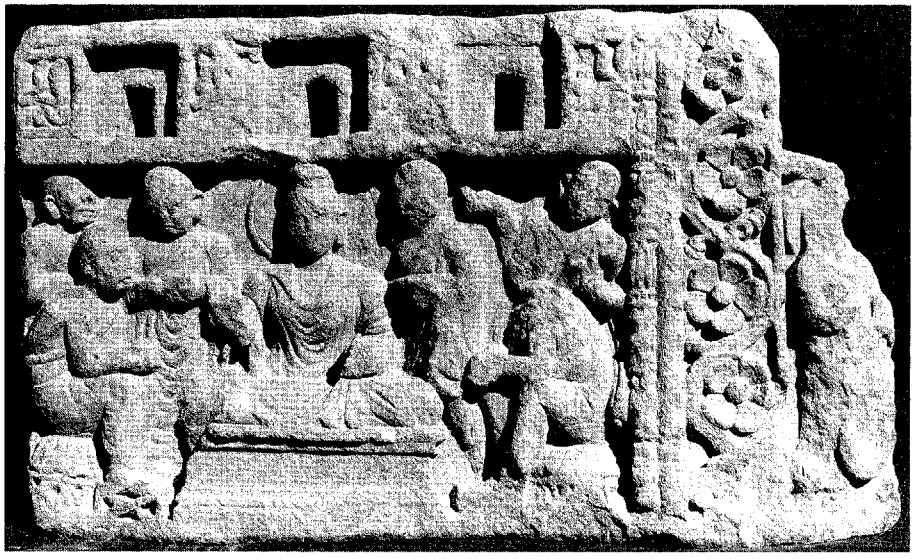
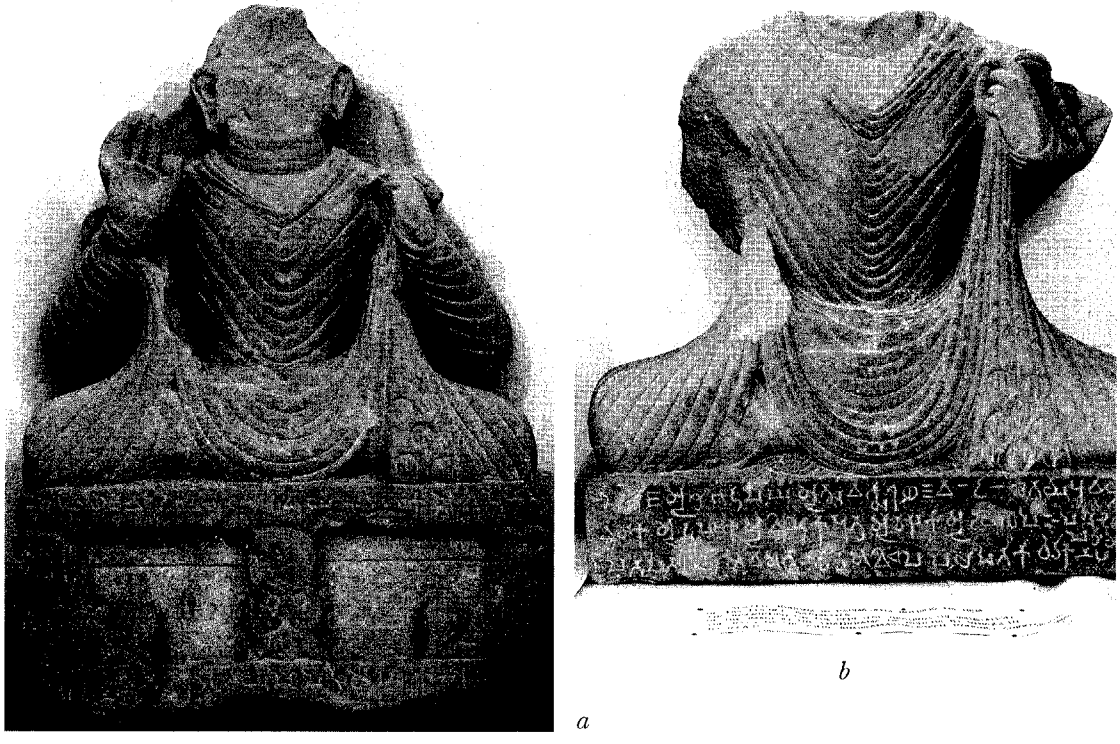


Fig. 1.53 Relief with Buddha and attendants, from Butkara I, Swat, Kushana period, ca. 2nd-3rd century A.D., Swat Museum, Saidu Sharif (photo IsMEO)



b

a

Fig. 1.54 a,b Seated Buddhas from Kauśambī, both dated year 83 (ca. 193 A.D.), stone, University Museum, Allahabad (photos M. Rhie, 1968)

Fig. 1.55 Relief of Cakravartin, dome slab from the stupa, Amarāvatī, 2nd-3rd century A.D., British Museum (after Barrett (1954), Pl. XVII)

Fig. 1.56 Plaque with trees and animals, from Ordos, gilt bronze, 1st century B.C.-1st century A.D. (after *Ch'in Han tiao-su*, Fig. 138)

a

b

Fig. 1.57 a) Reliquary of Kaniṣka, from Shah-ji-ki-Dheri, Gandhāra, bronze, ca. 1st quarter of the 2nd century A.D., H. 7 5/8 in. (after Ingholt and Lyons (1957), Fig. 494); b) Relief of Hsi-wang-mu, from the side of a stone coffin, P'i-hsien, Szechwan, 2nd century A.D. (after James (1995), Fig. 21)

Fig. 1.58 Face of the Harvard Buddha in Fig. 1.44
(courtesy of the Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Harvard University Art Museums)

Fig. 1.59 Head of a warrior, from the palace frieze, Khalchayan, southern Uzbekistan, painted clay, 1st century B.C.-1st century A.D. (after Pugachenkova (1971), Fig. 78)

Fig. 1.60 Detail of male head, furniture leg, from Niya, Shan- shan kingdom, 3rd century A.D., wood, southern Silk Route, eastern Central Asia, now in the British Museum (after Whitfield (1985), Pl. 59)

Fig. 1.61 Three-quarter view of the head of the Harvard Buddha in Fig. 1.44 (courtesy of the Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Harvard University Art Museums)

Fig. 1.62 Head of the warrior with cuirass, from the frieze at the palace, Khalchayan, southern Uzbekistan, painted clay (after Pugachenkova (1971), Fig. 63)

Fig. 1.63 a Bust of a man, so-called "Heraus" (or "Heraios") coin, silver tetradrachm, possibly ca. mid 1st century A.D., private collection, Japan (after Cribb (1993), Fig. 1)

Fig. 1.63 b Warrior from the tomb of Ch'in Shih Huang-ti, near Sian, Ch'in Dynasty, ca. 210 B.C., clay (after *Ch'in Han tiao-su*, Pl. 8)

Fig. 1.64 Top of head and uṣnīṣa of Harvard Buddha in Fig. 1.44 (courtesy of the Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Harvard University Art Museums)

Fig. 1.65 a Side view of the Harvard Buddha in Fig. 1.44 (courtesy of the Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Harvard University Art Museums)

Fig. 1.65 b Side view of a king or prince with pointed cap, from the "king's hall", Buddhist Temple No. 1, Dalverzin-tepe, near Termez, southern Uzbekistan, clay, H. 49.5 cm (after Pugachenkova (1978), Fig. 24)

Fig. 1.66 Back of the Harvard Buddha in Fig. 1.44 (courtesy of the Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Harvard University Art Museums)

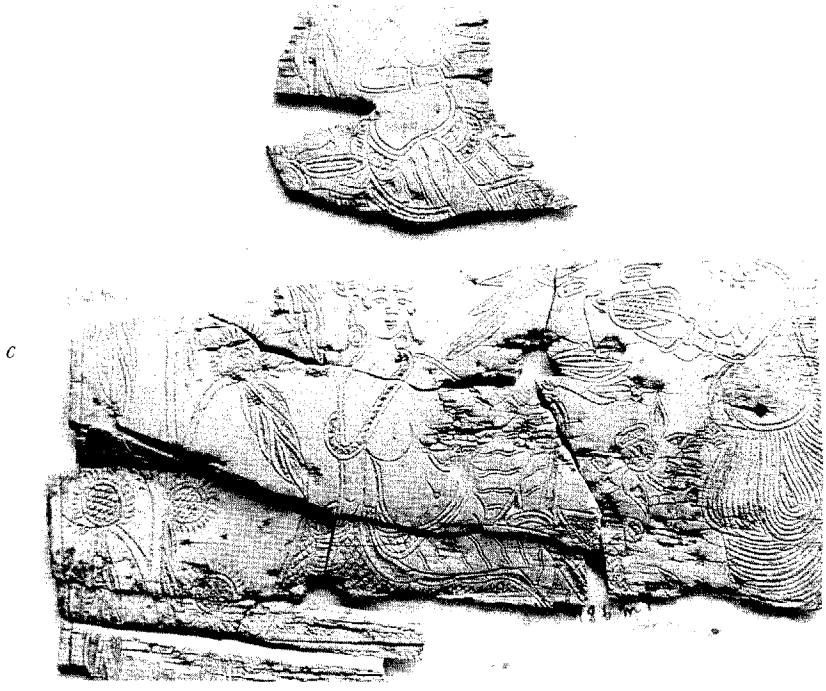
Fig. 1.67 Bottom of the Harvard Buddha in Fig. 1.44 (courtesy of the Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Harvard University Art Museums)

Fig. 1.68 Detail of the right lion, pedestal of the Harvard Buddha in Fig. 1.44 (courtesy of the Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Harvard University Art Museums)

Fig. 1.69 Fragment of a lion pedestal, Gandhāra, stone, H. 8 1/2 in., Lahore Museum (after Ingholt and Lyons (1957), Fig. 457)

a *b*

Fig. 1.70 a, b Clay tiles from the Buddhist monastery at Harwan, Kashmir, ca. 300 A.D.

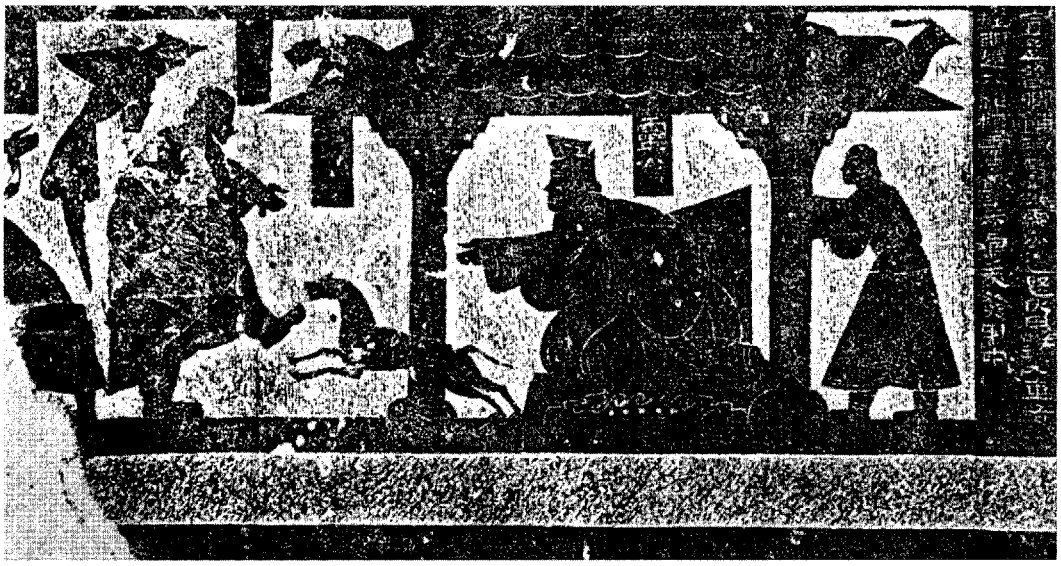


c

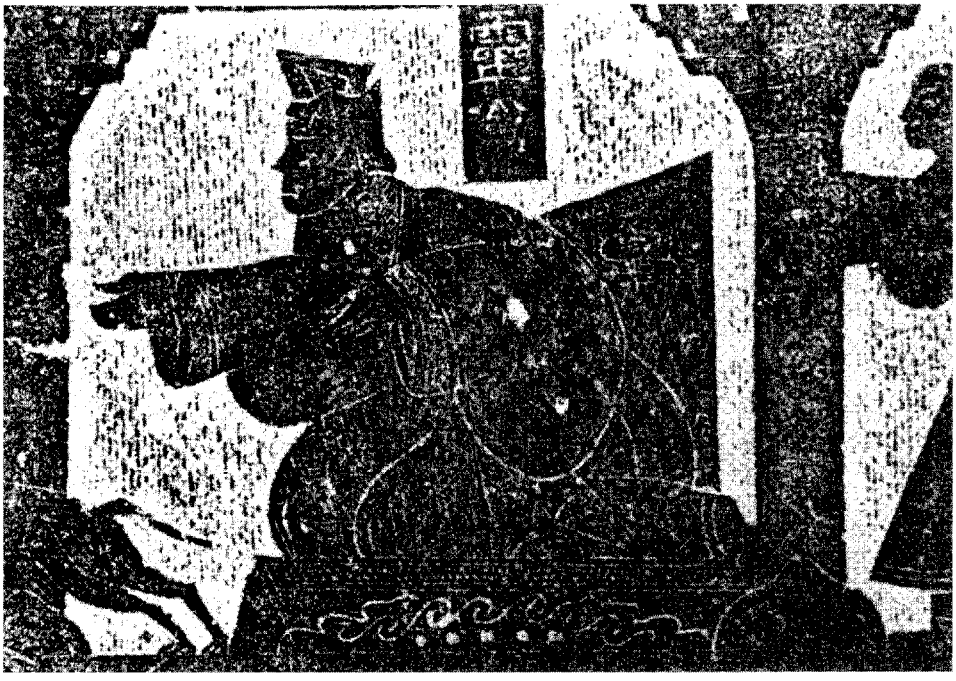
d

Fig. 1.70 c,d Carved ivory, from Begram, Afghanistan, 2nd century A.D., a) women, b) pūrṇaghaṭa (courtesy of the Fine Arts Library, Harvard College Library)

Fig. 1.71 Left Donor, pedestal of Harvard Buddha in Fig. 1.44 (courtesy of the Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Harvard University Art Museums)



a



b

Fig. 1.72 a,b Ink rubbing of a relief, Wu family shrine, Shantung, Later Han Dynasty, 147-167 A.D. (after Powers (1991), Figs. 3 and 4)

Fig. 1.73 Donor with lamp, from Butkara I, Swat, green schist, H. 53 cm., collection of the Wali of Swat, Saidu Sharif, H. 53 cm. (after Faccenna (1962), Part II, 2, Pl. CLIV)

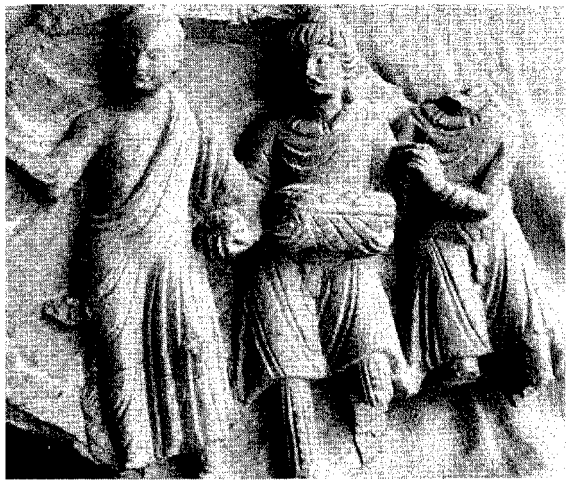


Fig. 1.74 Fragment of a relief showing monk and secular donors, from Sahri-Bahlol, Gandhāra, schist, H. 25 3/4 in., Peshawar Museum (after Rosenfield (1967), Fig. 69)

Fig. 1.75 Relief on an image pedestal showing Buddha, two Bodhisattvas, a monk and lay donor, Gandhāra, Kushana period, ca. 2nd-3rd century A.D., schist, 7 3/4 x 13 1/2 in., Musée Guimet, Paris (after Rosenfield (1967), Fig. 105)

Fig. 1.76 Right Donor, pedestal of the Harvard Buddha in Fig. 1.44 (courtesy of the Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Harvard University Art Museums)

Fig. 1.77 Drawing of the two donors on the pedestal of the Harvard Buddha in Fig. 1.38; a) right donor; b) left donor (drawings by M. Rhie)

Fig. 1.78 Flame-shouldered Buddha from near Kabul, stone, 2nd-3rd century A.D., Indian Museum, Calcutta (after Taddei (1992), Pl. 1)

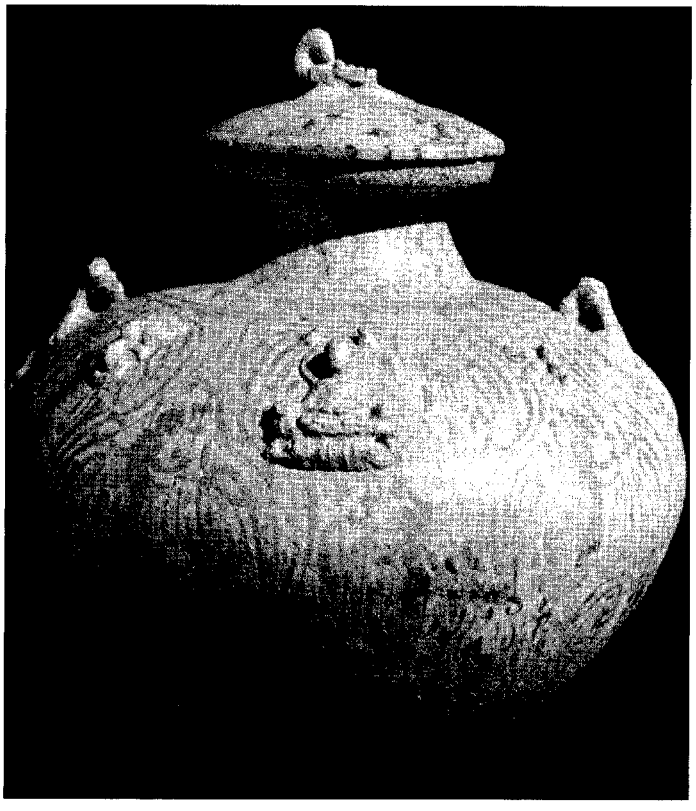
Fig. 1.79 Fragment of Buddha with flame-shoulders and round halo, Gandhāra, Kushana period, ca. 2nd century A.D., Indian Museum, Calcutta (after Taddei (1974), Pl. CLXIII, Fig. 1)

Fig. 1.80 Standing Buddha with flaming shoulders, Mathurā, ca. 3rd-4th century A.D., buff sandstone (after Sharma (1995), Fig. 114)

Fig. 2.1 Shards of Buddhas, clay (mould), from Nanking, Wu kingdom, dated 273 A.D., H. 4.2-4.5 cm (after Ho Yün-ao (1993), Fig. 36)

Fig. 2.2 Vessel with Buddha motif, Yüeh ware, Wu kingdom, from Shao-hsing, Kiangsu, H. 11.6 cm (after Ho Yün-ao (1993), Fig. 46)

Fig. 2.3 Vessel with Buddha, Yüeh ware, Western Chin, from Sheng hsien, Chekiang, H. 18.3 cm (after Ho Yün- ao (1993), Fig. 48)



a

Fig. 2.4 a,b Vessel with Buddha, Yüeh ware, from a late Wu kingdom to early Western Chin tomb, Nanking, Kiangsu, H. 32.1 cm (Ho Yün-ao (1993), Fig. 38)

Fig. 2.4 b

Fig. 2.5 Hun-p'ing funerary urn, from Kao-ch'ang Tomb No. 1, Nanking, late Three Kingdoms-early Western Chin, Yüch ware, H. 42 cm, History Museum, Beijing (photo: M. Rhie).

Fig. 2.6 Hun-p'ing funerary urn, from Wu-hsien, Kiangsu, early Western Chin, Yüeh ware, History Museum, Beijing (photo: M. Rhie).

Fig. 2.7 Hun-p'ing funerary urn, Western Chin, Yüeh ware, H. 45.4 cms., The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Charlotte C. and John C. Weber Collection, New York.

Fig. 2.8 a) full view

Fig. 2.8 a,b Hun-p'ing funerary urn, inscribed date Western Chin t'ai-kang 9th year (288 A.D.), Hang chou Municipal Museum (photo: Robert Maeda, 1975).

Fig. 2.8 b) detail of seated Buddha figures

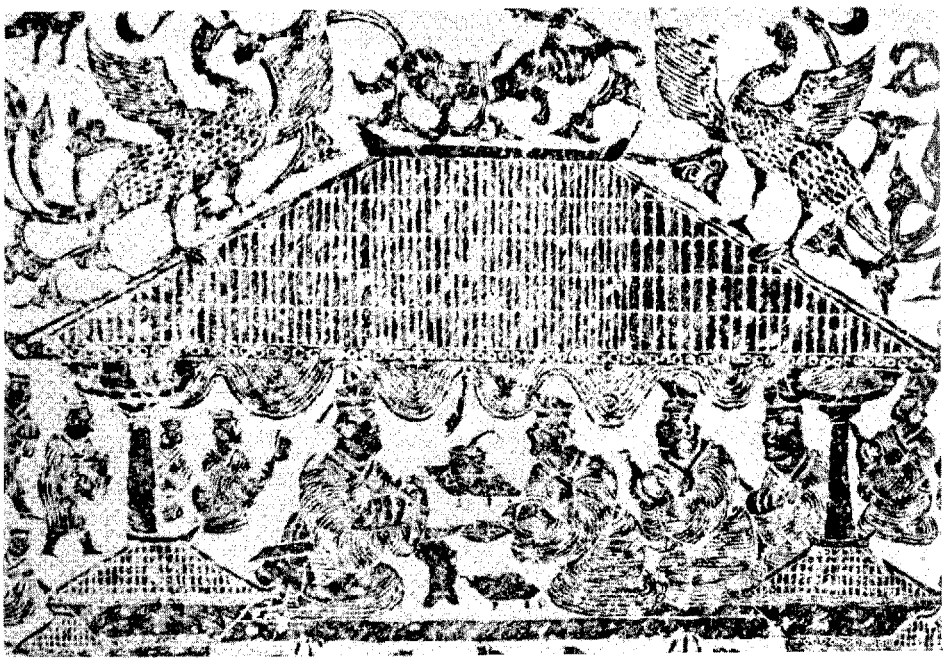


Fig. 2.9 a,b Social Gathering (ink rubbing), from shrine at T'ung shan, Hung-lou (near Hsü chou), Kiangsu, 2nd century A.D., Hsü chou Municipal Museum (after Powers (1991), Figs. 84 and 85). a) full view; b) detail.

Fig. 2.9 b

Fig. 2.10 a Buddha, Yüeh ware ceramic sherd, Western Chin, The British Museum, London, Given by A.D. Brankston [OA 1938.4-12.1] (photo: M. Rhie)

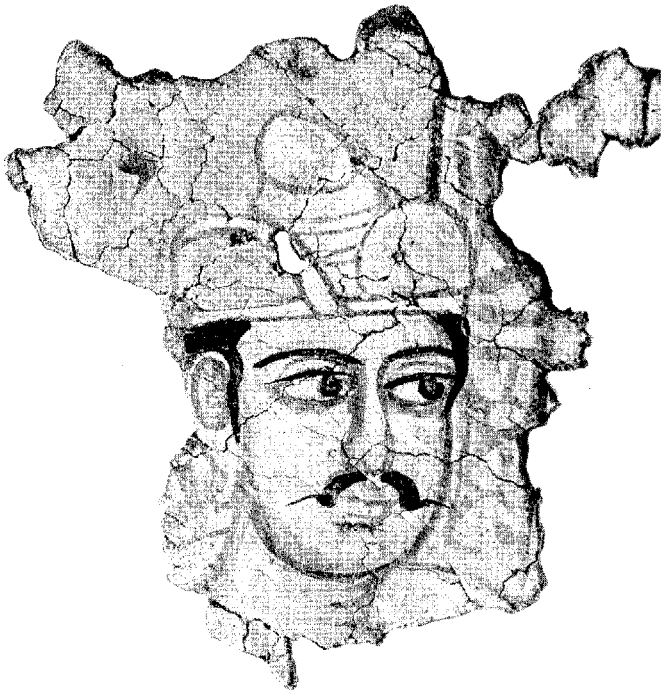


Fig. 2.10 b Head of a man, fragment of a wall painting from Miran, M III, Shan-shan kingdom, eastern Central Asia, 3rd century A.D., H. 6 1/2" (after Andrews (1920), Pl. 2, M.III.0031)

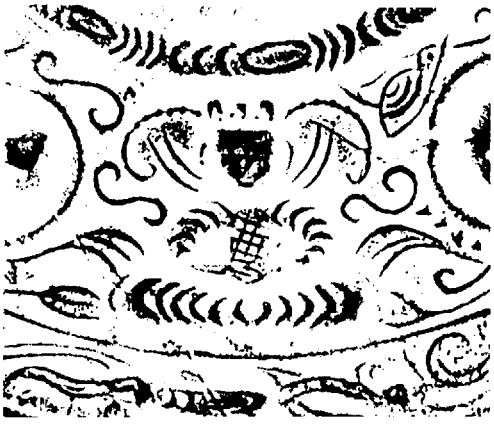
Fig. 2.11 Dhyānāsana Buddha, bronze, from Jauliāñ, cell 21, Taxila, 2nd-4th century, H. 3.62", (courtesy of the Fine Arts Library, Harvard College Library)

Fig. 2.12 a,b,c Shen-shou bronze mirror with triangular rim (Type A) from a tomb in Shinyama, Nara Prefecture, Japan; (a) after Higuchi (1979), Fig. 245; b) and c) after Mizuno and Nagahiro (1953), Fig. 4. a) full view; b) rubbing of Buddha figure; c and d) rubbing of Hsi-wang mu and Tung-wang kung

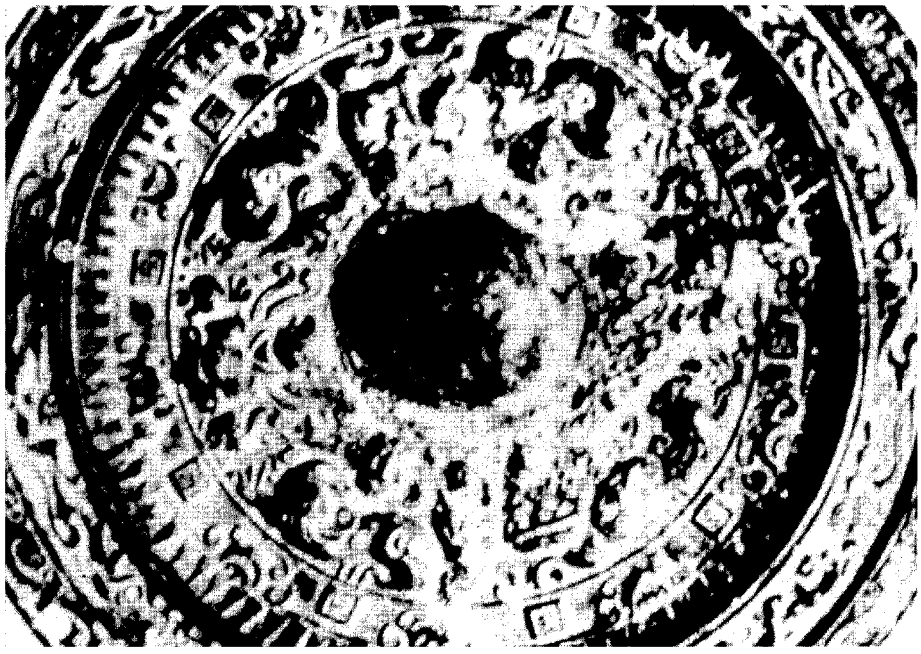
b

c

d



a



b

Fig. 2.13 Shen-shou bronze mirror with flat rim (Type B), from E-ch'eng (the Han-hsi public road), Hupei, Wu kingdom (220-280), Dia. 15 cm (after Wu Hung (1986), Fig. 35 and detail. a) full view; b) detail of Buddha and attendant

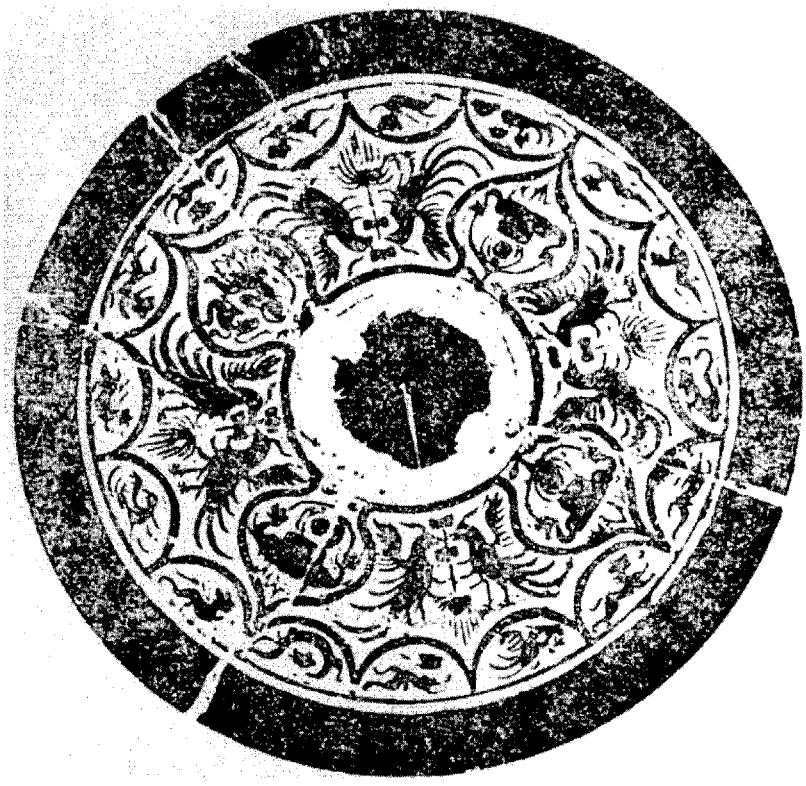


Fig. 2.14 K'uei-feng bronze mirror with Buddhas and Contemplative Bodhisattva, from E-ch'eng (Wu-li-tun factory area), Hupei, Dia., 16.4 cm (after Wu Hung (1986), Fig. 41)

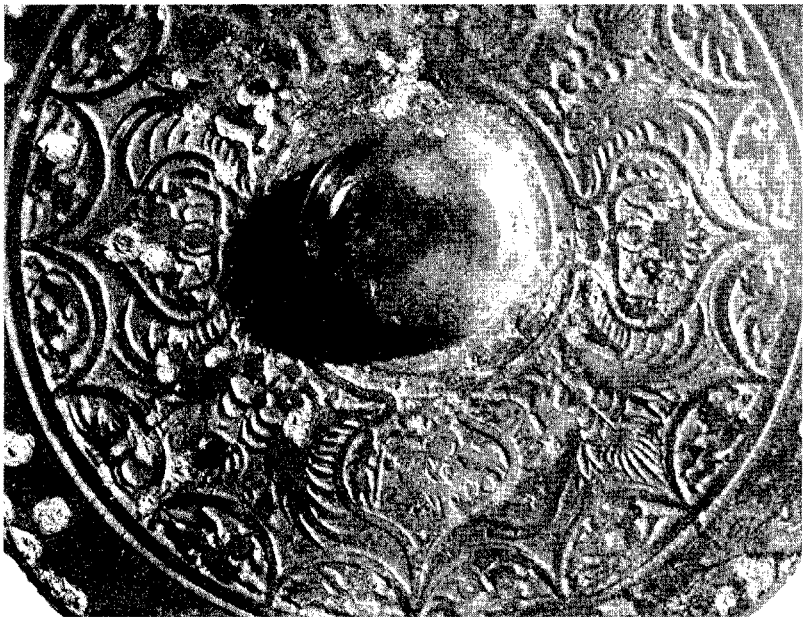
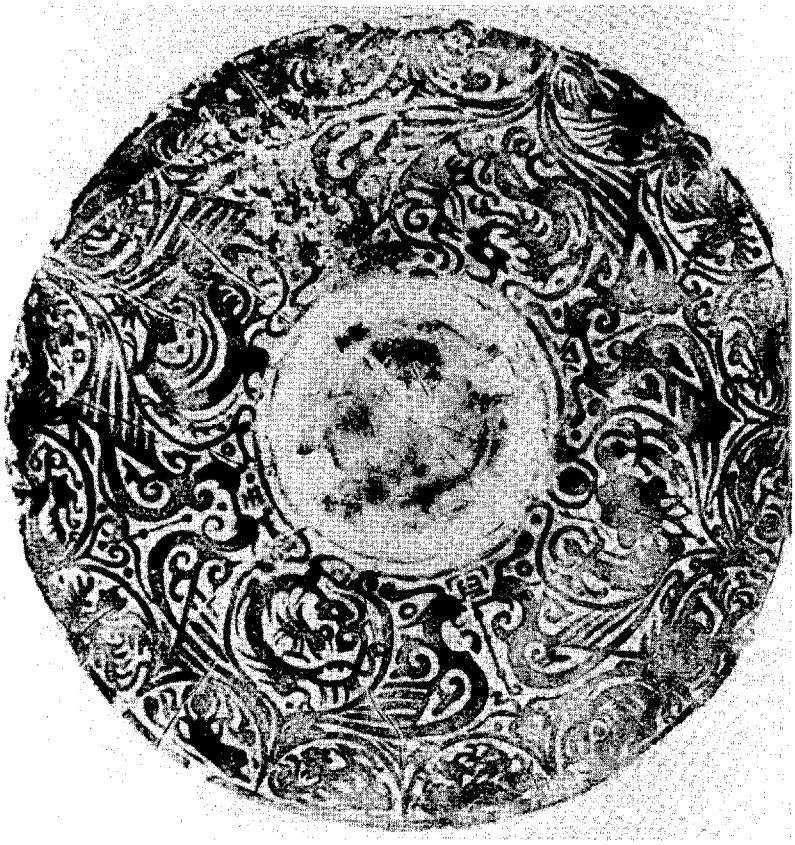
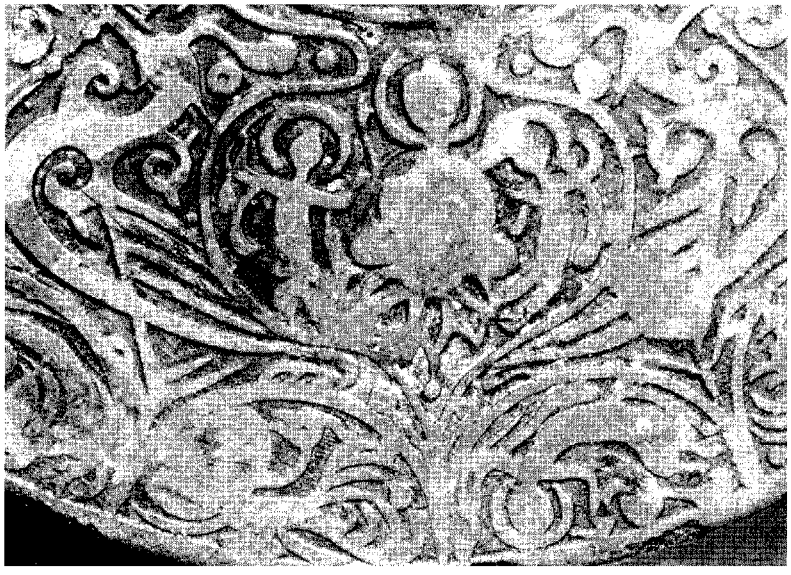


Fig. 2.15 K'uei-feng bronze mirror with Buddhas and Contemplative Bodhisattva, Wu kingdom, Dia. 14.3 cm, Tokyo National Museum (after Wu Hung (1986), Fig. 37)



a



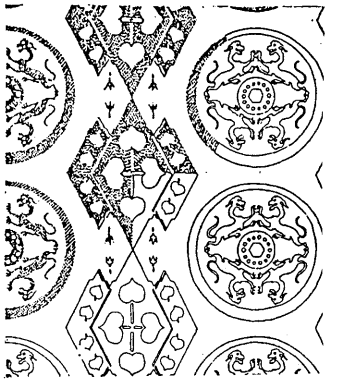
b

Fig. 2.16 a,b K'uei-feng bronze mirror with Buddhas and apsaras, Wu kingdom, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (after Wu Hung (1986), Fig. 38 and detail. a) full view; b) detail of Buddha triad and apsaras on rim

a

2.17 a K'uei-feng bronze mirror with one seated Buddhalike figure on a lotus, discovered in 1975 at E-ch'eng (ts'ai-ch'ui), Hupei, W. Chin period, Dia. 14.2 cm, now in Hupei province E-chou City Museum (after Ho Yün-ao (1993), Fig. 24)

b



c

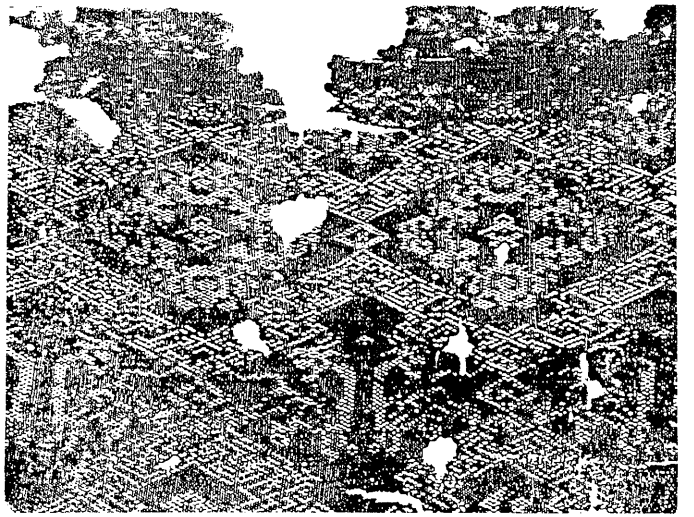
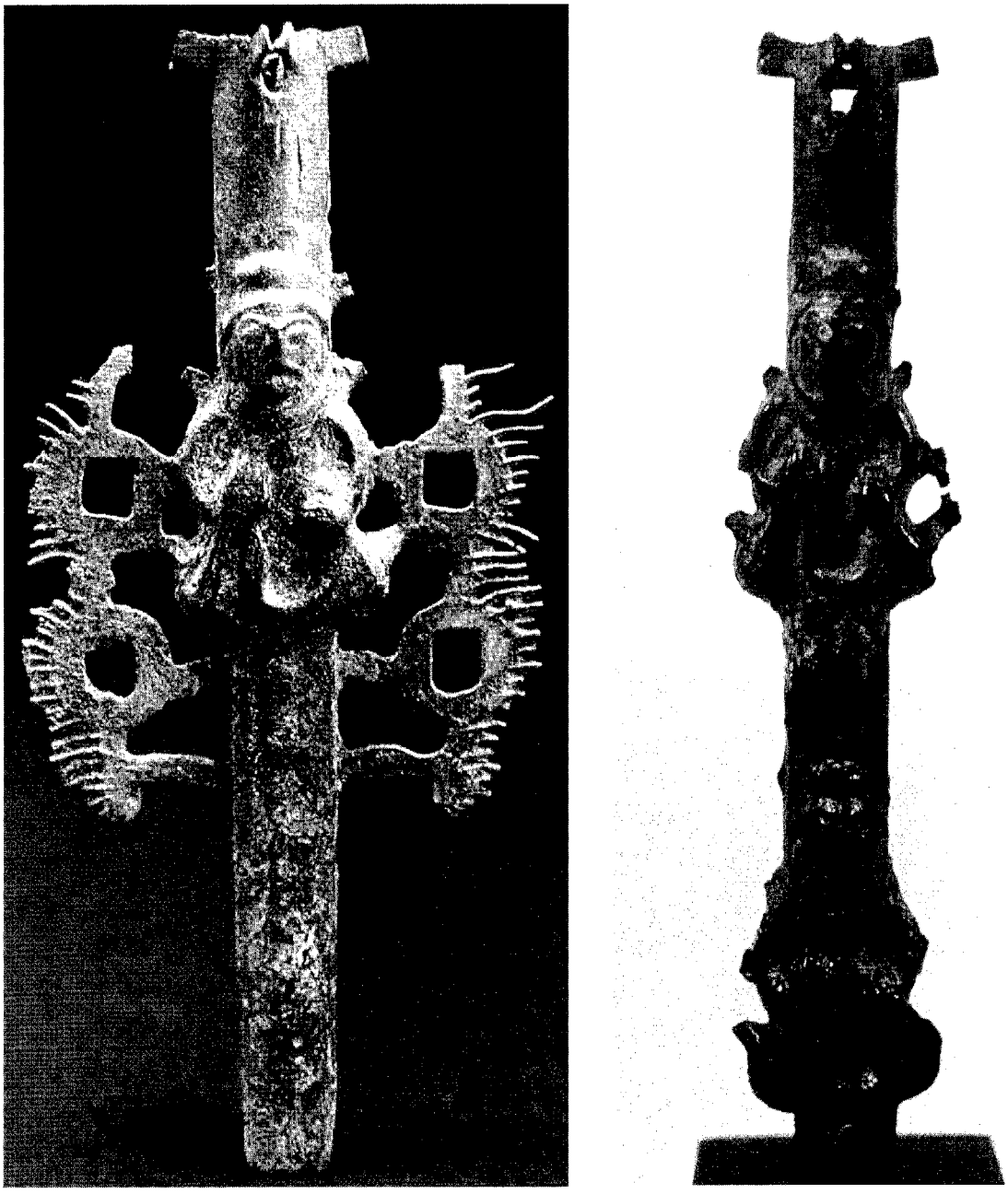


Fig. 2.17 b,c Chinese silk from Palmyra, Syria, destroyed 272 A.D., present location unkown (after Colledge (1976), text Figs. 8 and 9). b) animal roundels and lozenges (drawing), olive green; c) lozenges and beasts, blue on beige



a *b*

Fig. 2.18 a,b Small Buddhas in abhayā-mudrā, bronze money trees, Three Kingdoms, Shu Han (217-264), Szechwan. a) money tree from Tomb No. 14, Chung hsien (after Ho Yün-ao (1993), Fig. 10); b) fragment of a money tree, probably from Szechwan, total height 18.3 cm, private collection, Japan (after Ho Yün-ao (1993), Fig. 15)

Fig. 2.19 Buckle with figure of a Bodhisattva, from the Chiao-wei P'eng Lu tomb (No. 475) at the Lien-ch'i ssu, Wu-ch'ang, Hupei, Three Kingdoms (Wu) dated Yung-an 5th year (262 A.D.), gilt bronze, H. 4.9 [or 3.05] x W. 3.1 cm, now in the Hupei Provincial Museum (after *Wei Chin Nan-pei ch'ao tiao-su*, Fig. 3)

Fig. 2.20 Painting on a brick, from Tomb No. 5, Chiu-ch'üan [Chia-yü-kuan], Kansu, Three Kingdoms (Wei) to 16 Kingdoms Period, 16 x 35 cm, now Kansu sheng po-wu-kuan (after *Yüan-shih she-hui chih Nan-pei ch'ao hui-hua*, Pl. 89).

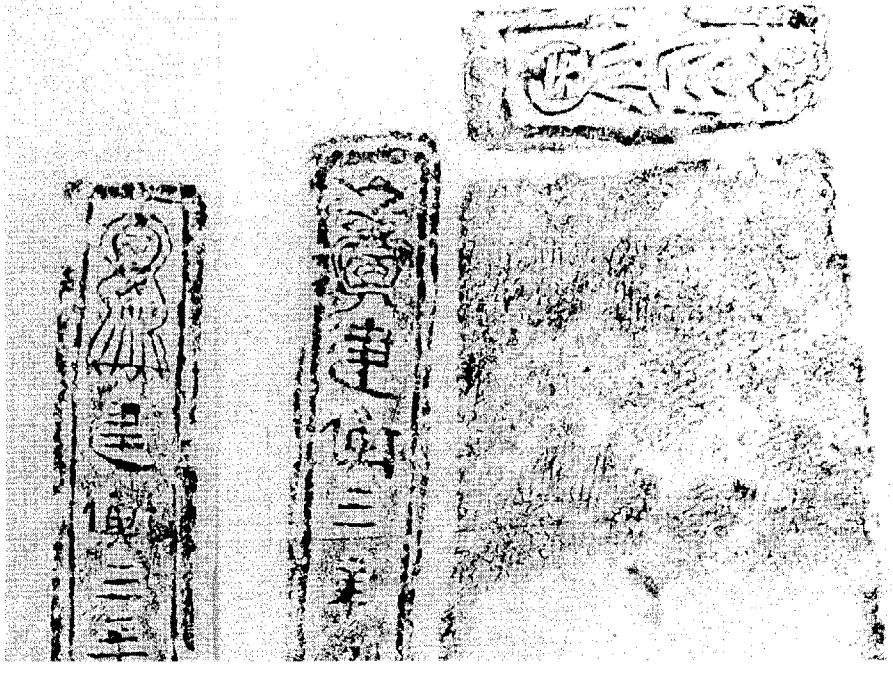
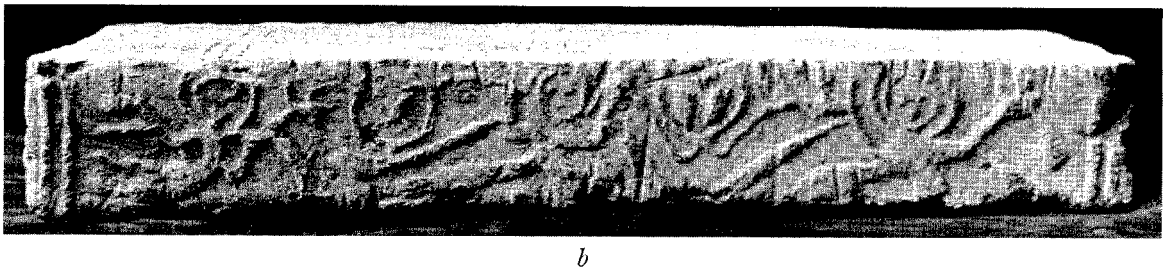


Fig. 2.21 Brick with standing Buddha figures, from Shao-hsing, Chekiang, Wu kingdom, dated 271 A.D. 22 x 12 x 4.7 cm (after Ho Yün-ao (1993), Fig. 4)

a



b

Fig. 2.22 a,b Brick with Buddhas and apsaras figures, from Hsü-i hsien, Kiangsu, Western Chin, 288 A.D., 36 x 17 x 6 cm, now in Lin-hai hsien Library (after Ho Yün- ao (1993), Figs. 5 and 6). a) front face with three Buddhas; b) side with three apsaras figures

Fig. 2.23 Brick tile with figure holding vessel and crescent moon (Maitreya Bodhisattva?), from P'ing- an, Ch'ing-hai, Three Kingdoms, 16 x 20 x 20 cm (after *Han T'ang ssu-ch'ou chih-lu wen-wu ching-hua,* No. 45)

Fig. 2.24 Detail from the crossbar of a torana, from Mathurā, sandstone, mid-1st century A.D., Government Museum, Mathurā (after Iwamiya (1989), Vol. I, Fig. 90)

Fig. 2.25 Standing figure, possibly a Buddha, pottery, from Chung hsien, Szechwan, Shu Han (221-264), H. 52 cm (after Ho Yün-ao (1993), Fig. 108)

Fig. 2.26 a,b,c Buddha in dhyānāsana, gilt bronze, H. 13.5 cm., Tokyo National Museum, Tokyo (after Matsubara (1966), Pl. 5, a,b,c). a) front view

Fig. 2.26 b) side view

Fig. 2.26c) back view

Fig. 2.27 Detail of the Buddha from a money tree, end of Later (Eastern) Han, bronze, Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto

a

b

Fig. 2.28 a,b, Seated Buddha, dated 338 A.D., Later Chao, gilt bronze, H. 15 1/2", Asian Art Museum, San Francisco, Avery Brundage Collection (B60B745). a) side view; b) back view

Fig. 2.29 Buddha in abhayā-mudrā, gilt bronze, H. 20 cm., formerly in the Fujiki collection (present whereabouts unknown) (after Matsubara (1966), Pl. 3a)

Fig. 2.30 a Seated Buddha in abhayā-mudrā, from Anyor, dated Year 51 (ca. 151-161 A.D.), Government Museum, Mathurā (after Van Lohcuizen-De Leeuw (1949), Fig. 39 where it is dated ca. 129 A.D. following 78 A.D. as first year of Kaniṣka)

Fig. 2.30 b Seated Buddha in dhyāna-mudrā, from the banks of the Yamunā River, Mathurā, Government Museum, Mathurā (No. 42.2929) (after Sharma (1984), Fig. 120)

Fig. 2.30 c Fragment of a seated Buddha, green schist, from Butkara I (Saidu Sharif I), H. 125 cm (after Faccenna (1962 and 1964), II,2, Pl. LXXXIII a)

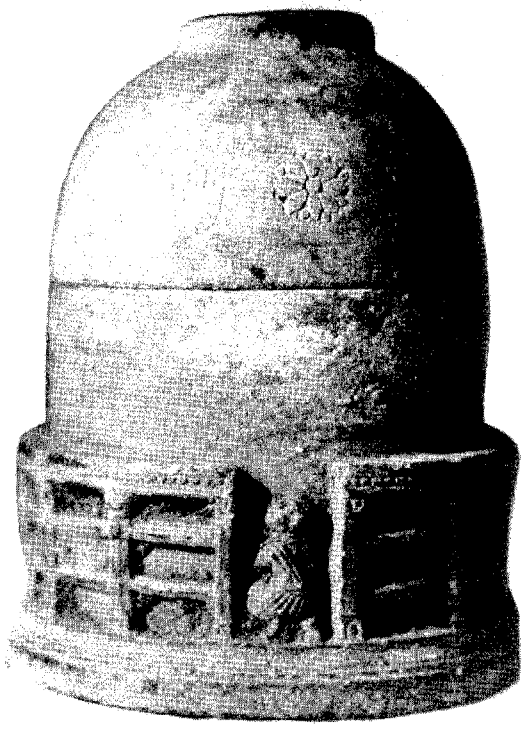


Fig. 2.31 Small stupa, green schist, private collection, Japan (after Kurita (1988 and 1990), II, Fig. 804)

a

Fig. 2.32 a-g Standing Bodhisattva, probably Maitreya, gilt bronze, H. 33.3 cm, said to come from San-yüan hsien, Shensi, Fujii Yūrinkan Museum, Kyoto. a) front view (after *Nihon Bukkyō bijutsu no genryū*, I, Color Pl. 3)

Fig. 2.32 b) three-quarter view (after *Kodai Chūgoku no bi: Butsuzō*, p. 35)

Fig. 2.32 c) left side view (photo: M. Rhie)

Fig. 2.32 d) three-quarter's back view (photo: M. Rhie)

Fig. 2.32 e) right side view (photo: M. Rhie)

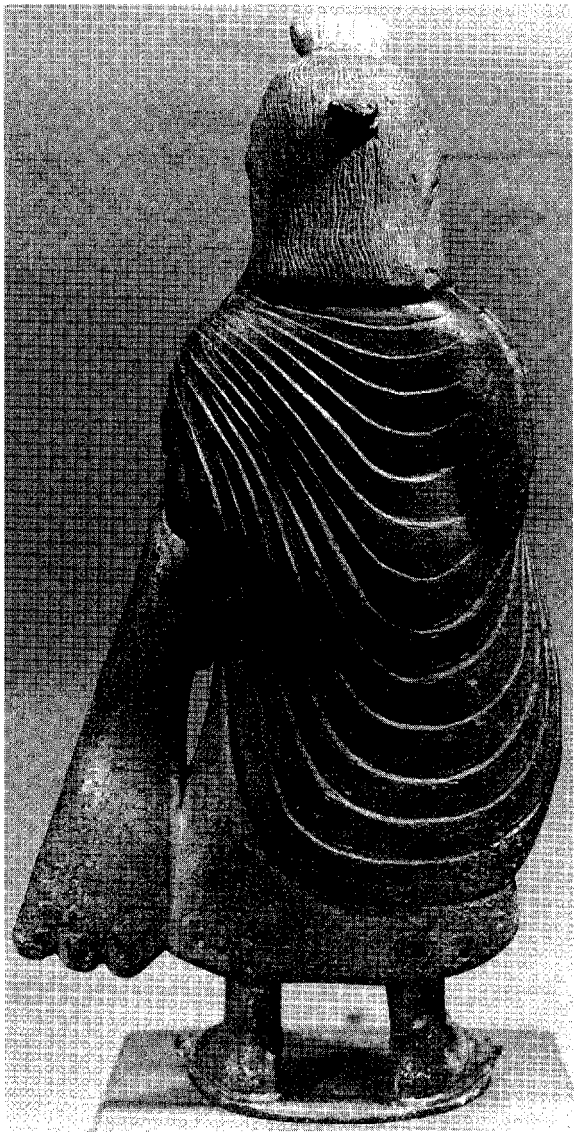


Fig. 2.32 f) back view

Fig. 2.32 g) bottom (after *Nihon Bukkyō bijutsu no genryū*, I, No. 3)

Fig. 2.32 h) Standing Buddha, gilt bronze, ca. first half of the 4th century A.D., H. 15.8 cm, Kyoto National Museum (after Matsubara (1966), P. 3b)

Fig. 2.33 Detail of kneeling female figure from a bronze lamp, Former Han period (after *Ch'in Han tiao-su*, Fig. 79)

Fig. 2.34 Fragment of a a wall hanging with group of horsemen, woolen cloth embroidered in satin stitch with white, yellow, green and purple wool, from Tomb No. 6, Noin Ulla, Mongolia, ca. late 1st century B.C.-early 1st century A.D. (after Umehara (1960), Pl. 1)

Fig. 2.35 Standing Bodhisattva, schist, Kushana Period, from Gandhāra, now Peshawar Museum (photo: M. Rhie)

Fig. 2.36 Brahmins, from the Viśvāntara-Jātaka frieze, wall painting, Miran M III, eastern Central Asia, Shan- shan kingdom, ca. mid-3rd century A.D., (after Stein (1921), I, Fig. 138)

Fig. 2.37 Scene with two male seated figures, wall painting from Miran, M III, ca. mid 3rd century A.D., eastern Central Asia, Shan-shan kingdom, National Museum, New Delhi (after Bussagli (1963), p. 22)

Fig. 2.38 Upper body of Fig. 2.32 (photo: M. Rhie)

Fig. 2.39 Head of a male, from the King's Room, Toprak Kala, Khorezm, Transoxiana, western Central Asia, clay mixed with alabaster powder and polychromed, ca. 3rd century A.D. (after Belenitski (1968), Fig. 51)

Fig. 2.40 Female in garland swag, wall painting from Miran, M V, mid 3rd century A.D., eastern Central Asia, Shan-shan kingdom (after Bussagli (1963), p. 25)

Fig. 2.41 Seated Maitreya Bodhisattva, from Shotorak, Afghanistan, 2nd-3rd century A.D., stone, H. 22 1/2", Kabul Museum (photo: Y. Rhie)

Fig. 2.41 a Fragment of a male worshipper, relief, green schist, from Butkara I, Swat, H. 19 cm (after Faccenna (1962 and 1964), II,2, Pl. CLXXVa)

Fig. 2.41 b Detail of the prince in the Viśvāntara-Jātaka, Miran M III, eastern Central Asia, Shan-shan kingdom, ca. mid 3rd century A.D. (after Stein (1921), I, Fig. 137)

Fig. 2.43 Gable with preaching Buddha, Maitreya Bodhisattva (above) and Seven Buddhas of the Past with Maitreya Bodhisattva (below), Gandhāra, schist, ca. 2nd- 3rd century A.D. (after Kurita (1988 and 1990), II, Fig. 294)

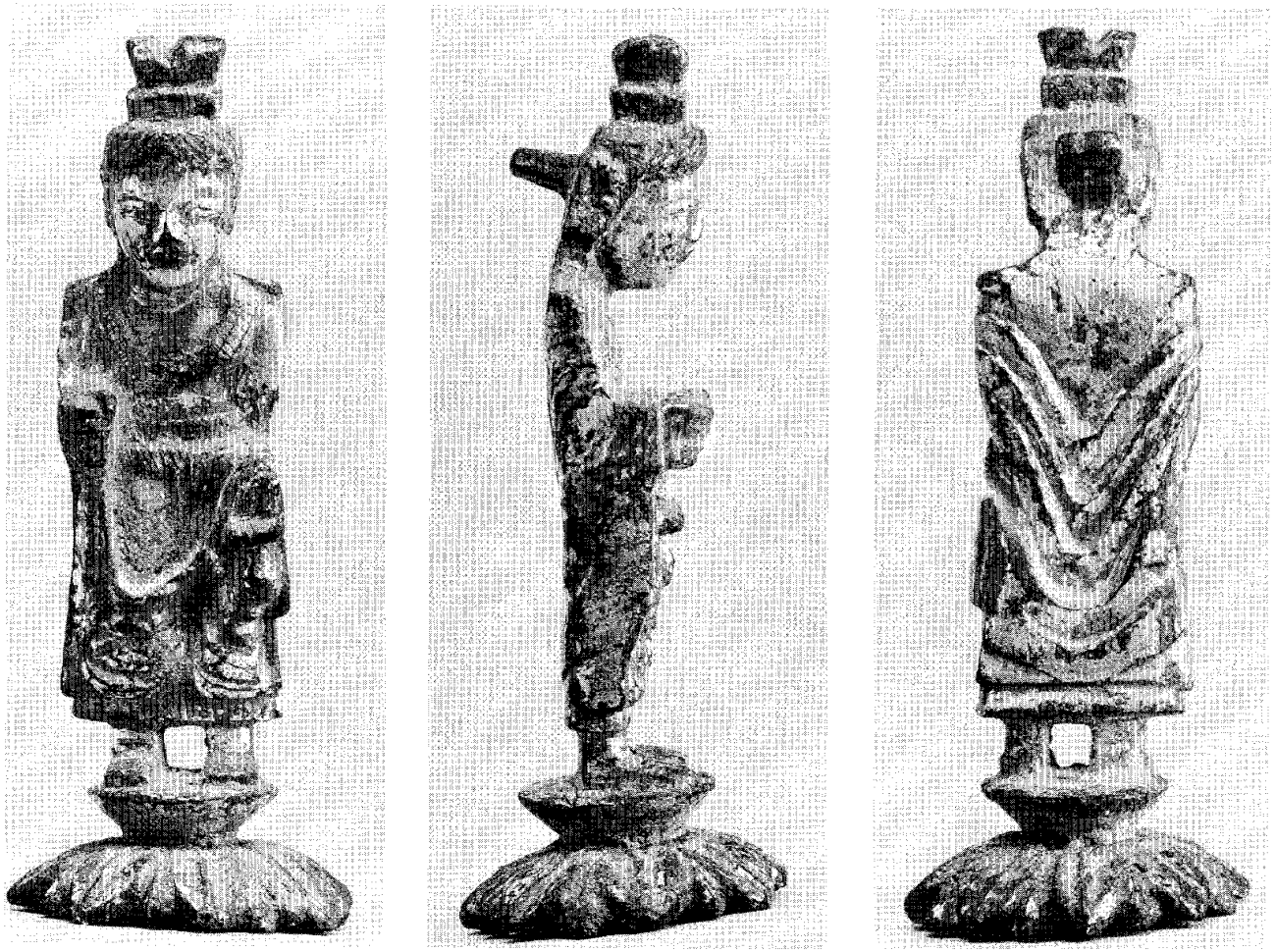
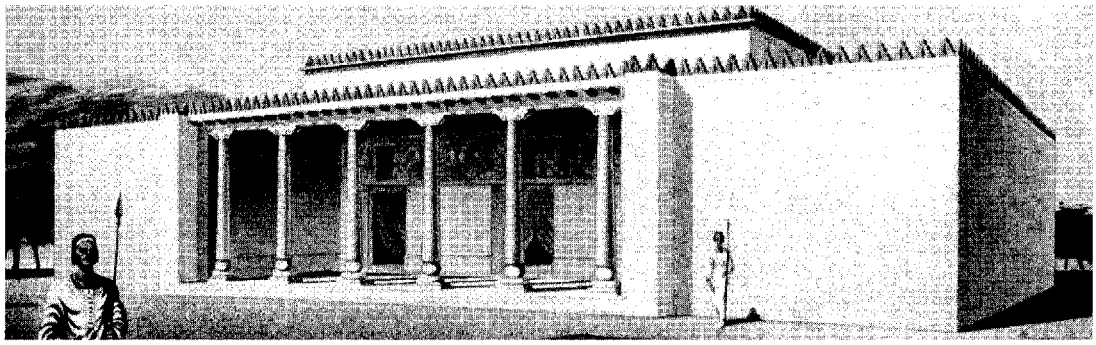
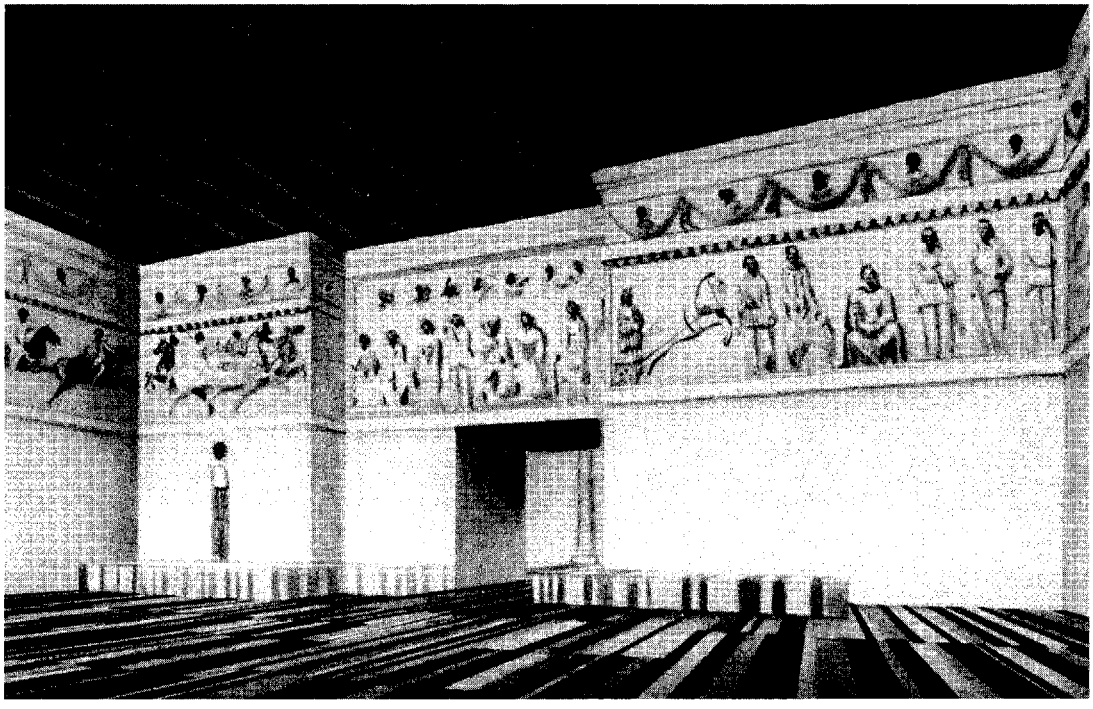


Fig. 2.44 Standing Bodhisattva (probably Maitreya), gilt bronze, whereabouts unknown (courtesy of the Fine Arts Library, Harvard College Library)



a

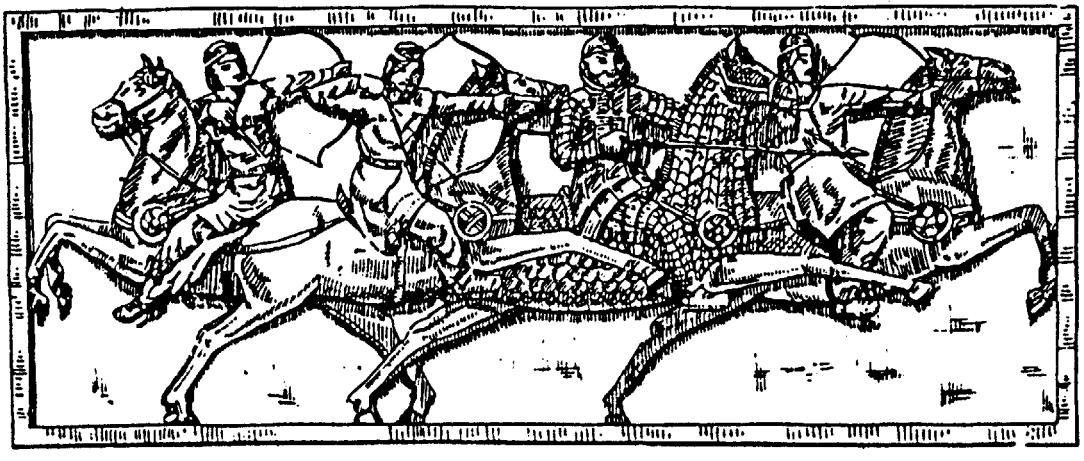


b

Fig. 3.1 a,b Reconstruction of the Palace at Khalchayan, southern Uzbekistan (after Pugachenkova (1971), Figs. 3, 4). a) portico; b) reception hall

a

b



c

Fig. 3.2 a,b,c Drawing of the sculptural freizes, reception hall, palace at Khalchayan, southern Uzbekistan (after Pugachenkova (1971), pp. 51, 61, 71). a) center; b) right; c) left

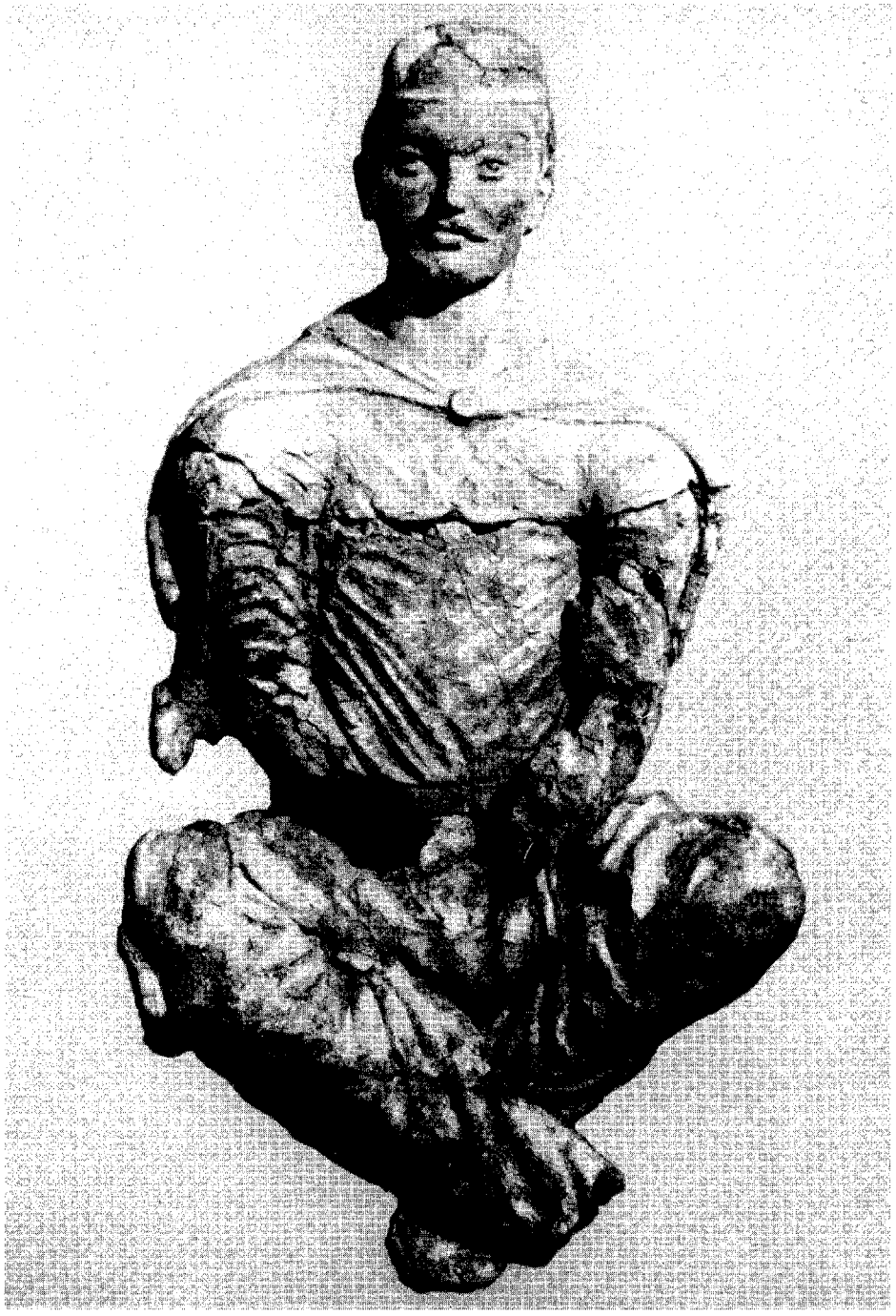


Fig. 3.3 Seated Male Figure from the Palace, back wall of the Reception Room (right side), Khalchayan, southern Uzbekistan, terracotta, ca. 1st century A.D., now in the Hermitage, St. Petersburg (after Pugachenkova (1971), Fig. 68)

Fig. 3.4 Statue of a Prince, from Shami, Iran, bronze, 2nd century B.C.-1st century A.D., Baghdad Museum (after Ghirshman (1962), Fig. 99)

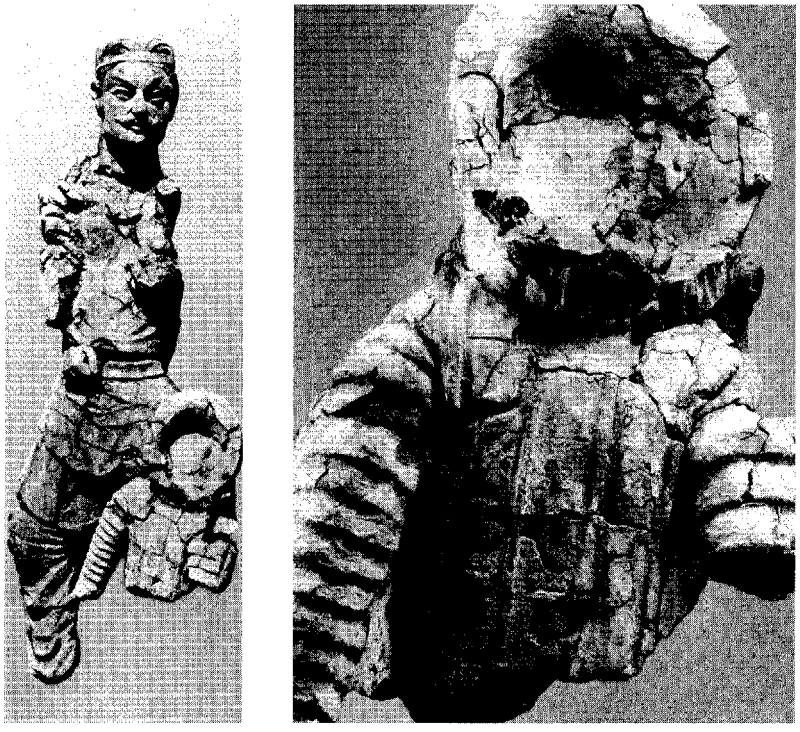


Fig. 3.5 Prince with Armour, from the frieze, Reception Room, Palace, Khalchayan, southern Uzbekistan, terracotta, 1st century A.D. after Pugachenkova (1971), Figs. 61, 62)

Fig. 3.6 Tyche, from Termez, silver medallion, 1st century A.D. (after Pugachenkova (1971), Fig. 117)

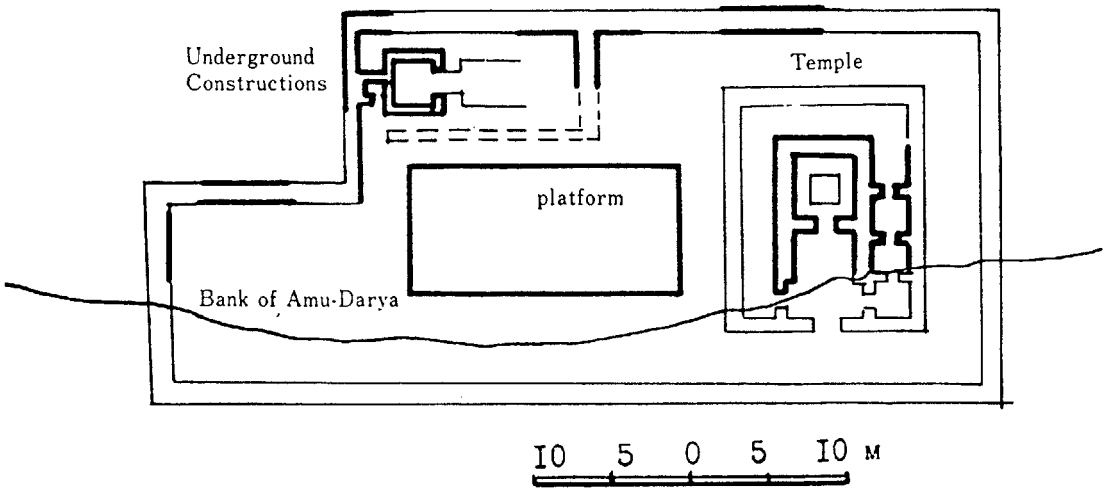


Fig. 3.7 a Plan of the Buddhist Temple Site, Airtam, near Termez, southern Uzbekistan, Kushana period (after Pugachenkova (1991/92), Fig. 2)

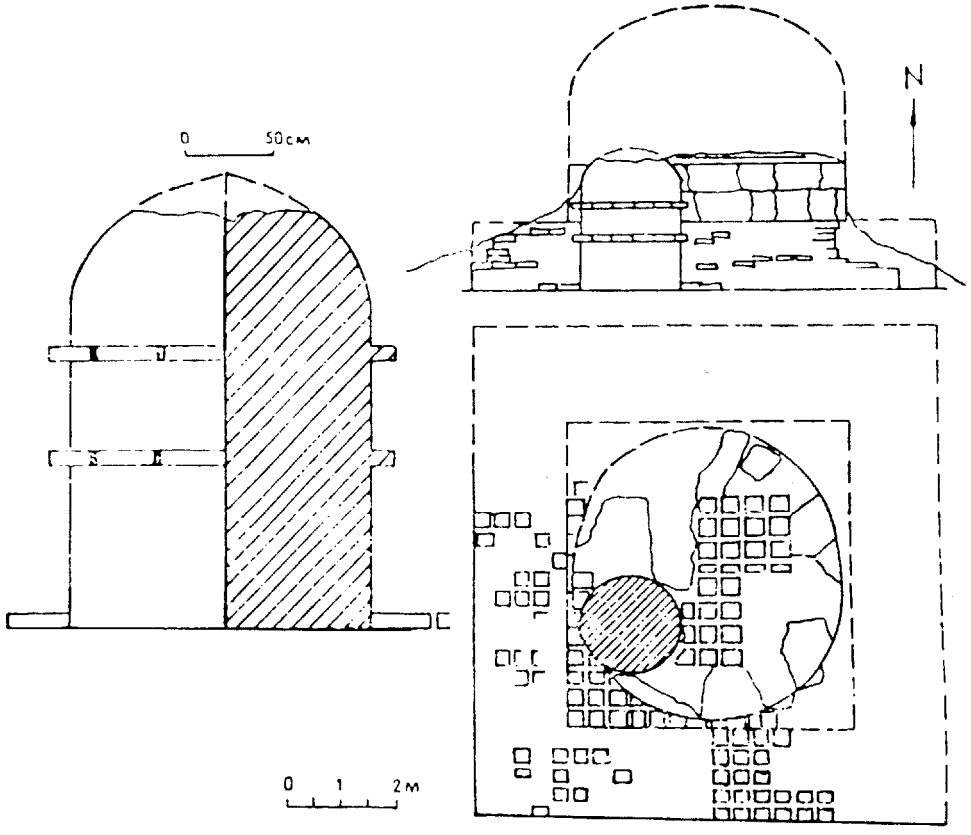


Fig. 3.7 b Plan and elevation of the stupas from the stupa complex, Airtam, near Termez, southern Uzbekistan, Kushana period (after Katō (1992), p. 39)

Fig. 3.8 Figure from the frieze of offering and musician celestials in acanthus leaves, from the vestibule of the Buddhist temple, Airtam, near Termez, southern Uzbekistan, marl limestone, mid-2nd century A.D., now in the Hermitage, St.Petersburg (after Rice (1965), Fig. 111)

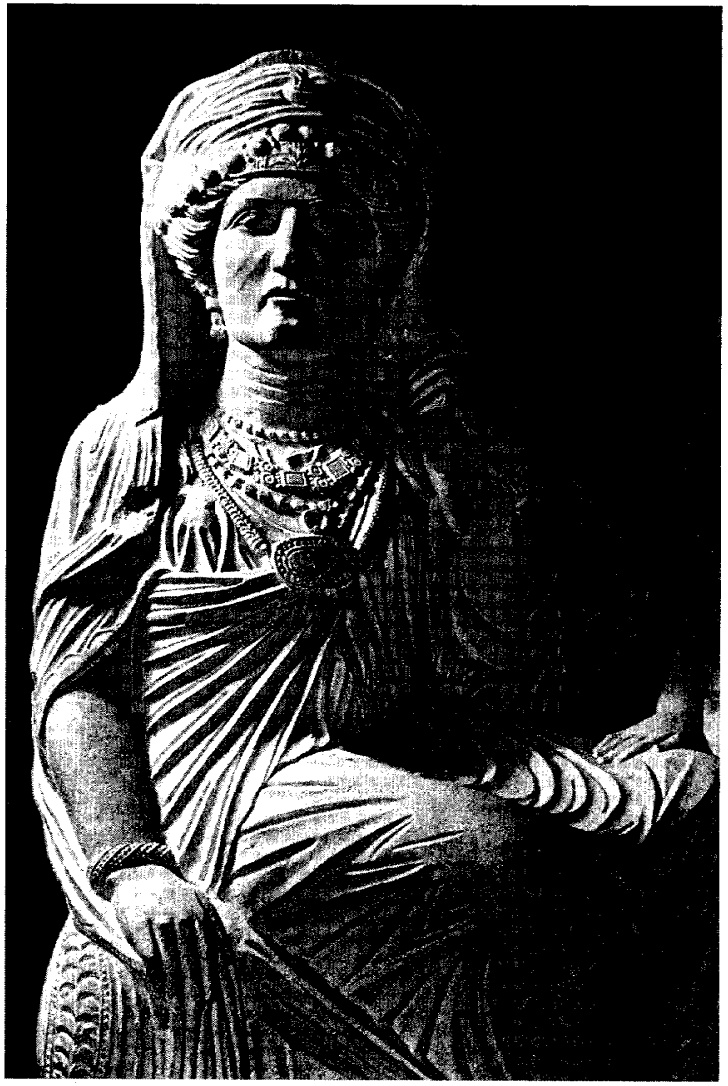


Fig. 3.10 Stele fragment with inscription citing donor Shodija and date 4th year of Huviska (mid-2nd century A.D.), from Airtam, near Termez, southern Uzbekistan (after *ASU*, Fig. 23)

←

Fig. 3.9 Funerary Relief, from Palmyra, 2nd-3rd century (before 272 A.D.), stone, Damascus Museum (after Ghirshman (1962), Fig. 92)

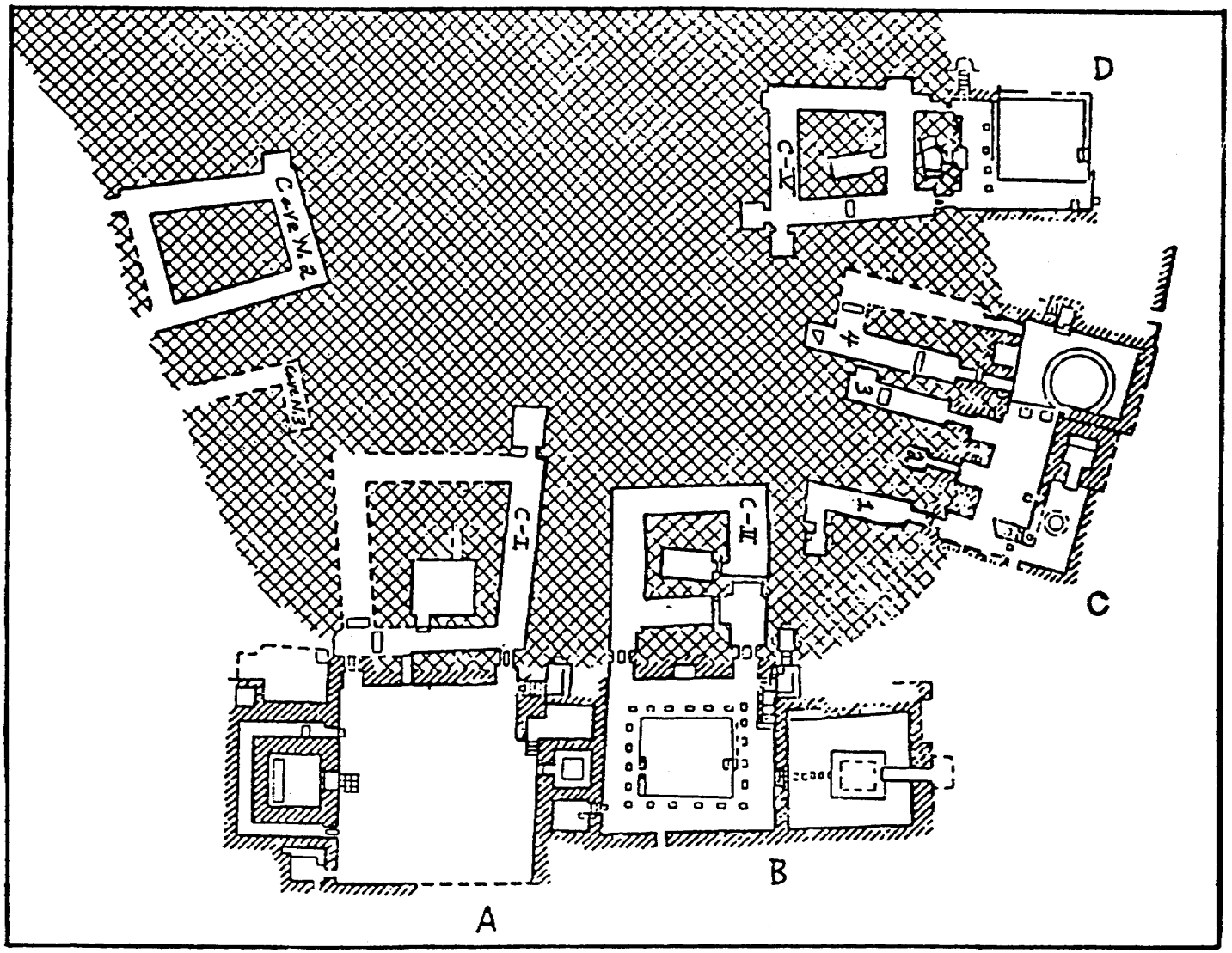


Fig. 3.11 Plan of the site with caves and temples, Kara-tepe, near Termez, southern Uzbekistan (after Katō (1992), Fig. 5)

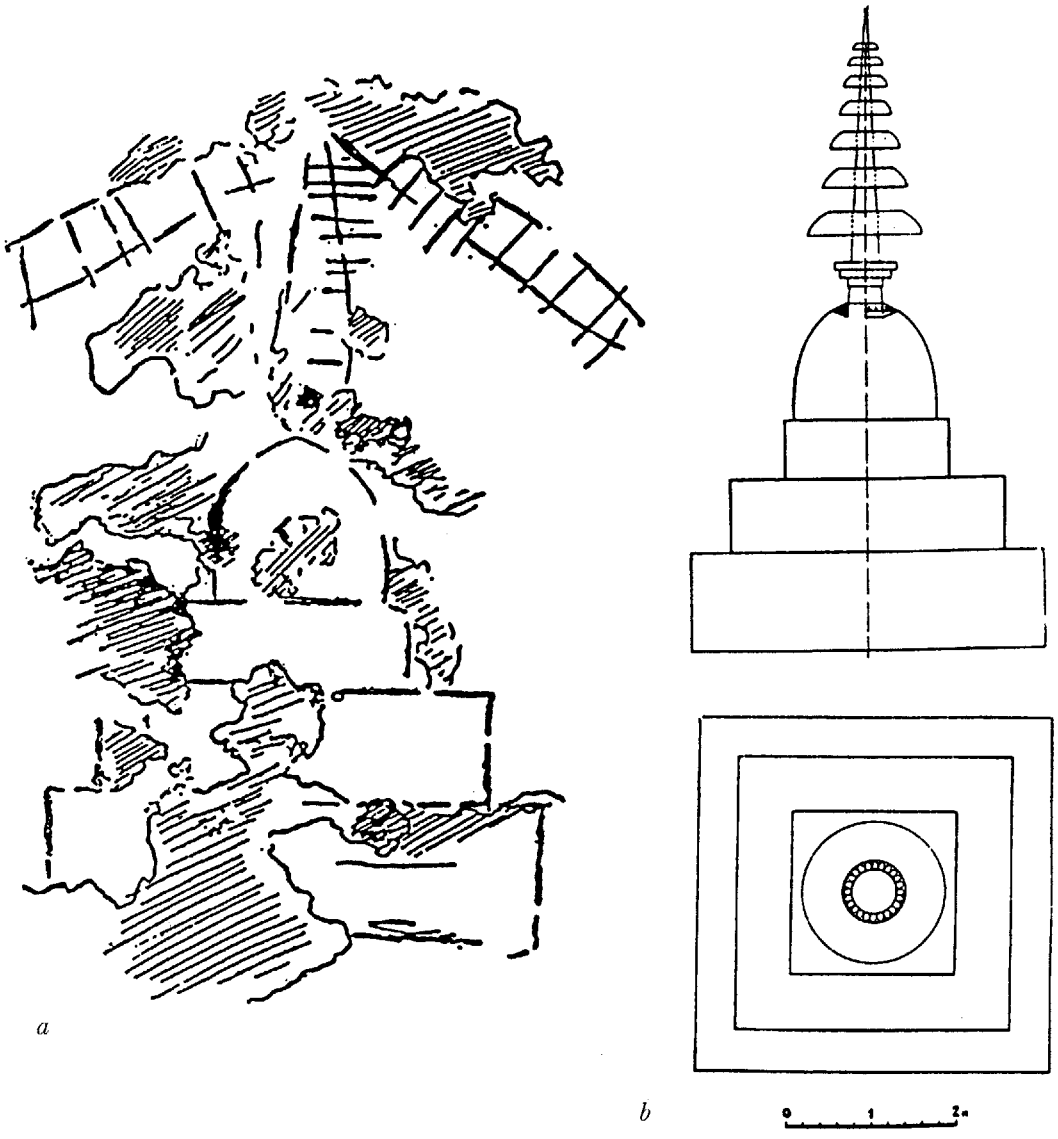


Fig. 3.12 a,b a) Drawing of a stupa, Cave 2, Complex B, Kara-tepe, near Termez, southern Uzbekistan (after Katō (1992), Fig. 7); b) Reconstruction

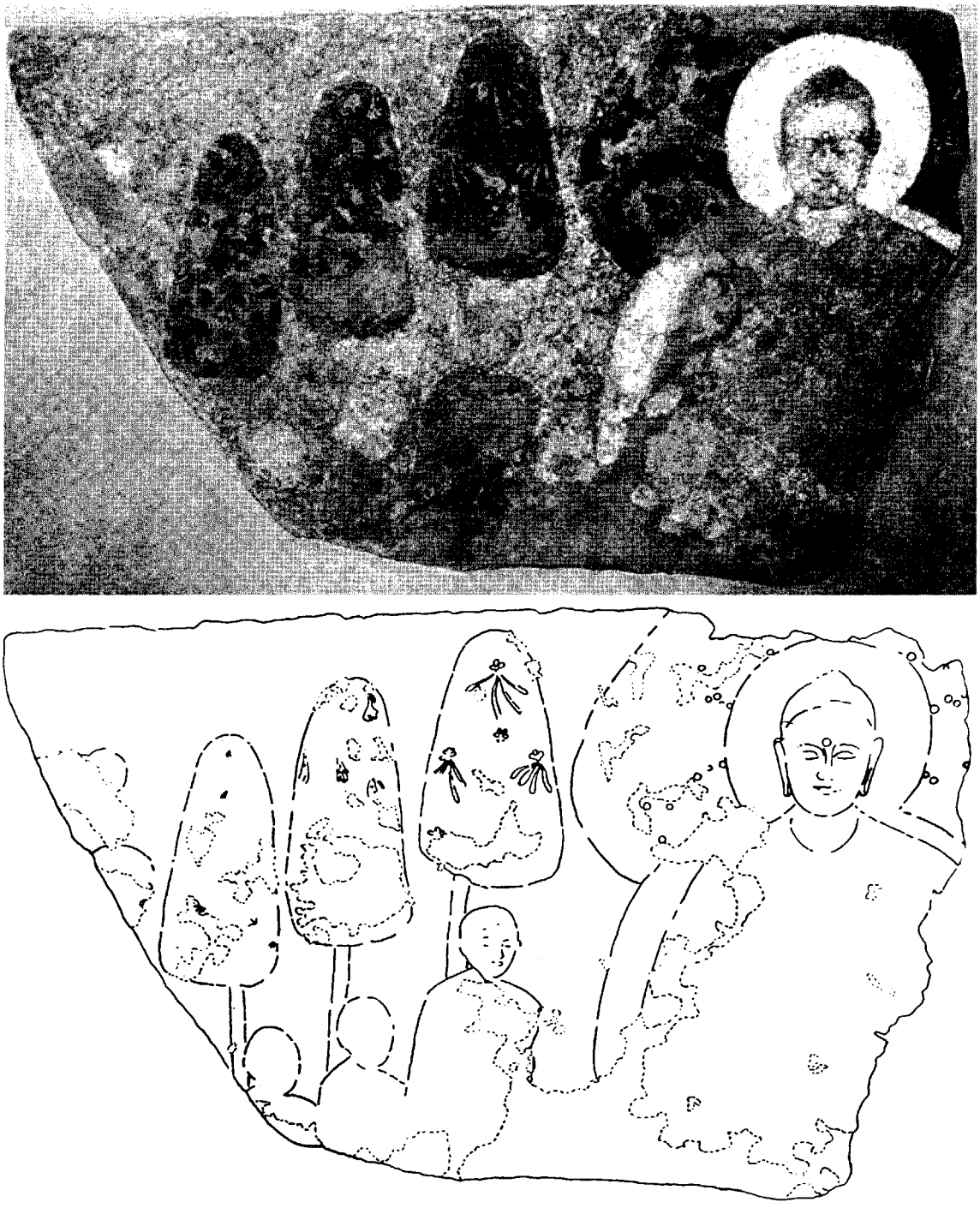


Fig. 3.13 a-d Buddha with monks, wall painting, southern corridor of the courtyard, Complex B, Kara-tepe, near Termez, southern Uzbekistan. a) complete view (after Snellgrove (1978), Fig. 142; b) Drawing of a)

Fig. 3.13 c) Detail of the Buddha

Fig. 3.13 d) Detail of a monk

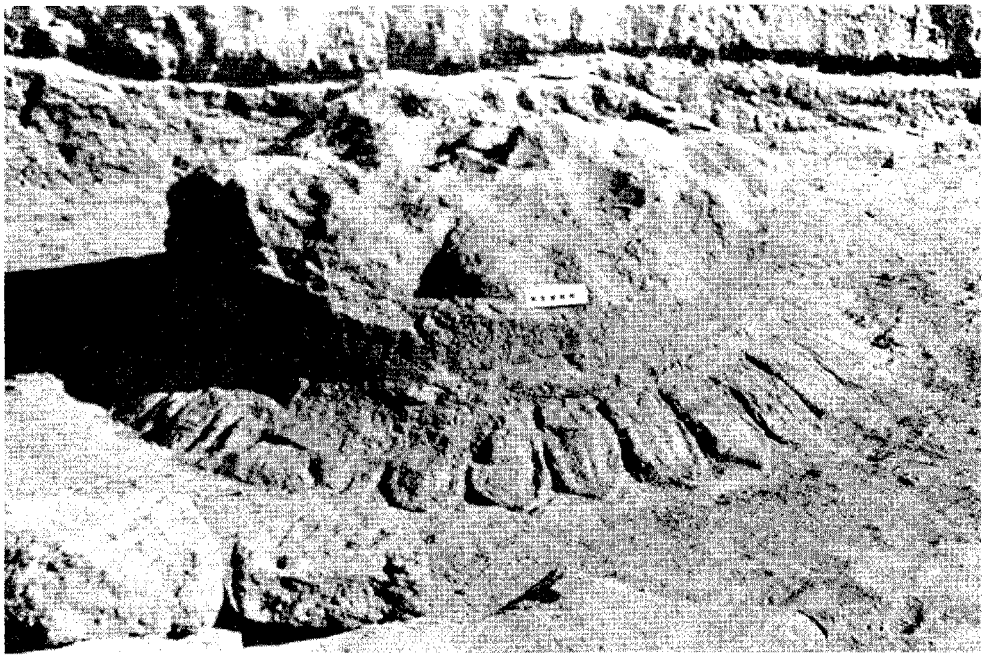


Fig. 3.14 Stupa remains, courtyard of Complex C, Kara-tepe, near Termez, southern Uzbekistan (after Stavisky (1988), Pl. VIIa)

Fig. 3.15 Fragment of a seated Buddha, from a small shrine in the courtyard of Complex C, Kara-tepe, near Termez, southern Uzbekistan (after Stavisky (1988), Pl. VIIb)

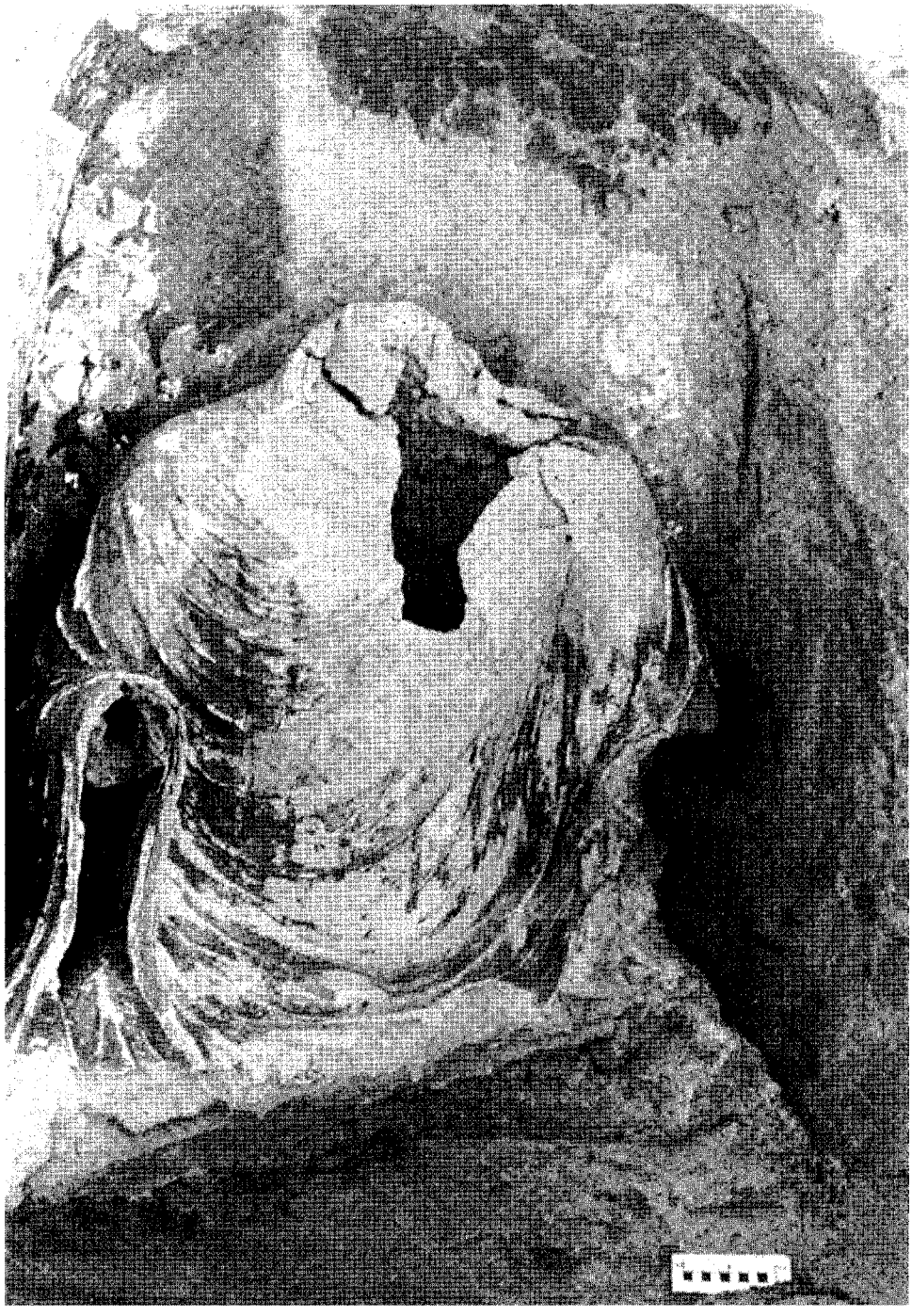


Fig. 3.16 a Seated Buddha, clay, from a niche in the courtyard of Complex D, Kara-tepe, near Termez, southern Uzbekistan, H. over 1 m (after Stavisky (1988), Pl. IV)

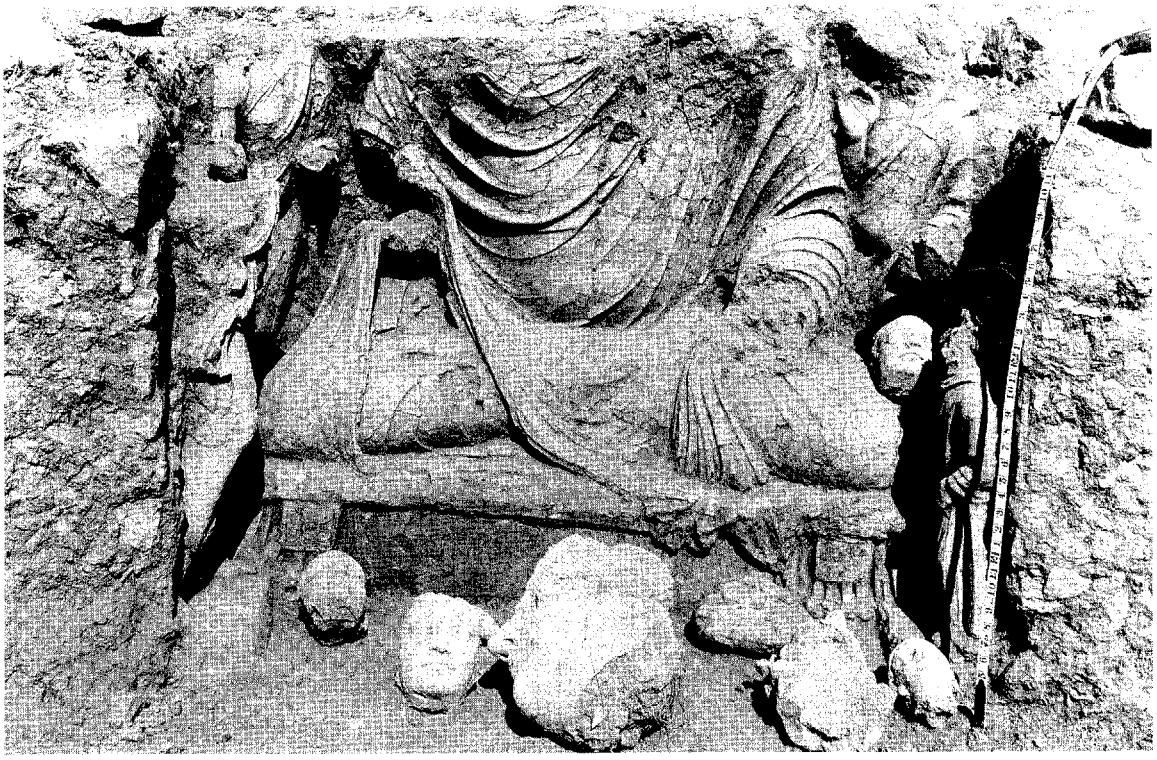


Fig. 3.16 b Niche with Buddha and attendants, from Kalawān, Taxila (courtesy of the Fine Arts Library, Harvard College Library)

Fig. 3.16 c Seated Buddha, stucco, vihāra, Mohṛā Morādu, Taxila (photo: M. Rhie)

Fig. 3.16 d Standing Buddha, from Chārsada (Haṣṭnagar), Gandhāra, dated year 384 (if Old Śaka era, then ca. 262 A.D.), head modern repair, Rajar Museum, Pakistan (after Bachoffer (1929), II, Fig. 142 left)

Fig. 3.17 Drawing of the painting of Buddha in meditation with flame halo, northern corridor (eastern section of southern wall), Cave temple C-V, Complex D, Kara-tepe, near Termez, southern Uzbekistan (after Stavisky (1988), Pl. V)

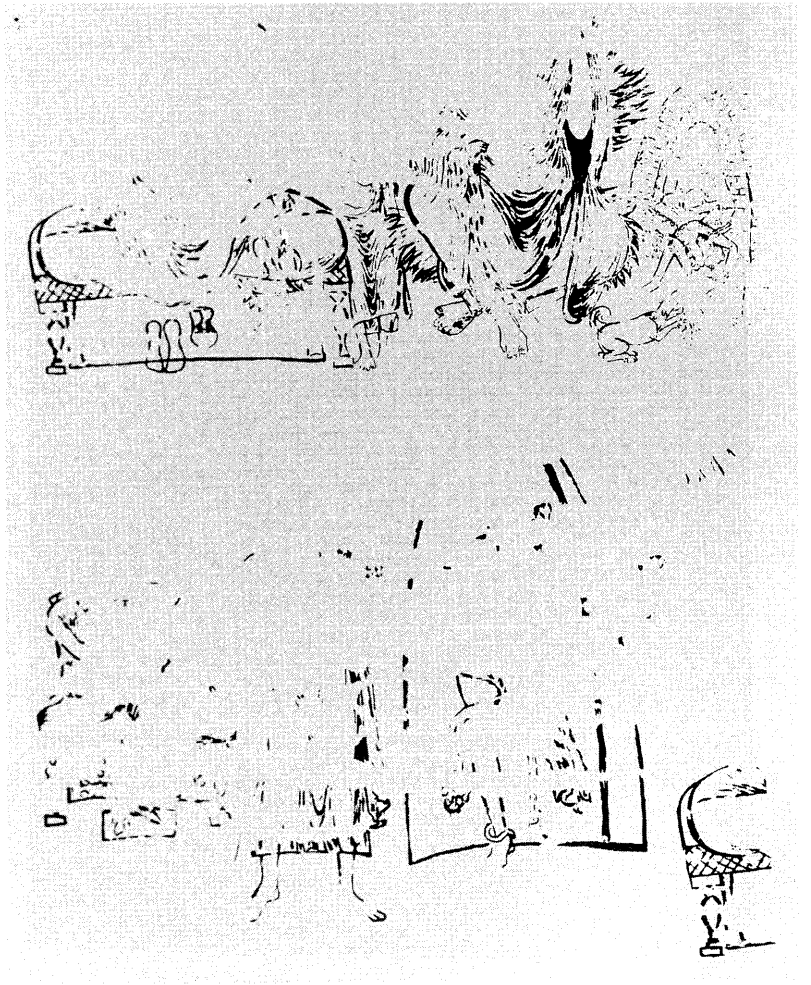


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Fig. 3.18 a Drawing of wall paintings from the northern corridor (far end of the south wall, east of the Buddha in Fig. 3.17), cave temple C-V, Complex D, Kara-tepe, near Termez, southern Uzbekistan (after Stavisky (1988), Pl. IV)

Fig. 3.18 b Relief of Buddhas and figures, stone, Kabul Museum (photo: M. Rhie, 1975)

Fig. 3.20 Main stupa, Fayaz-tepe, near Termez, southern Uzbekistan (after Katō (1992), front Pl. 4)

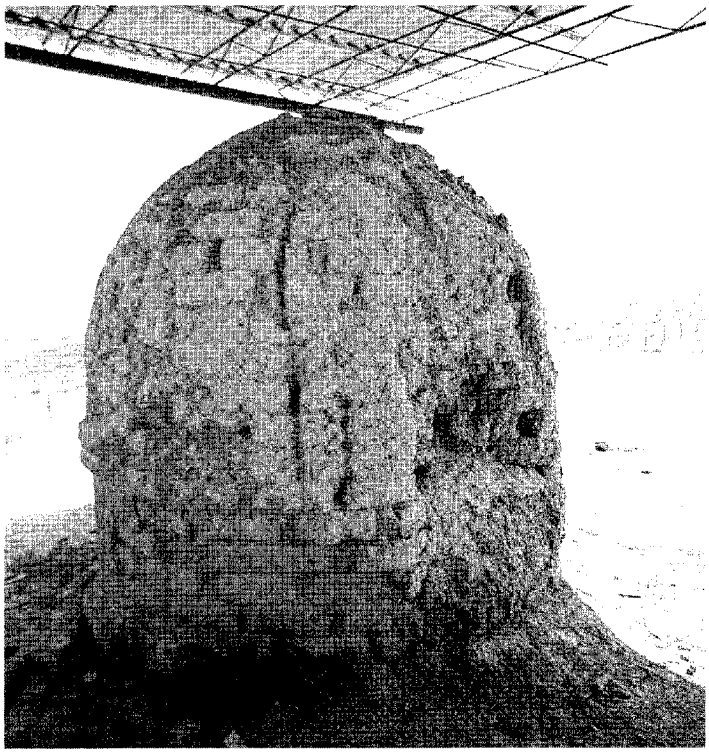

Fig. 3.21 Small stupa at Fayaz-tepe, near Termez, southern Uzbekistan (after *ASU*, p. 248, lower)

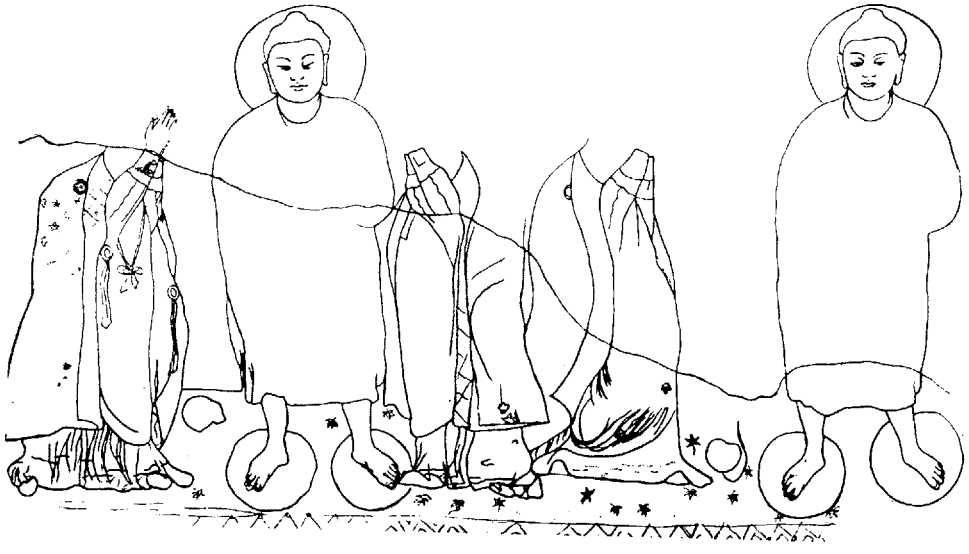

Fig. 3.22 Drawing of a wall painting of two Buddhas and three women, Fayaz-tepe, near Termez, southern Uzbekistan (after Kato (1992), front Pl. 5)

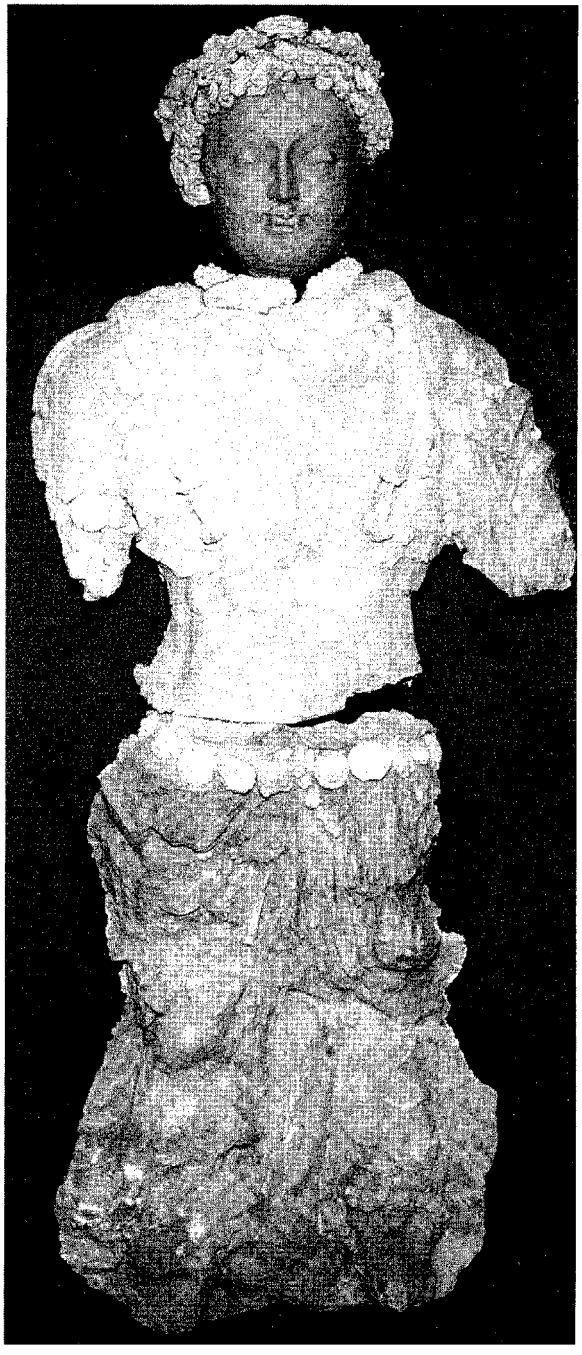

Fig. 3.36 Standing Bodhisattva (No. 3), clay and stucco, Buddhist Temple No. 2 (DT-25), Room 3, Dalverzin-tepe, near Termez, southern Uzbekistan, 218 x 89 cm. a) full view (after, *ASU*, Fig. 130)

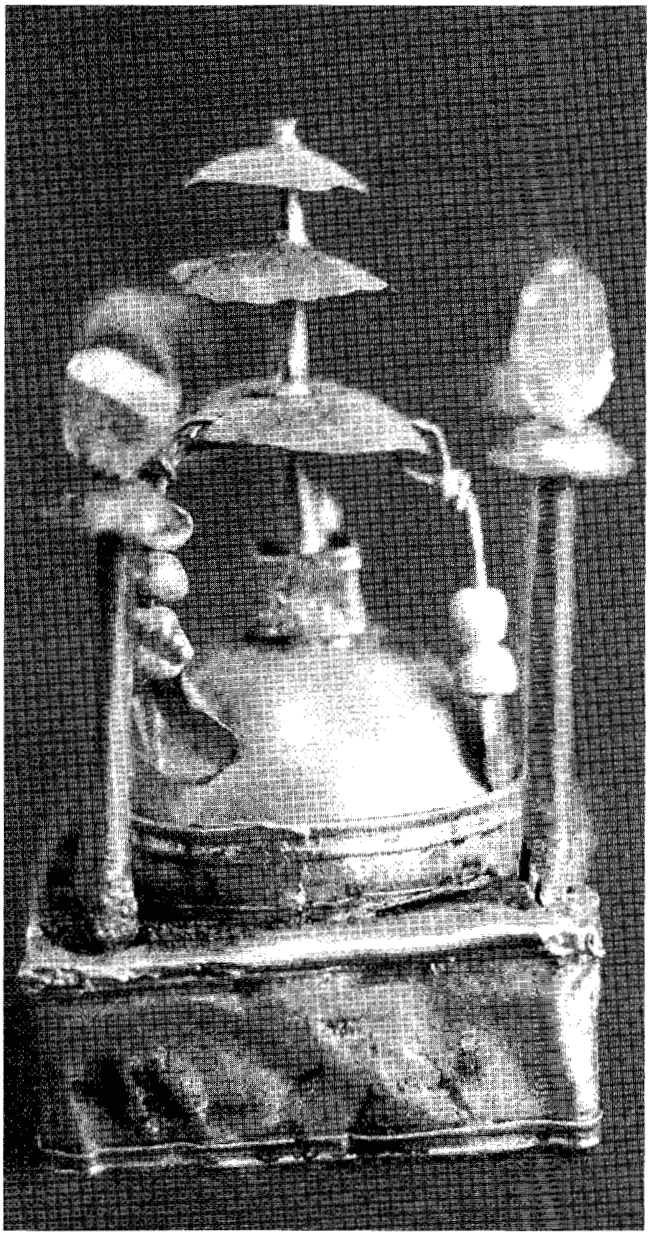

Fig. 4.4 c) gold stupa, probably from Nal, (after Kurita (1988 and 1990), II, Fig. 761)

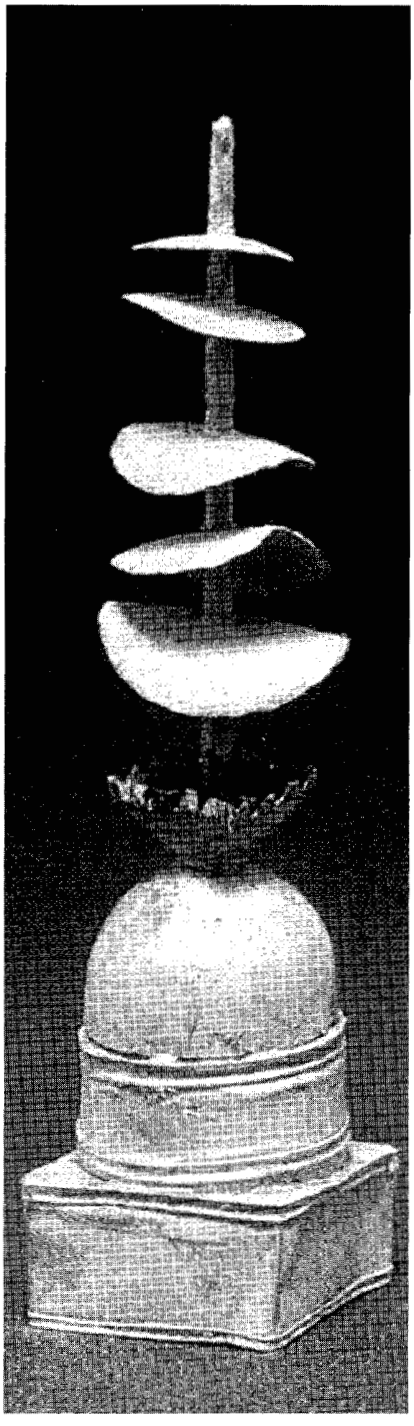

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Fig. 4.4 d) gold stupa, probably from Mingora, H. 7 cm, private collection, Japan (after Kurita (1988 and 1990), II, Fig. 756)

Fig. 4.4 e) stone stupa, from Loriyan Tangai, Gandhāra 2nd-3rd century A.D. (courtesy of the Fine Arts Library, Harvard College Library)

Fig. 4.4 f) bronze stupa, possibly from Swat, Karachi Museum (after Kurita (1988 and 1990), II, Fig. 798)

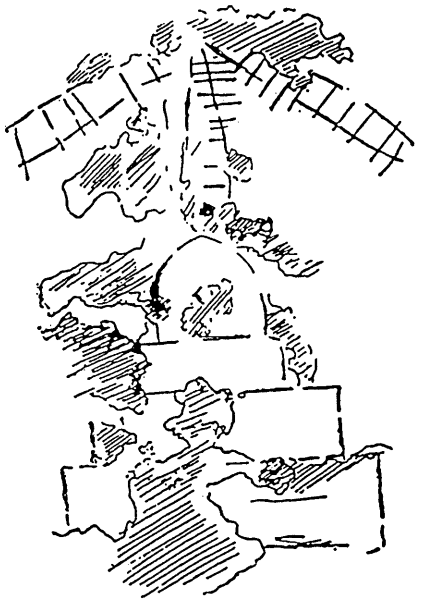


Fig. 4.4 g) drawing of a stupa, from Cave 2, Complex B, Kara-tepe, near Termez, southern Uzbekistan (after Katō (1992), Fig. 7)

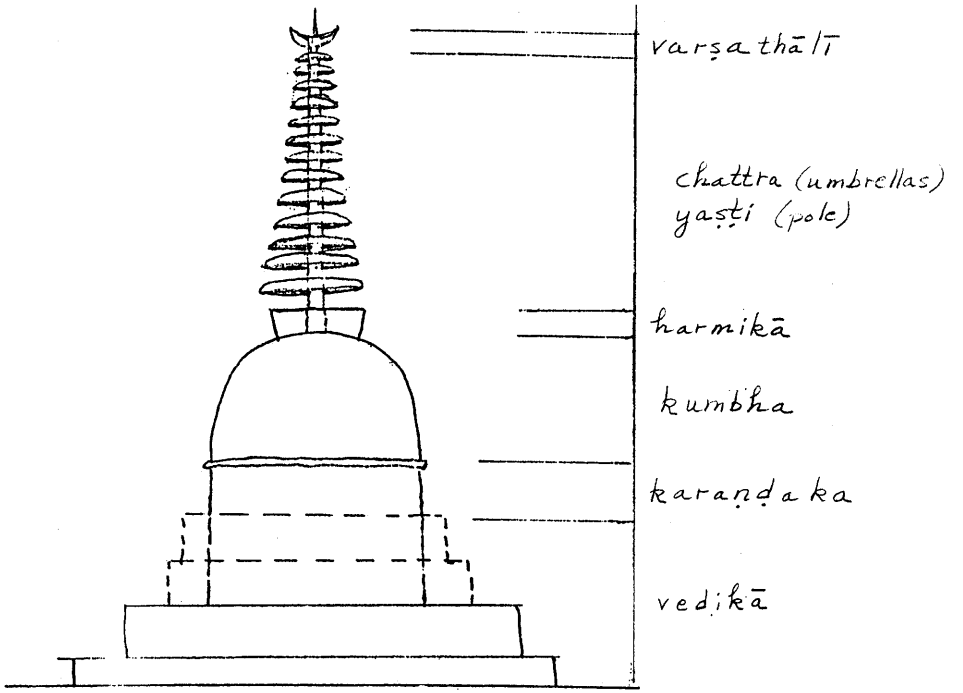


Fig. 4.4 h Conjectural sketch of stupa parts according to the *Vinaya Kṣudraka-vastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins, possibly dating back to ca. 1st century A.D.

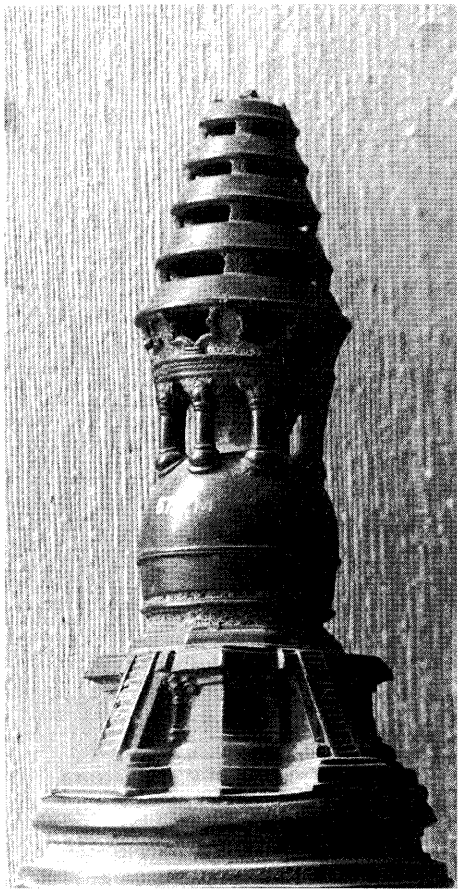


Fig. 4.25 c) Bronze stupa with four staircases, broken above the 5th umbrella, ca. 4th century, Peshawar Museum (photo M. Rhie)

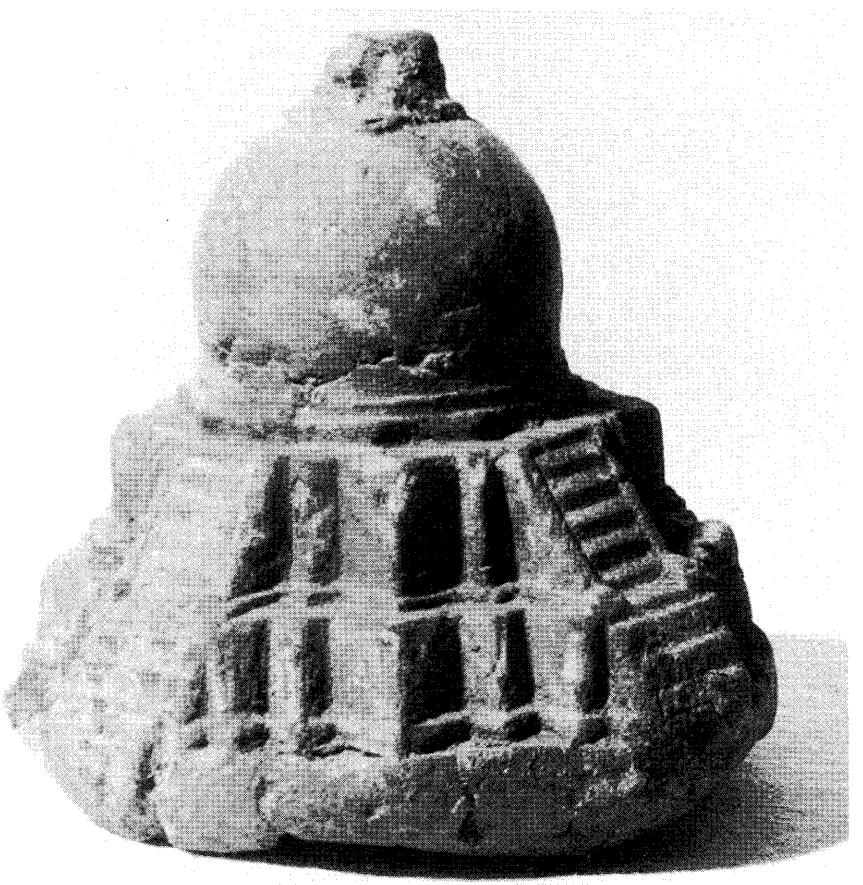


Fig. 4.25 d) Minature terracotta stupa, H. 12 cm, private collection, Japan (after Kurita (1988 and 1990), II, Fig. 821)

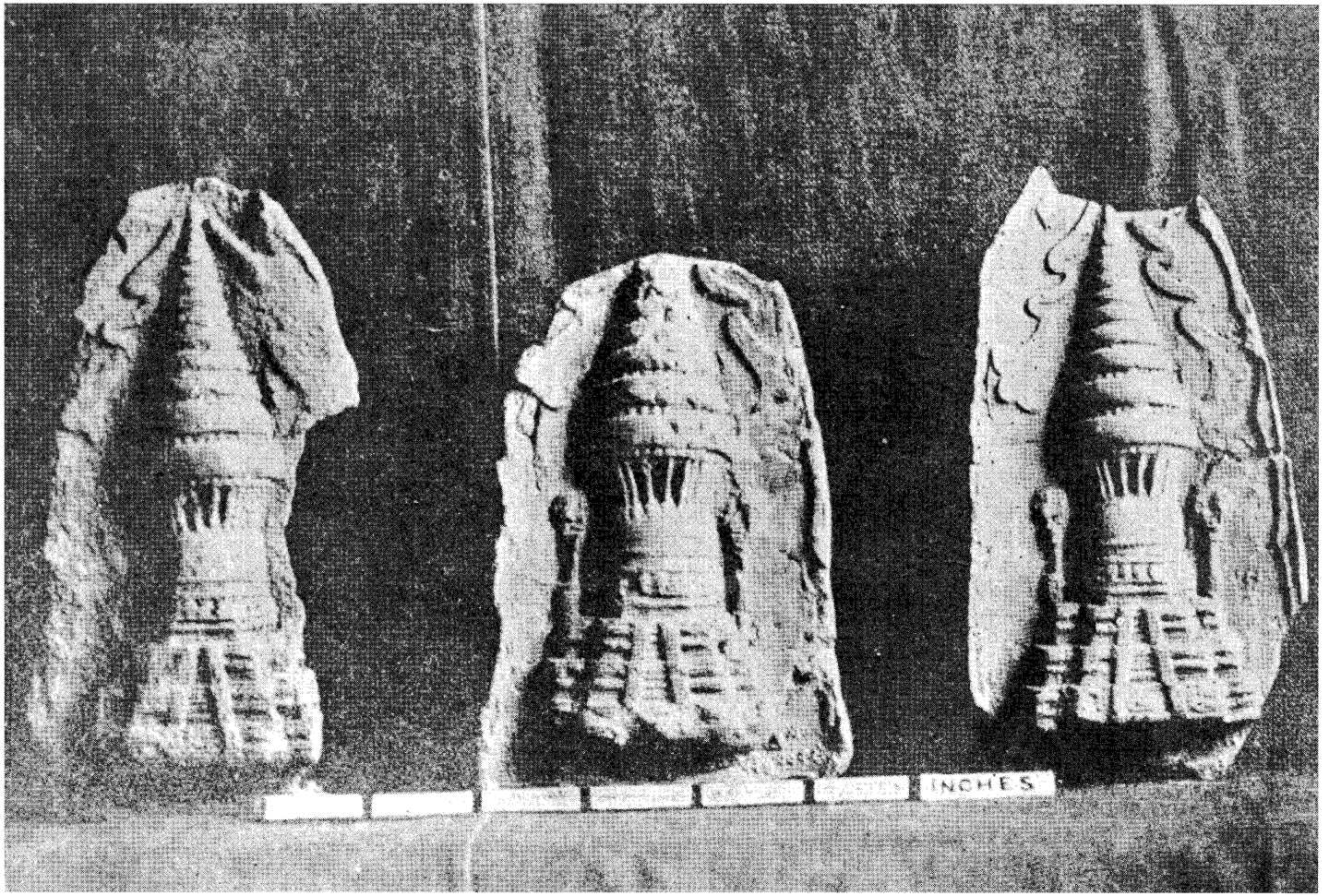


Fig. 4.25 e) Minature terracotta stupa plaques, from the site of the apsidal temple, Harwan, Kashmir, ca. 300 A.D. (after Kak (1933), Pl. XVIII)

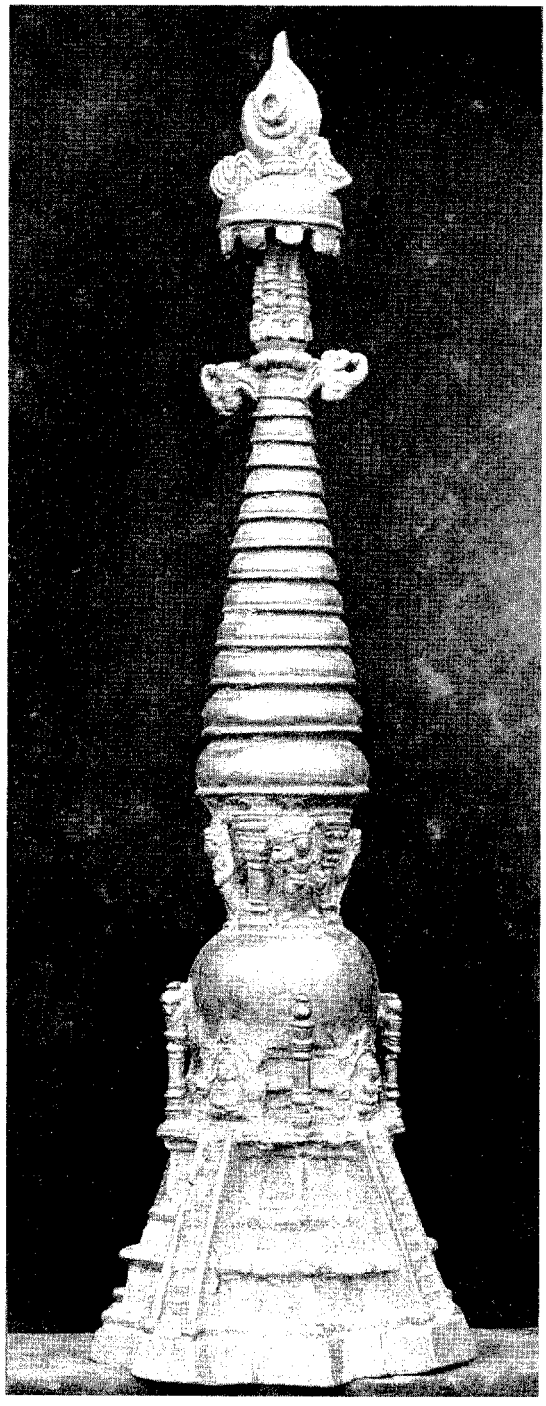
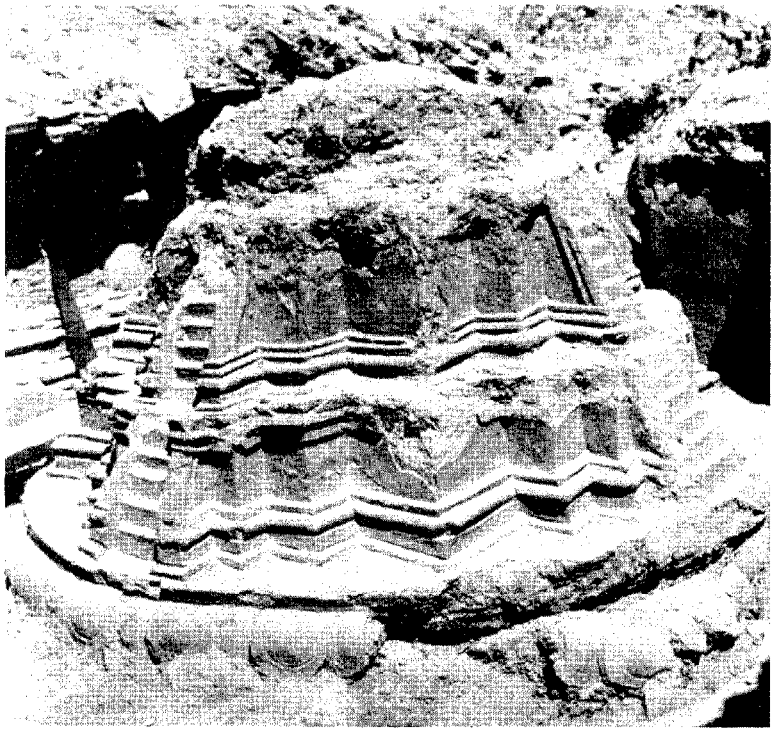


Fig. 4.25 f) Bronze stupa, 8th century, Peshawar Museum (courtesy of the Fine Arts Library, Harvard College Library)

g



h

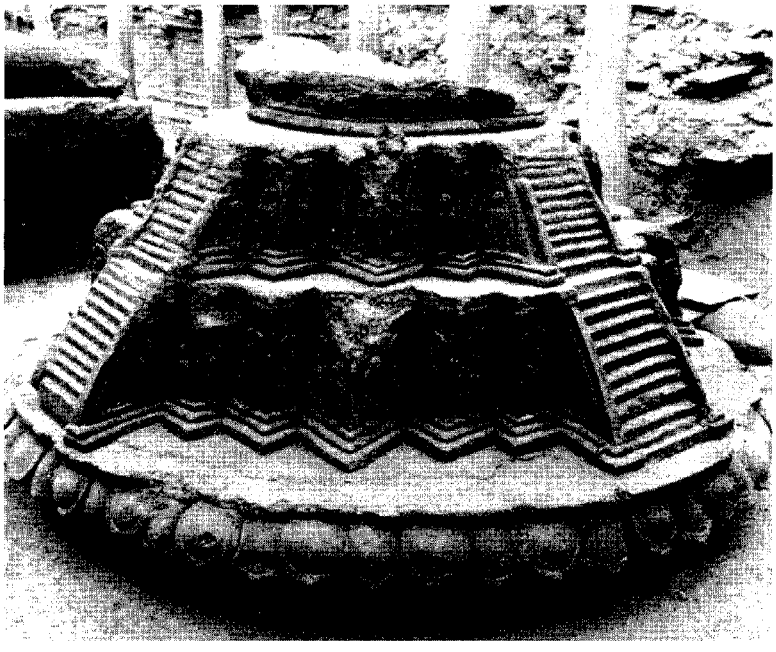


Fig. 4.25 g and h) Two clay stupas from Tapa Sadar, Afghanistan, 8th century (after Taddei and Verardi (1985), Pls. 2 and 3)

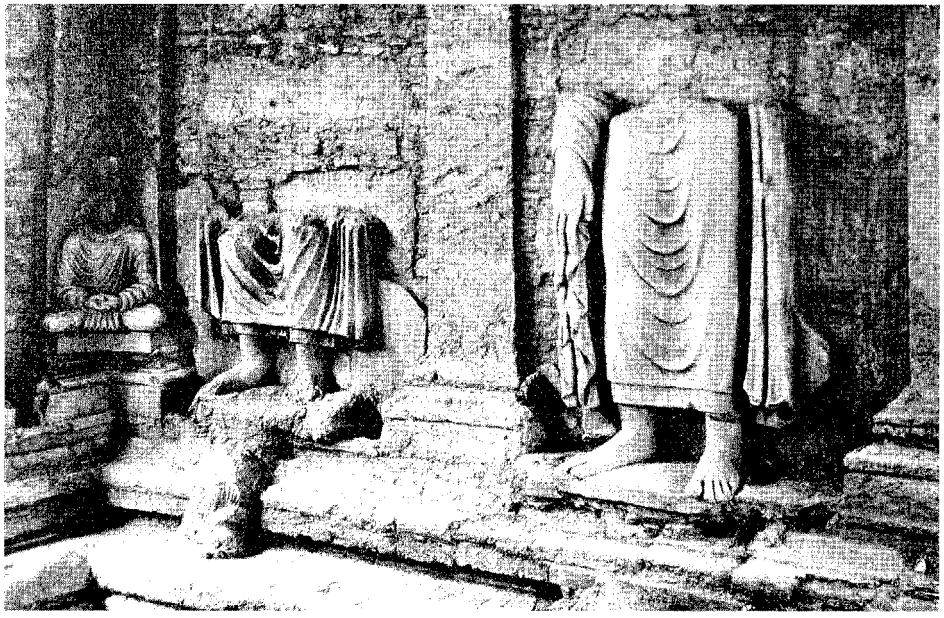


Fig. 4.32 b) Main Stupa, north face

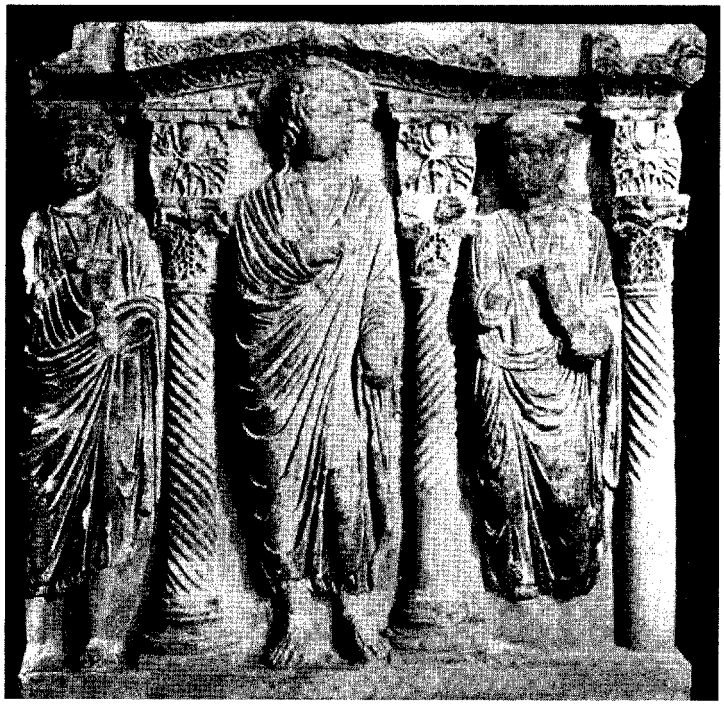


Fig. 4.32 c) Christ and Two Apostles, Relief (probably from a Sarcophagus), Asia Minor, 4th century A.D., marble, Berlin, Staatliche Museen (after *EWA*, II, Pl. 465)

Fig. 4.33 Buddhist Sculptures (R.10-R.12), inner south corner of enclosure wall, Rawak Stupa Court (after Stein (1907), I, Fig. 64)

Fig. 4.34 a Buddha from halo of R.12 Rawak Stupa Court (after Stein (1907), II, Pl. LXXXVI, left)

Fig. 4.34 b Male head, stucco and alabaster, Hall of the King's, Toprak Kala, Khorezm, Uzbekistan, 3rd century (after *EWA*, VIII, Pl. 386 left)

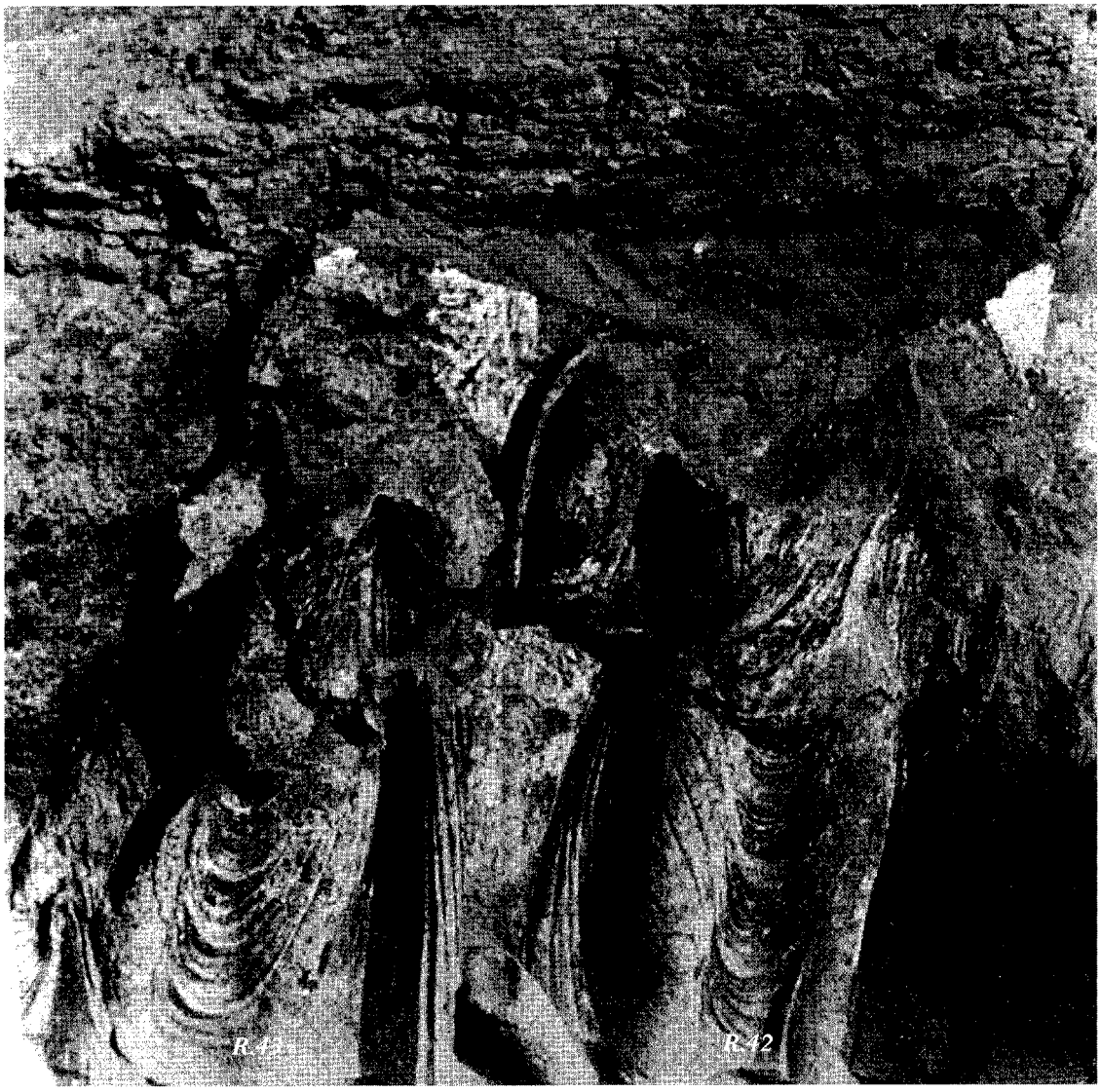


Fig. 4.43 Sculptures R.42 and R.43, outside the southeast enclosure wall, Rawak Stupa Court (after Stein (1907), II, Pl. XV, d)

Fig. 4.44 a Dipaṃkara Buddha, from Swat, mid-4th century A.D., stone, formerly Spink and Son, Ltd., London (photo M. Rhie)

Fig. 4.44 b Relief of a standing Buddha and worshippers, Inv. No. 655, from Niche Q1, Great Stupa 4, Butkara I, Swat, Pakistan, schist, ca. mid 4th century A.D. (after Faccenna (1962 and 1964), II,2, Pl. CCIV)

Fig. 4.44 c The Four Tetrarchs, porphry stone, made in Egpyt and installed at Constantinople, late 3rd-early 4th century A.D., now in Venice, Italy (Smith College Visual Resources)

Fig. 4.45 Two Buddhas and a Bodhisattva, *in situ*, Butkara I Stupa site, Swat, Pakistan, ca. 4th century, stone (photo M. Rhie)

Fig. 4.52 Standing Buddha, from Shotorak, Afghanistan, schist (photo M. Rhie, 1975)

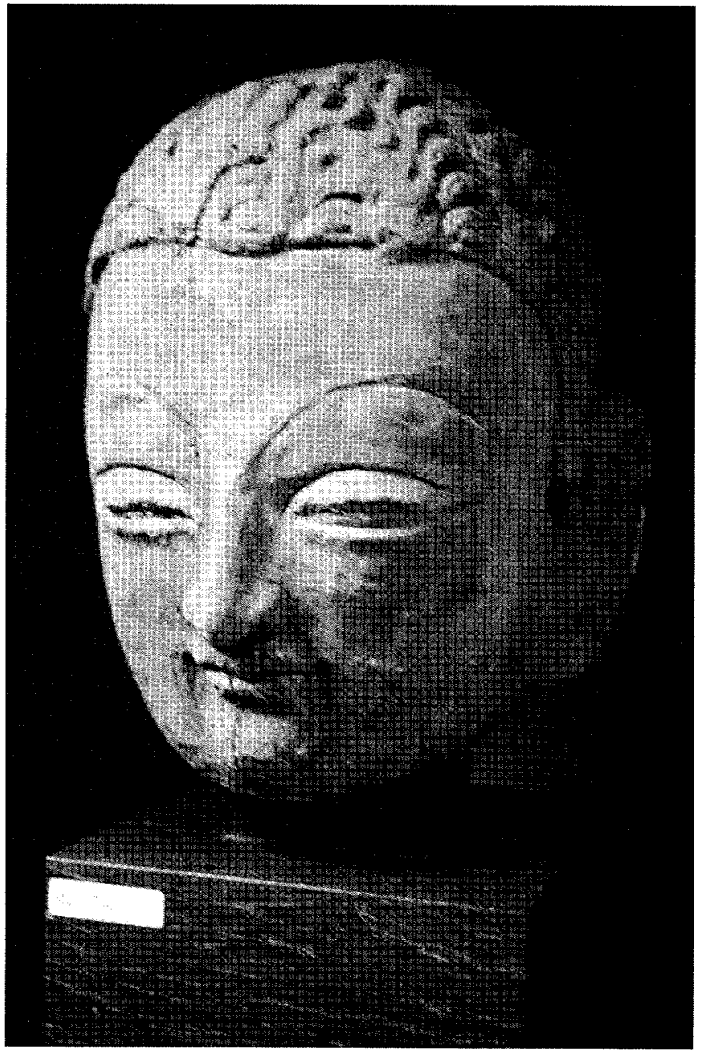


Fig. 4.62 a Head of Buddha D.17, reddish clay, H. about 14", from Rawak, Metropolitan Museum of Art (30.32.1), New York (photo M. Rhie)

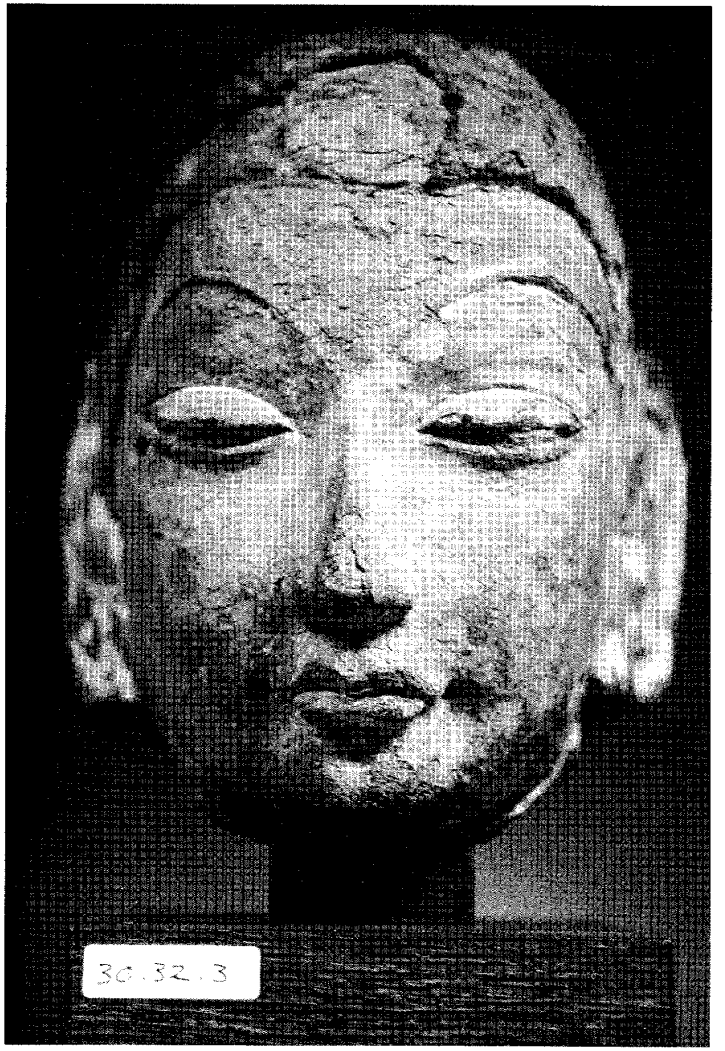


Fig. 4.62 b Head of Buddha D.19, reddish clay, H. about 11", from Rawak, Metropolitan Museum of Art (30.32.3), New York (photo M. Rhie)

Fig. 4.62 c Head of Buddha D.19, reddish clay, H. about 11", from Rawak, Metropolitan Museum of Art (30.32.3), New York (photo M. Rhie)

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Fig. 4.62 d Dish with the Triumph of Emperor Constantius II (377-361 A.D.), silver, from a burial vault in Kerch, late 4th century A.D., The State Hermitage, St. Petersburg, Russia (detail, after *Byzantine Art in the Collections of Soviet Museums*, Fig. 1)

Fig. 4.63 b Head of Buddha R.ii.1, clay, Rawak, British Museum (after Stein (1907), II, Pl. LXXXII)

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Fig. 4.63 a Head of Buddha R.vi.1, reddish clay, Rawak, British Museum (photo M. Rhie)

Fig. 4.63 c Detail of standing Buddha, stone, ca. 480's in the N. Wei, Ōkura Shūkokan, Tokyo (after Matsubara (1966), Pl. 21)

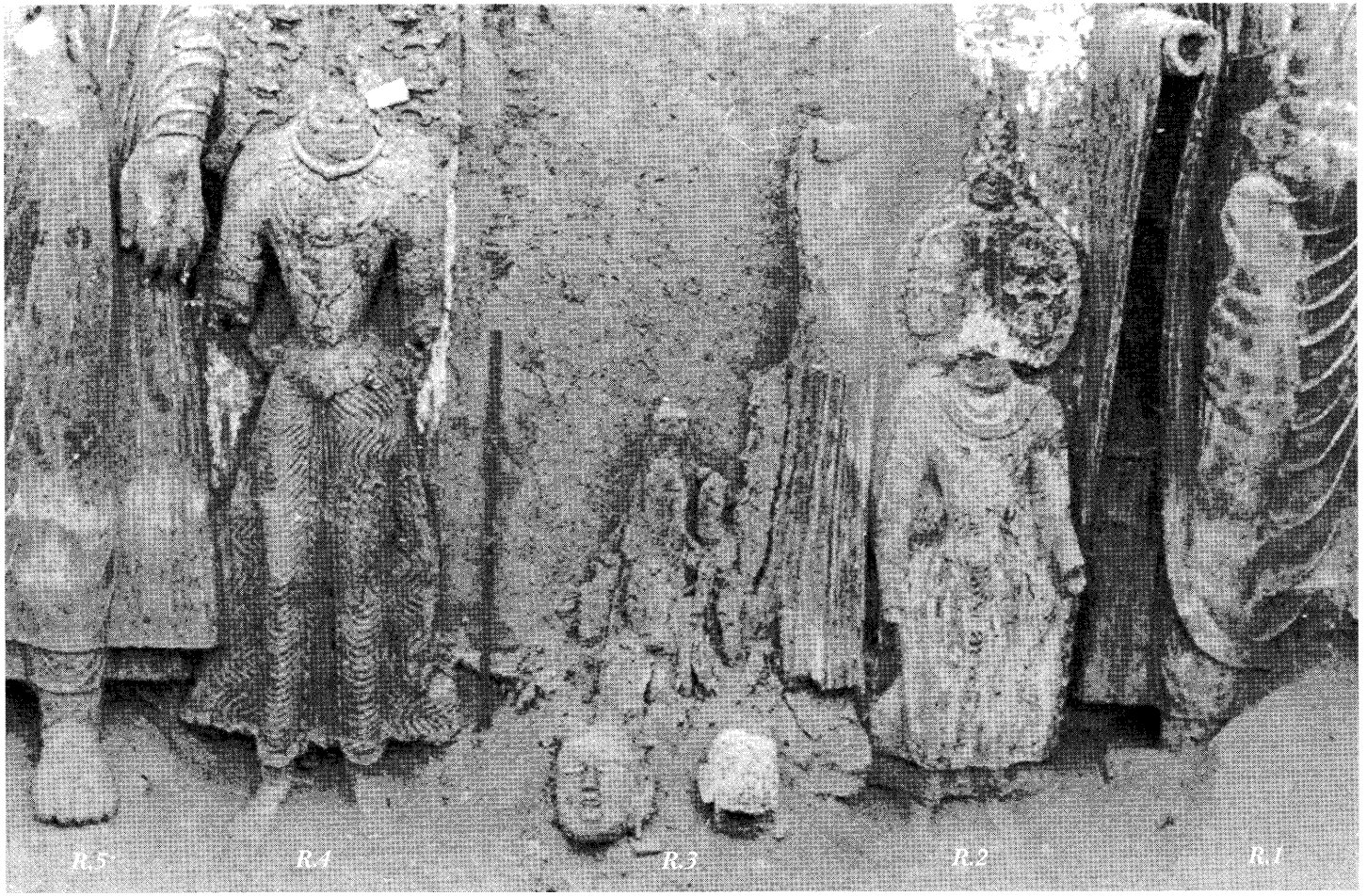

Fig. 4.70 Sculptures R.1-R.5, inside southwest enclosure wall (south side), Rawak Stupa Court (after Stein (1907), I, Fig. 61)

Fig. 4.71 Contemplative Bodhisattva, stone, dated corresponding to 443 A.D. in the N. Wei (after Matsubara (1966), Pl. 11a)

Fig. 4.72 Head of Bodhisattva R.4.i, Rawak (after Stein (1907), II, Pl. LXXXI)

Fig. 4.73 a,b Head of Bodhisattva D.28. a) *in situ*, Rawak (after Gropp (1974), Fig. 108)

Fig. 4.73 b) now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (30.32.4), H. about 7" (photo M. Rhie)

Fig. 4.74 Head of a Yakṣī, from Haḍḍa, Afghanistan, stucco, Musée Guimet (after Kurita (1988 and 1990), I, Color Pl. 1)

Fig. 4.75 Lion, from Amarāvatī, stone, (after Knox (1992), Fig. 118)

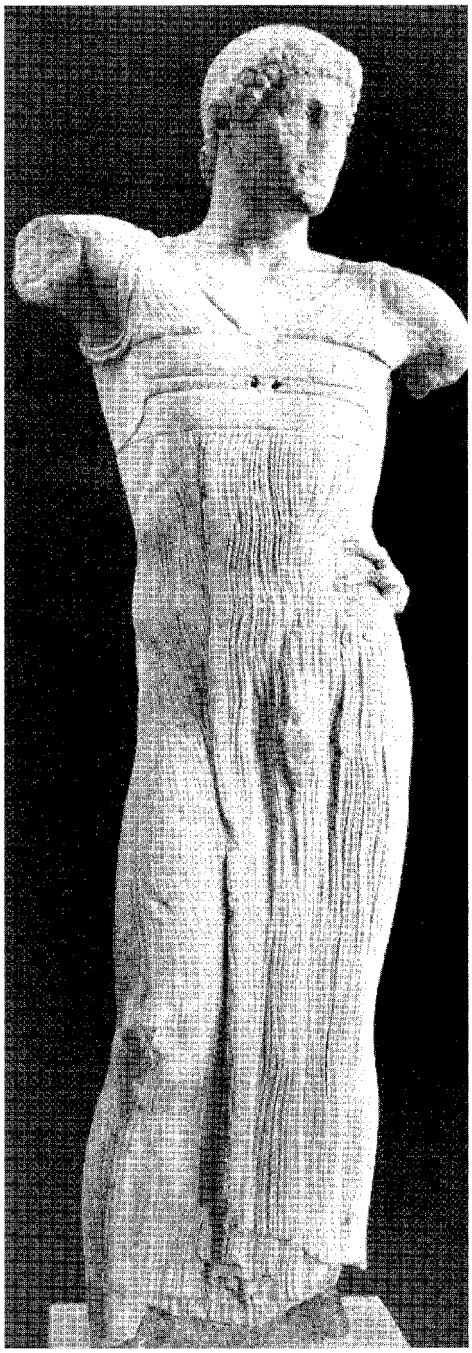

Fig. 4.82 Male figure, from Motya, western Sicily, Greek classical period, Whitaker Museum, Motya (after Boardman (1993), Fig. 88)

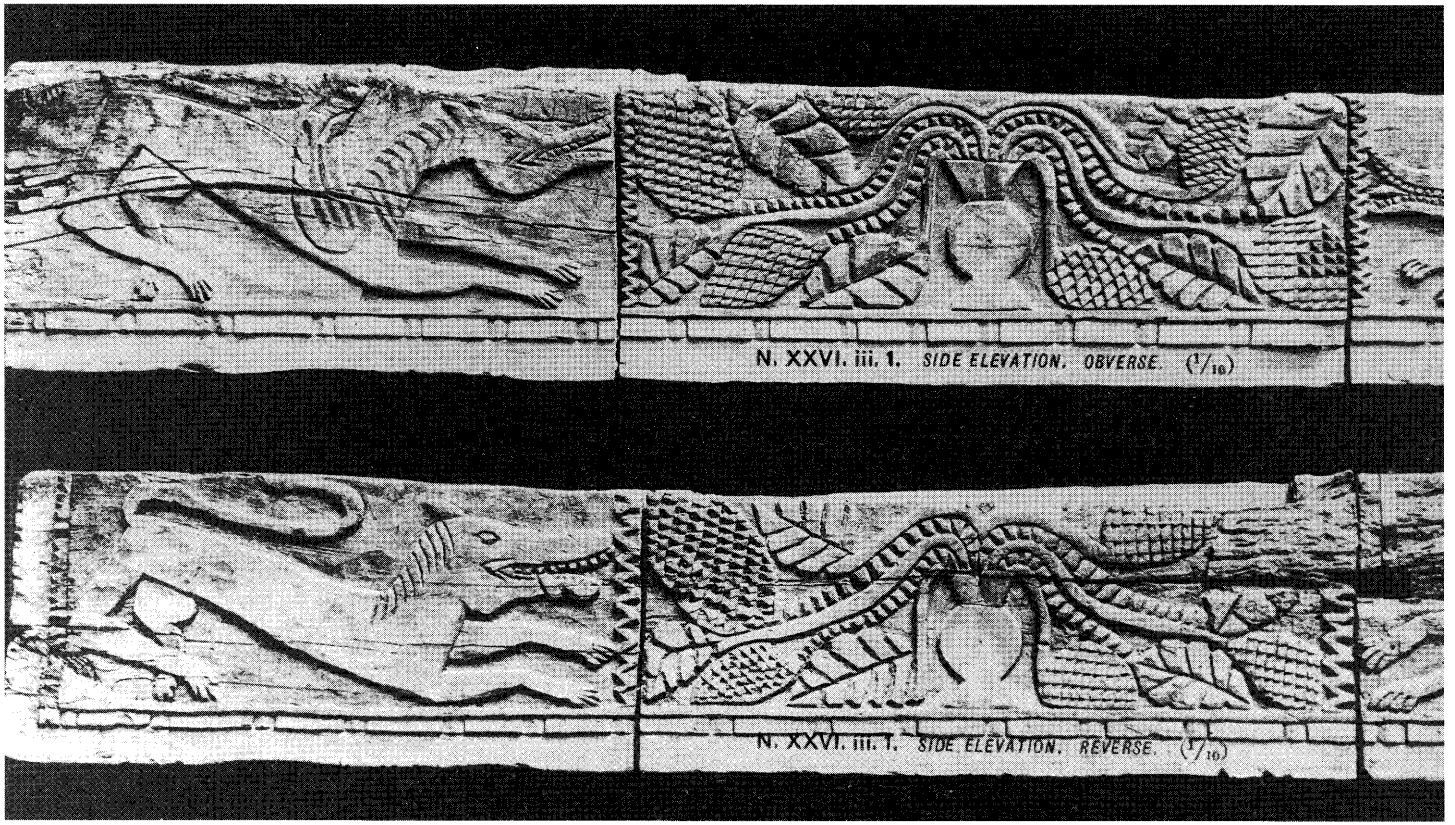

Fig. 5.2 a-c Carved wooden lintel, from Niya (N.XXVI,iii.1) now in the National Museum, New Delhi. a) obverse and reverse side elevations (after Stein (1921), IV, Pl. XVIII)

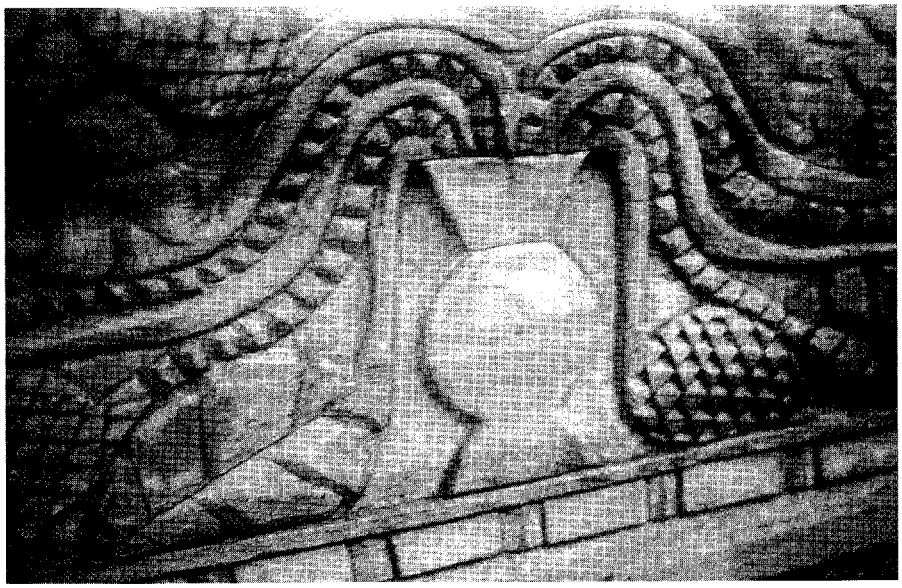

Fig. 5.2 b) detail of pūrṇaghata motif, obverse (photo M. Rhie)

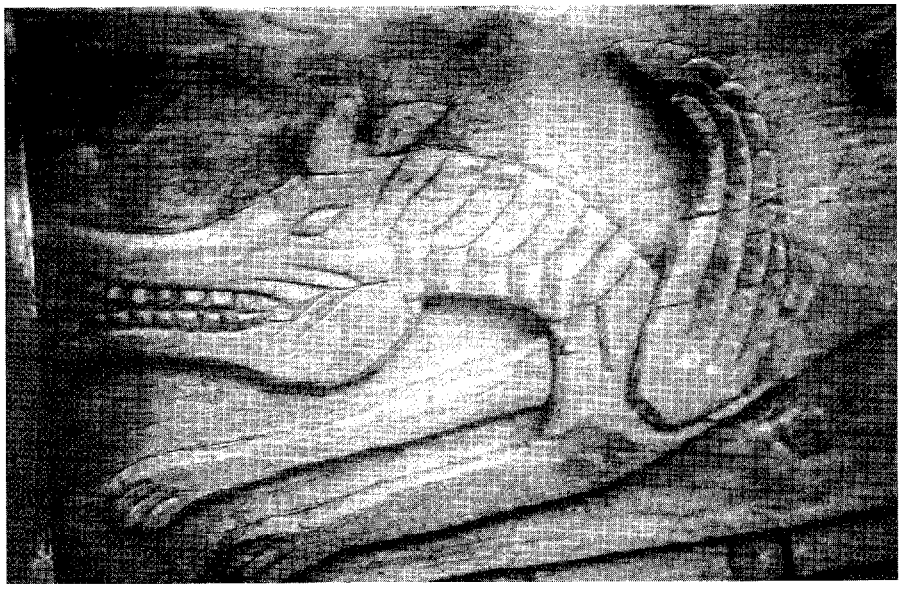

Fig. 5.2 c) detail of griffin-like animal motif, obverse (photo M. Rhie)

Fig. 5.2 d Plaque with relief carving of elephant and griffin-like animal, from Niya, wood, length 30 cm, width 20 cm (after Hsin-chiang wei-wu-erh tzu-chih-ch'ü she-hui k'o-hsüeh-yüan k'ao-ku yen-chiu-so (1985), Fig. 244)

Fig. 5.2 e Gold bracelet with repeating griffin motif in two registers, from tumulus of Koul-Oba, near Kertch, Crimea, 4th century B.C., dia. 8 cm, The State Hermitage, St. Petersburg (after Piotrovski (1986), Fig. 179)

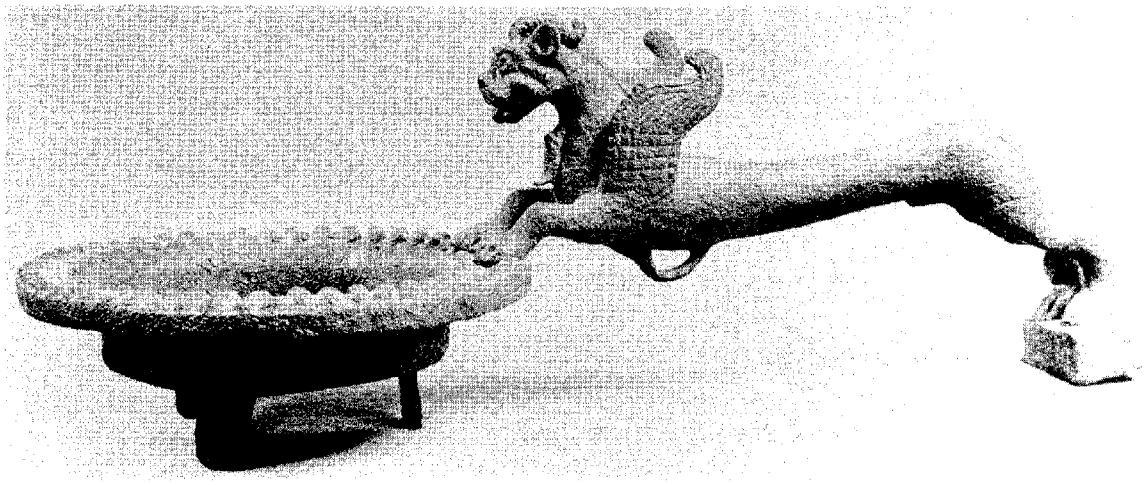

Fig. 5.2 f Incense burner with griffin handle, from Sirkap, Taxila, Gandhāra, Pakistan, copper, 1st century A.D., length 9 1/8" (after Ingholt and Lyons (1957), Fig. 493)

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Fig. 5.2 g Fragment of a seated Bodhisattva and pedestal with inscription recording Kṣatrapa, pre-Kaniska period, Mathurā, sandstone, ca. 1st century A.D. (after Sharma (1995), Fig. 60)

Fig. 5.15 Stupa within a shrine (chaitya). a) railing pillar from Amarāvatī, Andhra Pradesh, 1st century B.C., stone (after Coomaraswamy (1927), Fig.145)

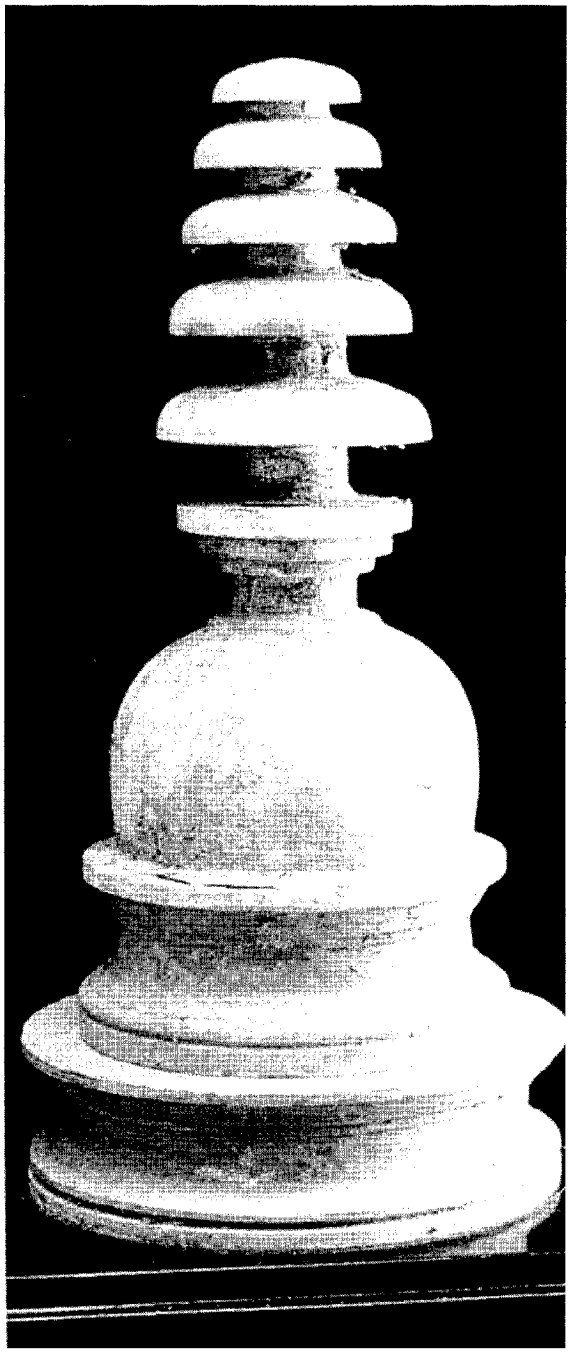


Fig. 5.19 a-d Reliquary Stupas, from Swat and Taxila. a) stupa in green schist, probably Swat, H. 22 cm, private collection, Japan (after Kurita (1988 and 1990), II, Fig. 757)

Fig. 5.19 d) Stupa from Mohrā Morādu, from cell 9, Taxila, H. 12 ft., stucco with core of kanjur stone and originally with an iron rod to hold the umbrellas, now Museum at Taxila (after Kurita (1988 adn 1990), II, Fig. 356)

Fig. 5.42 Seated Buddha, middle storey, central pillar east face, East Cave, Chin-t'a ssu, Kansu (after Kansu sheng wen-wu k'ao-ku yen-chiu-so (1987), Fig. 46)

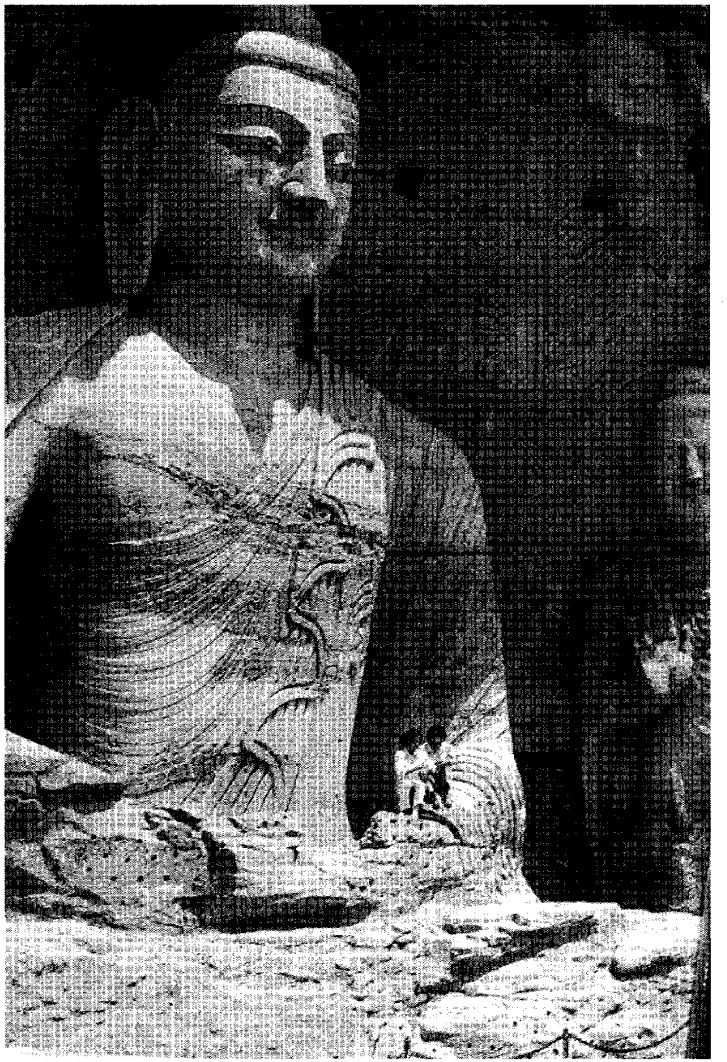


Fig. 5.43 Seated Buddha, Cave 20, Yün-kang, Ta-t'ung, Shansi ca. 460 A.D.

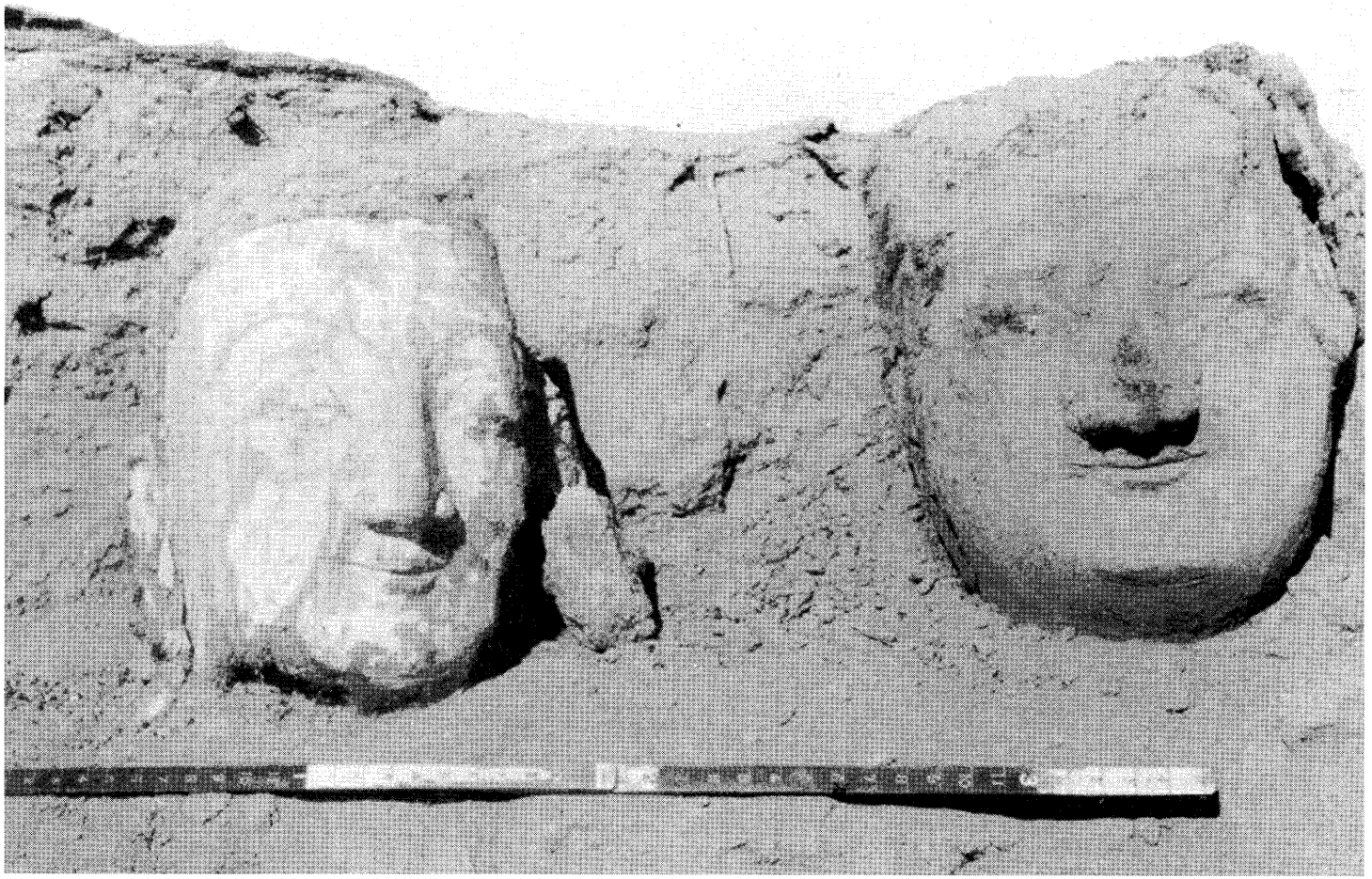


Fig. 5.44 Two colossal Buddha heads, M II, Miran (after Stein (1921), I, Fig. 121)

Fig. 5.45 Colossal Buddha head 3, M II, Miran (after Stein, (1921), I, Fig. 122)

Fig. 5.46 Buddha head, from Miran, stucco, H. about 12", National Museum, New Delhi (photo M. Rhie)

Fig. 5.47 a Buddha head, from Gandhāra, stucco, H. 27 1/2", Los Angeles County Museum of Art (after Pal (1986), I, Fig. S89)

Fig. 5.47 b Bodhisattva, from Gandhāra, Royal Ontario Museum of Art, Toronto (courtesy of the Fine Arts Library, Harvard College Library)

Fig. 5.48 Fragment of a wall painting, Cave 83, Kizil, Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin (after Tokyo National Museum (1991), No. 11)

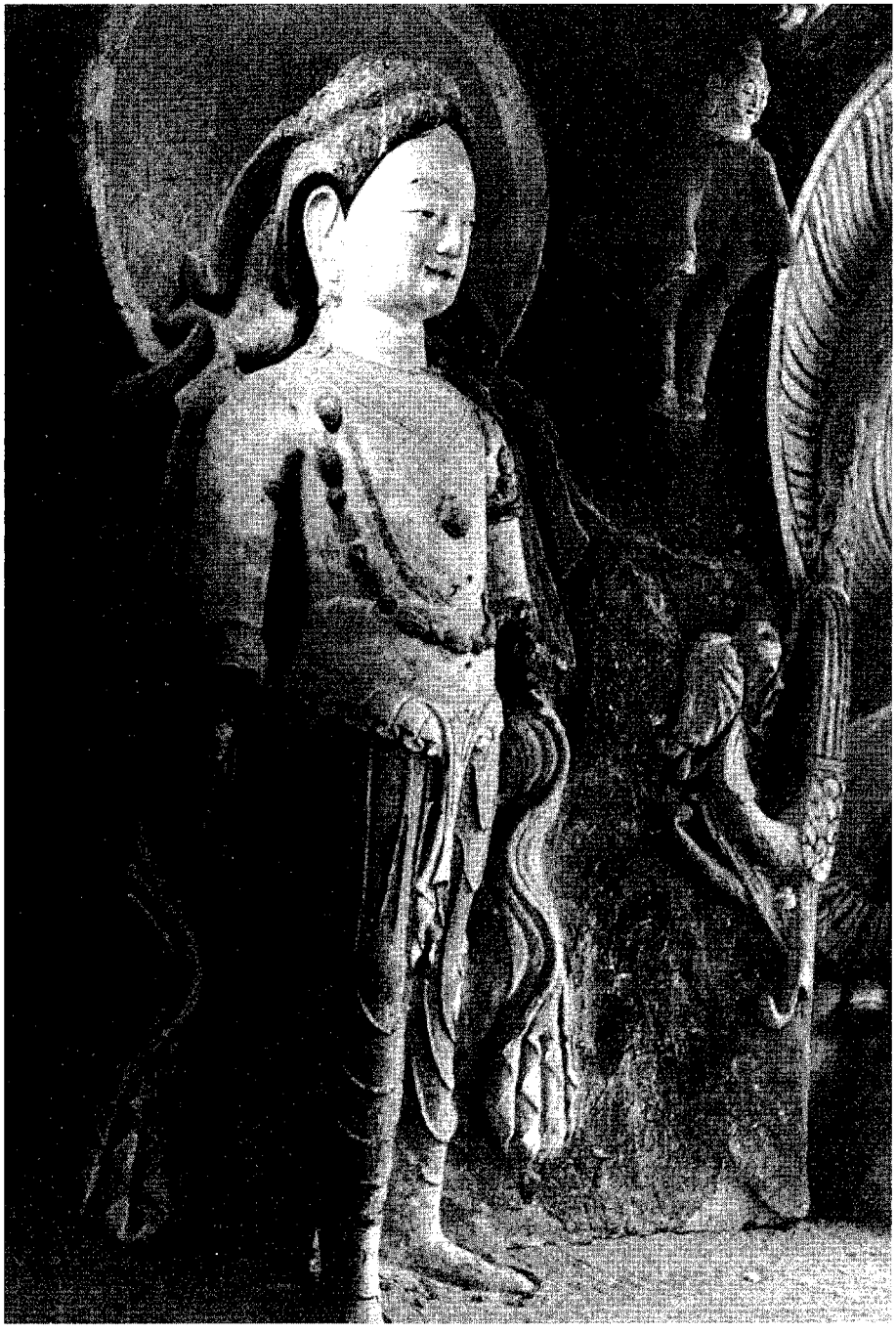


Fig. 5.49 Standing Right Bodhisattva, west wall, lower storey, central pillar, East Cave, Chin-t'a ssu, Kansu (after Kansu sheng wen-wu k'ao-ku yen-chiu-so (1987), Fig. 56)

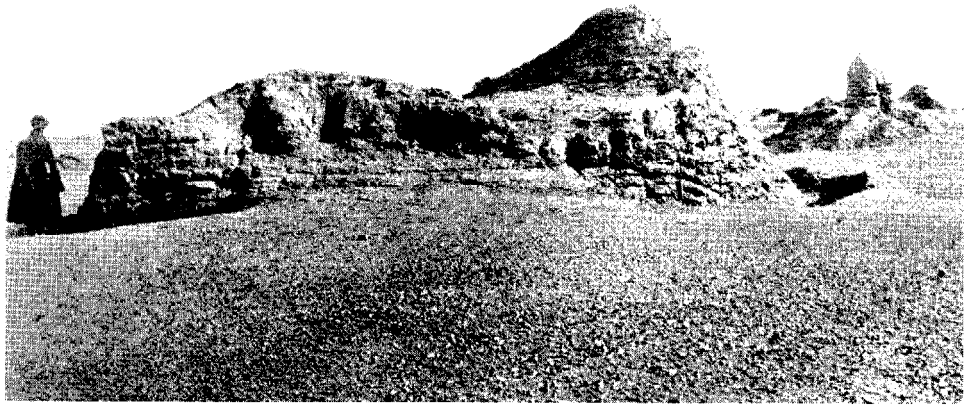


Fig. 5.50 a View of M IV (after Stein (1928), I, Fig. 116)

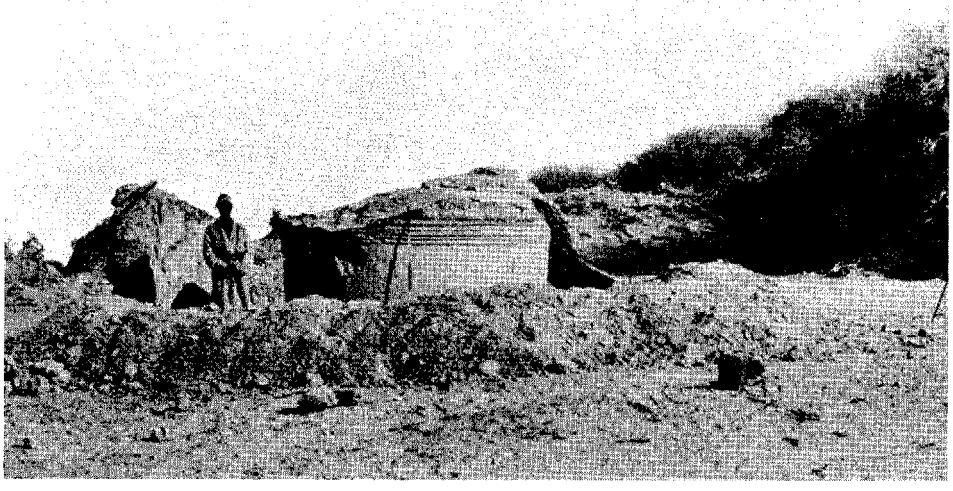


Fig. 5.50 b View of M XIV (after Stein (1928), I, Fig. 118)

Fig. 5.51 a Head, from M XV, Miran (after Stein (1928), IV, Pl. XIX)

Fig. 5.51 b,c Colossal Bodhisattva heads, clay, M XV, Miran (after Stein (1928), IV, Pl. 20)

Fig. 5.51 d,e Buddha heads, from Butkara I, Swat, (after Faccenna (1962 and 1964), II,2, Pl. CCXCVIII)

Fig. 5.51 f Buddha head, fragment o
wall painting from Kara-dong (nea
Khotan), H. about 12 cm, ca. late 4t
century (after Debaine-Francfort
Idriss and Wang (1994), cover)

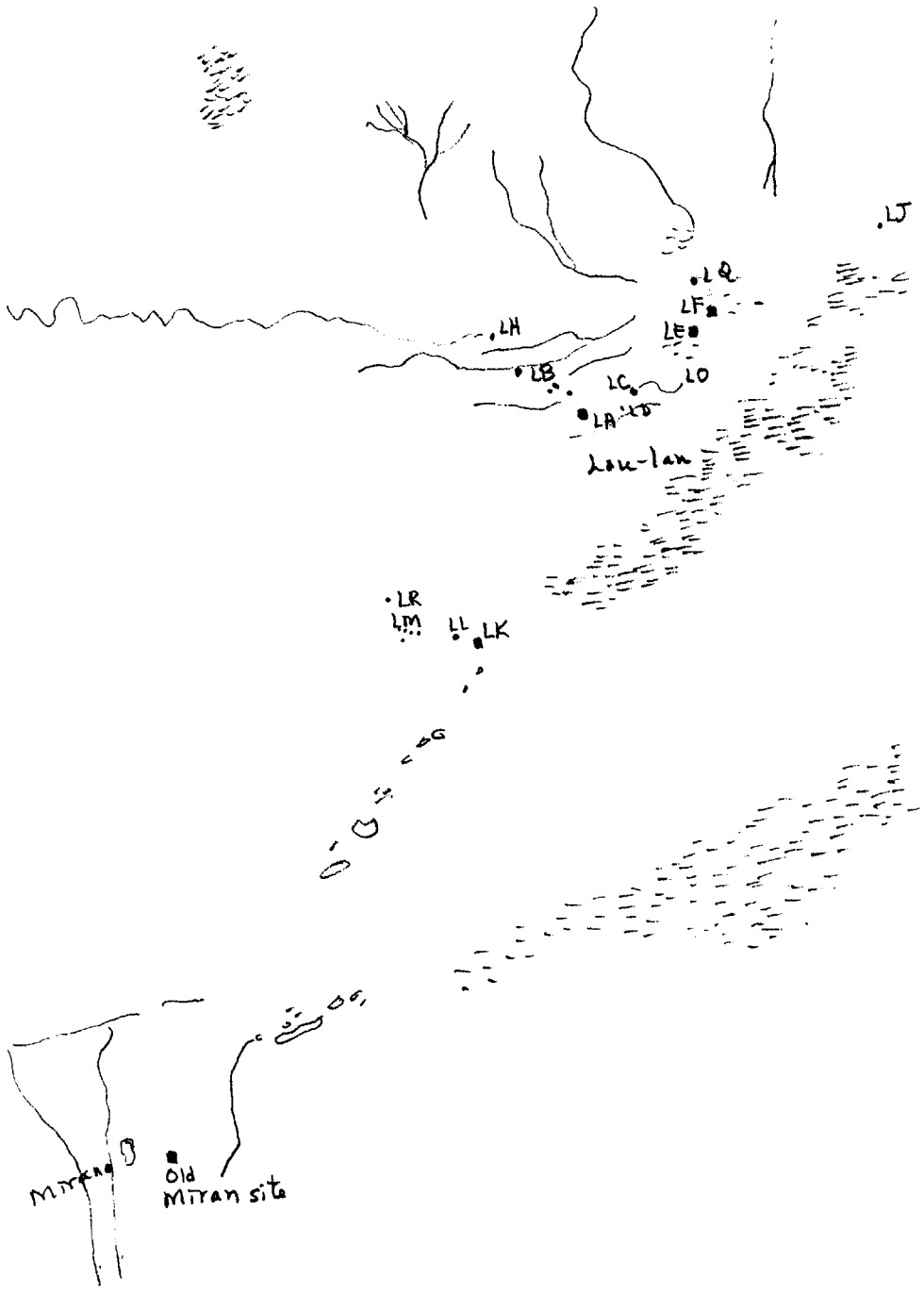


Fig. 5.52 a Map of the Lou-lan vacinity L.A.-L.Q. (after Kaneko (1988), p. 22)

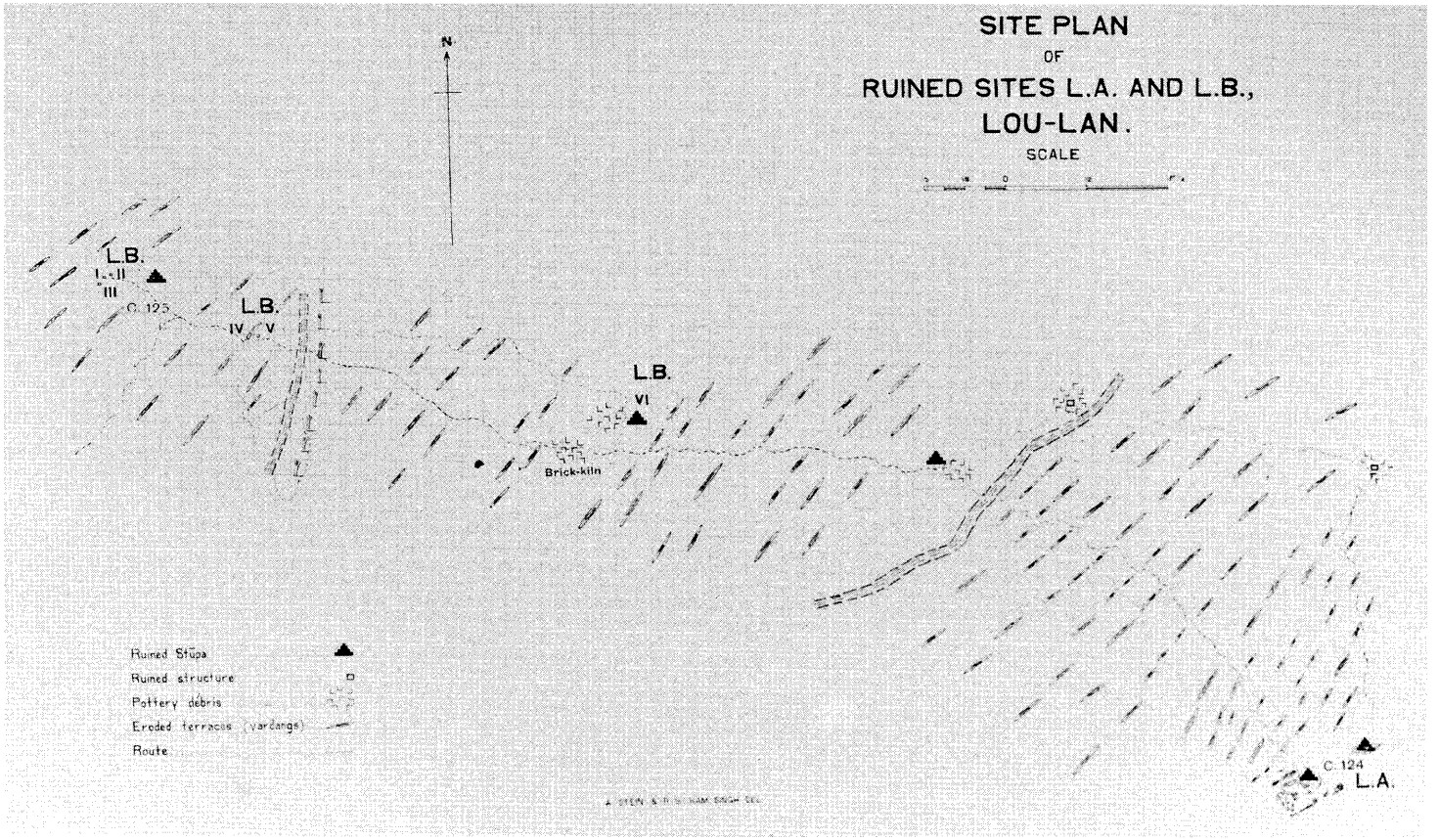


Fig. 5.52 b Map of the Lou-lan L.A and L.B. areas (after Stein (1921), III, Map 22)

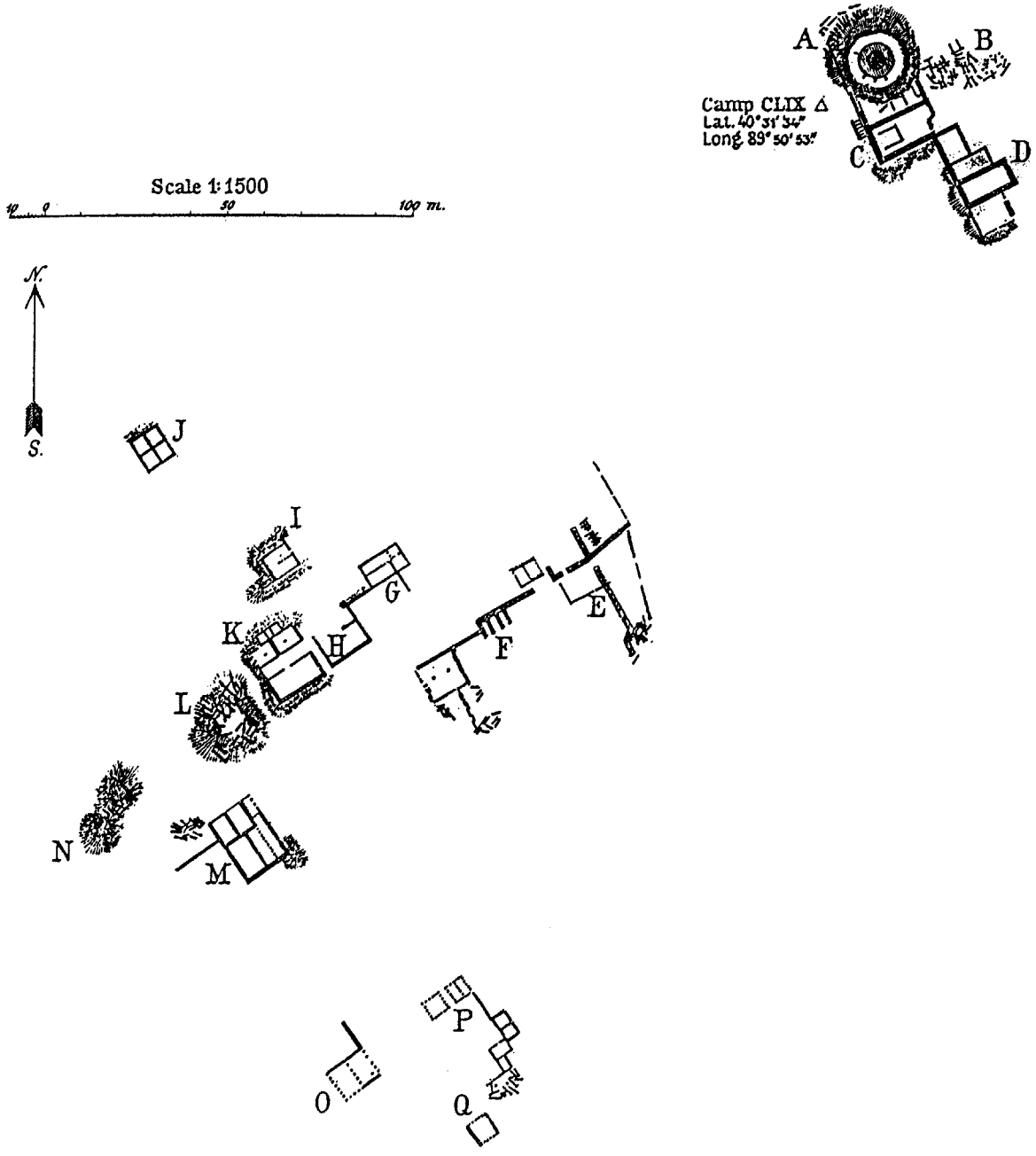


Fig. 5.52 c Sven Hedin's map of Lou-lan ch'eng (L.A.) (after Kaneko (1988), pp. 16 and 17)

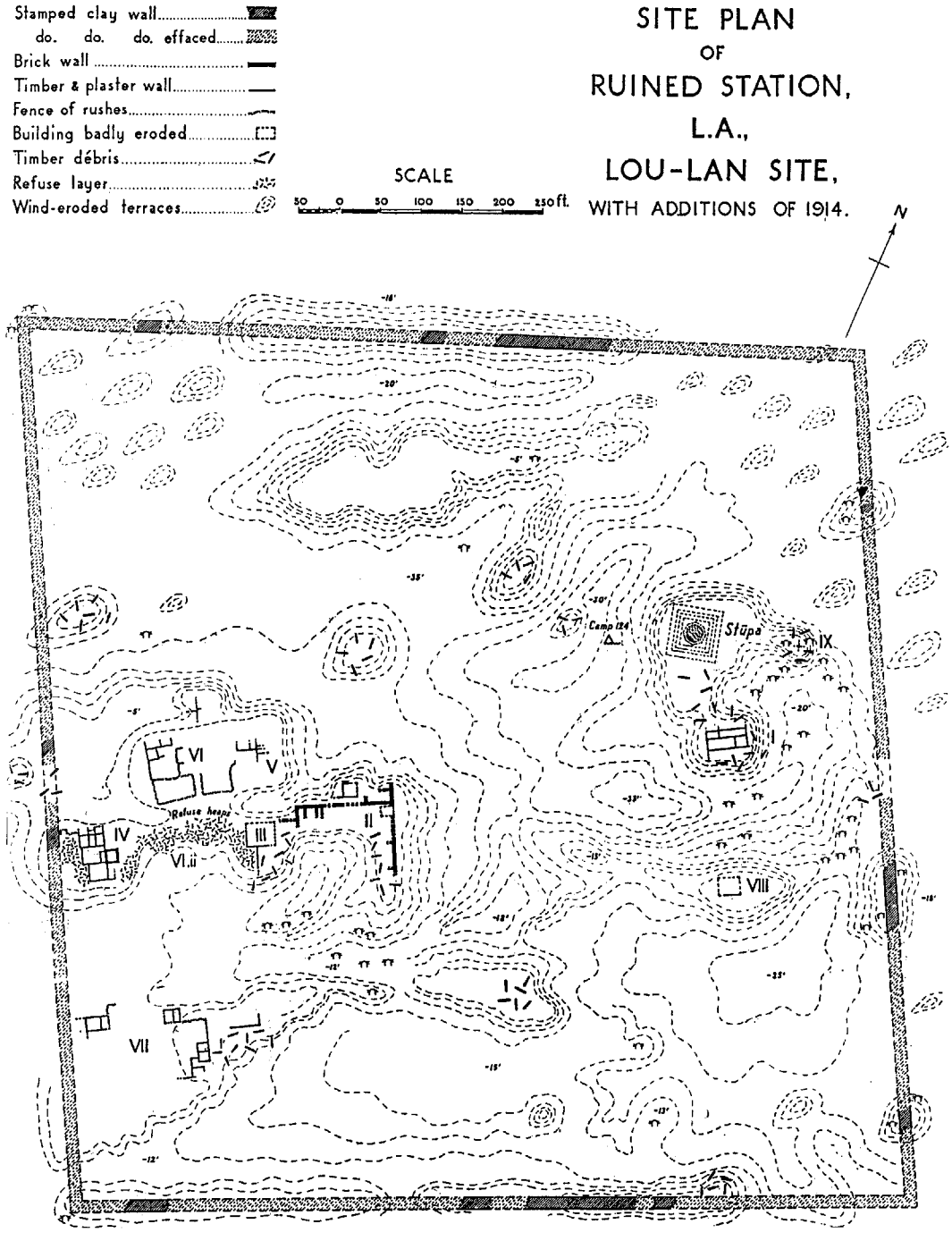


Fig. 5.52 d Map of L.A. ch'eng (after Stein (1921), III, plan 23)

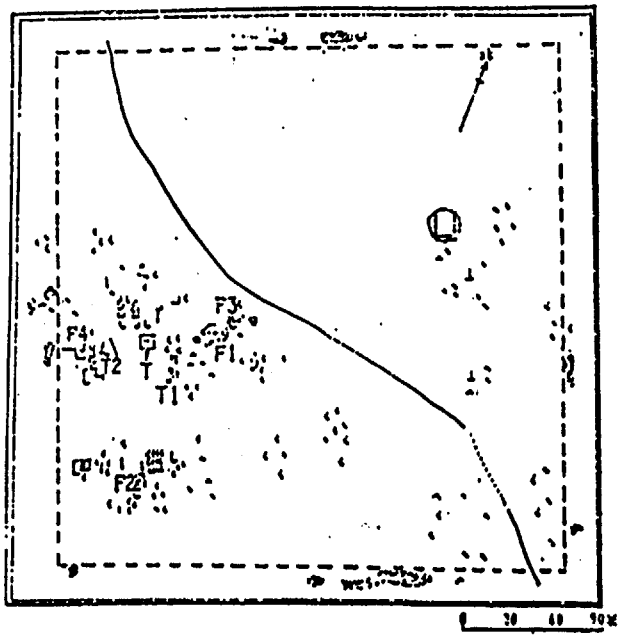


Fig. 5.52 e Map of Lou-lan ch'eng by the Sinkiang Archaeological Investigation Group (after Hsin-chiang Lou-lan k'ao-ku tui (1988a), Fig. 2)

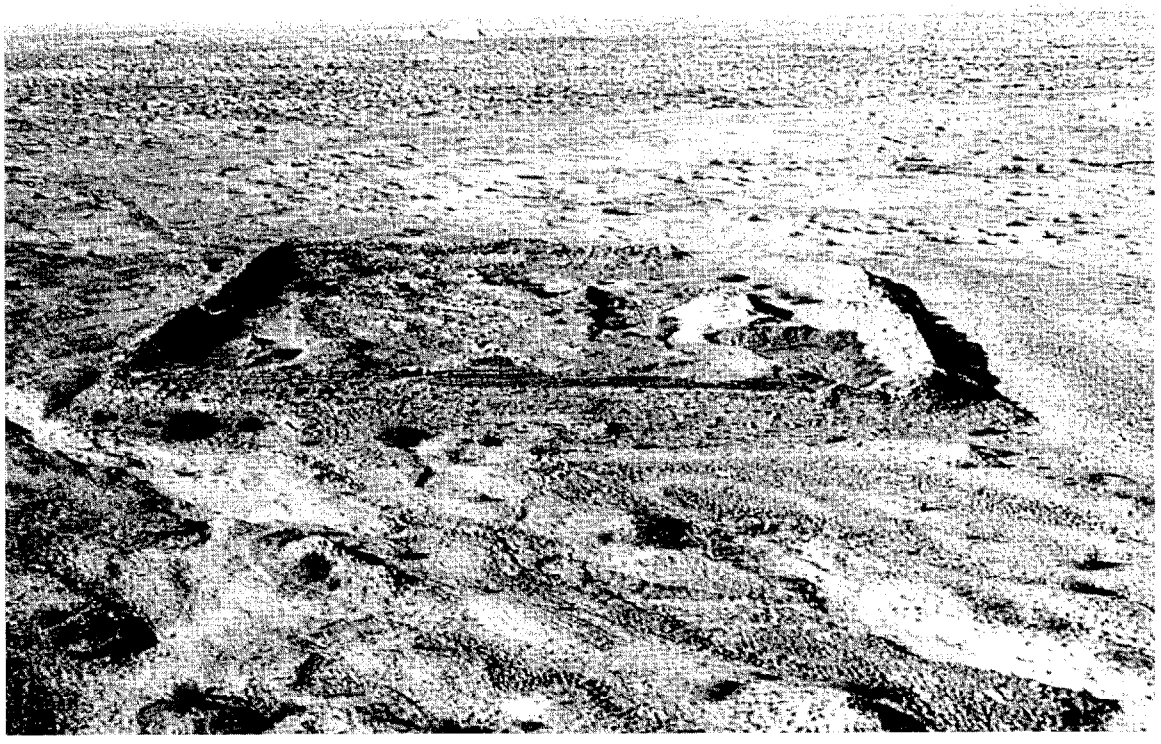


Fig. 5.52 f Areal view of L.E. (after Lin Mei-ts'un (1995), back cover)

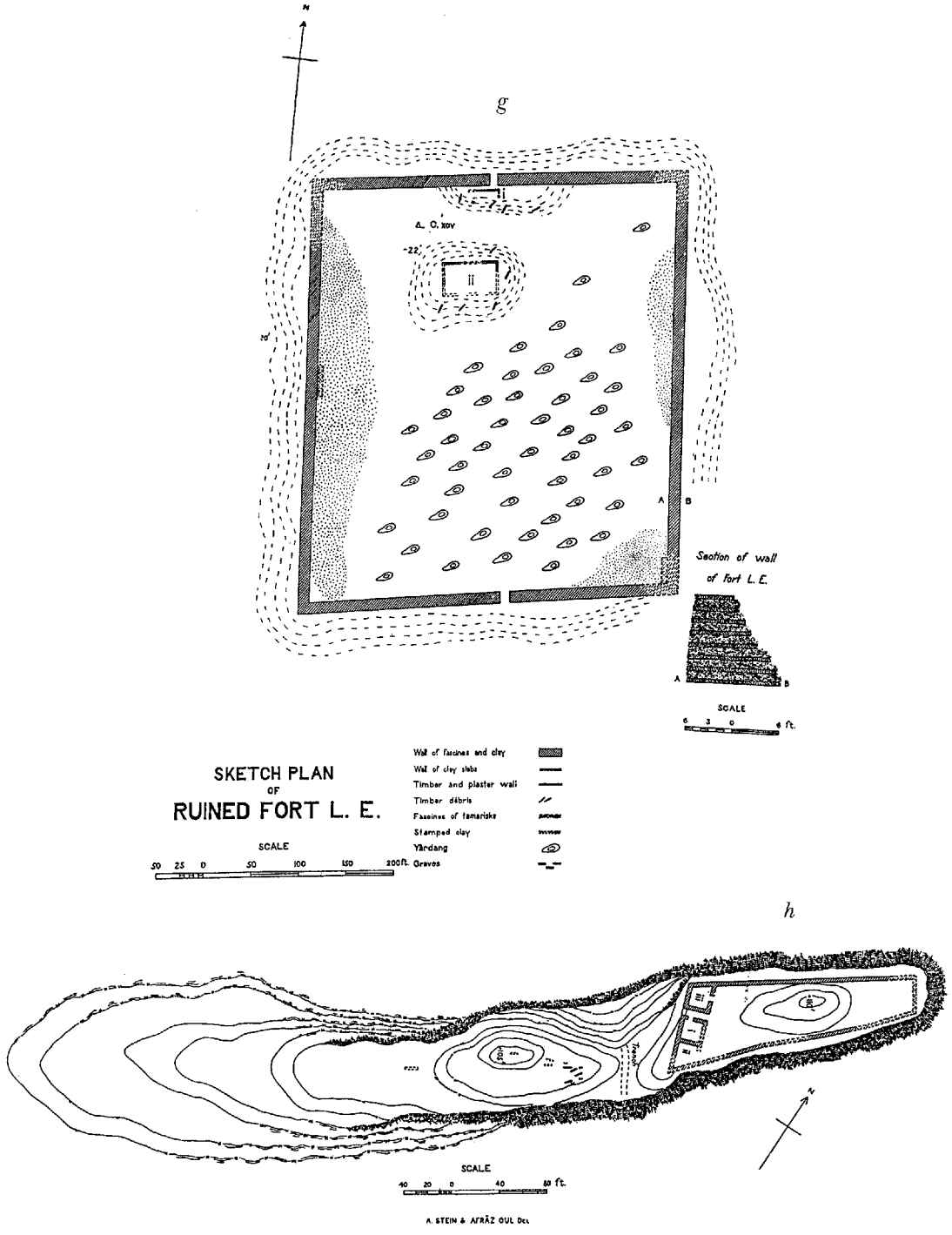


Fig. 5.52 g Plan of L.E. (after Stein (1928), IV, Plan 12); h Plan of L.F. (after Stein (1928), IV, Plan 12)

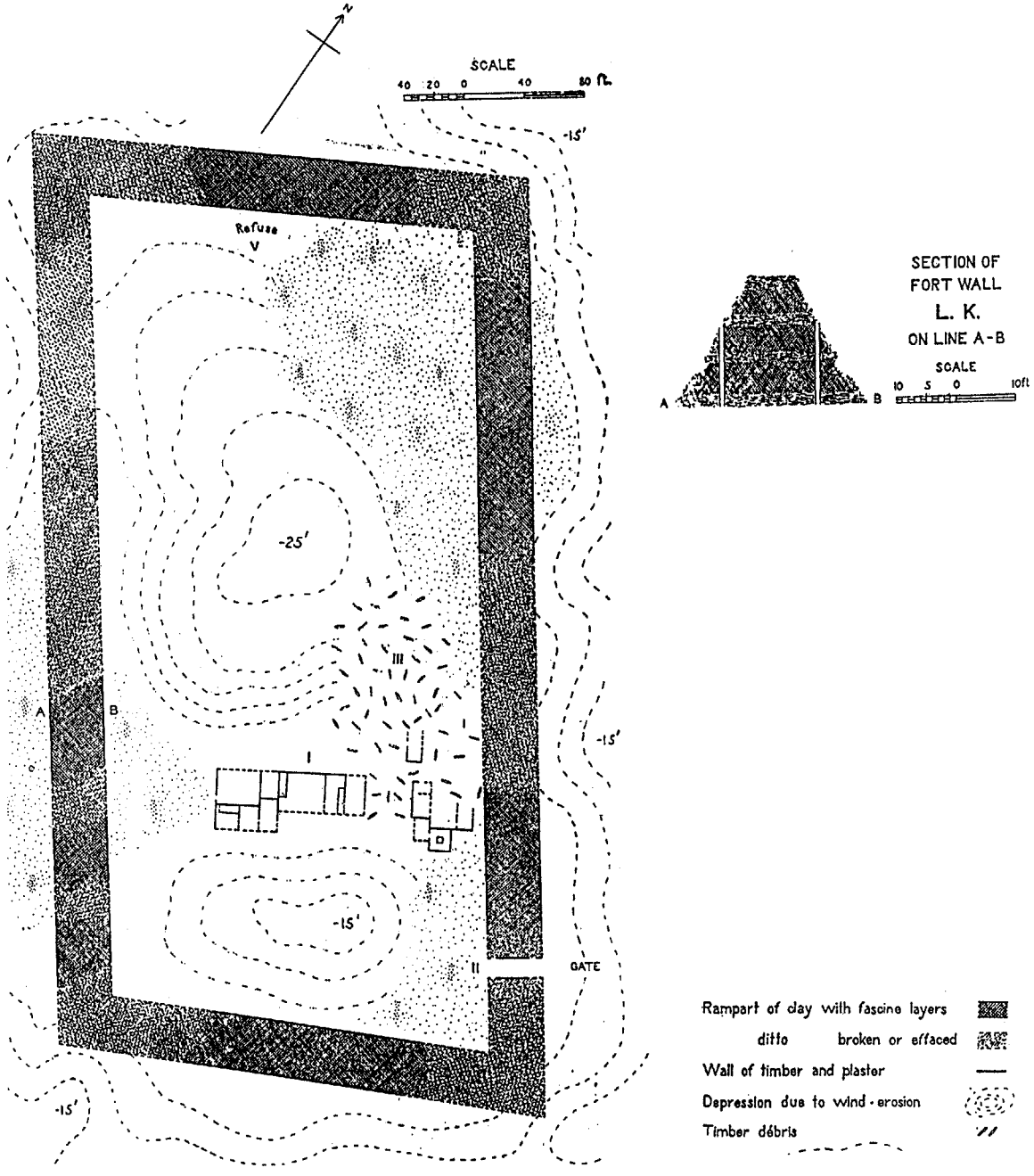


Fig. 5.52 i Plan of L.K. (after Stein (1928), IV, Plan 10)

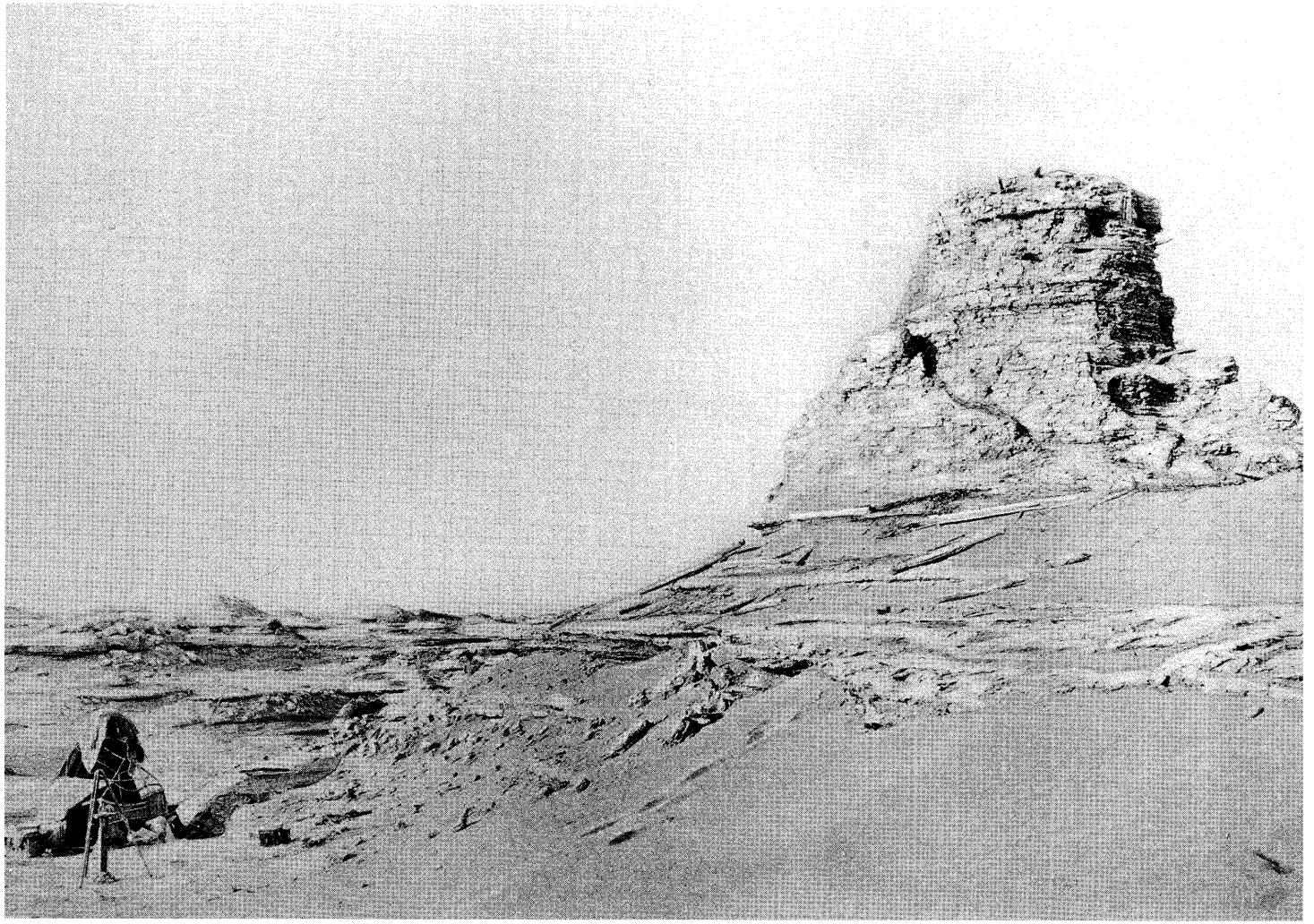


Fig. 5.53 a View of Lou-lan L.A. area and Great Stupa (Hedin's tower A) (after Kaneko (1988), p. 51)

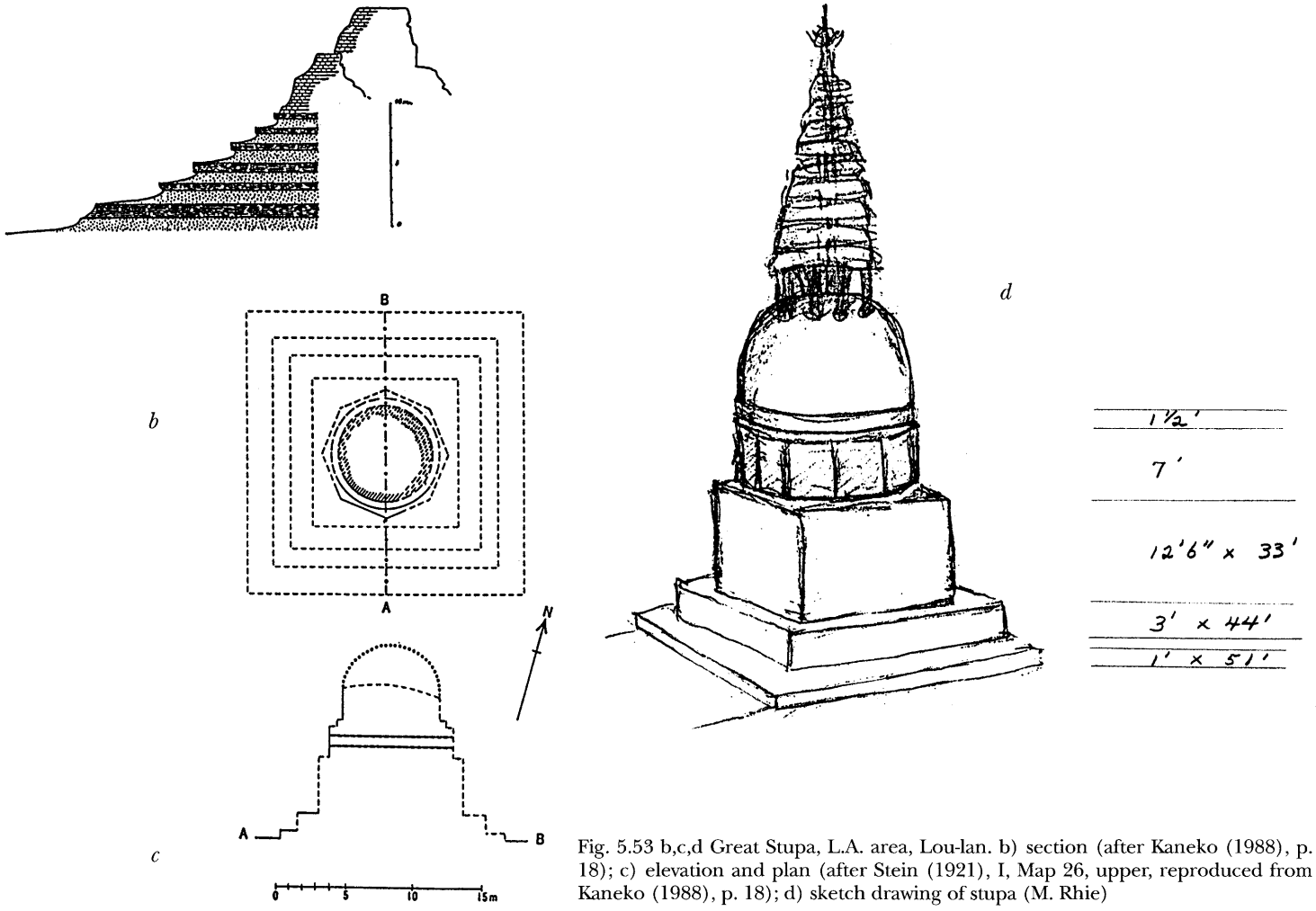


Fig. 5.53 b,c,d Great Stupa, L.A. area, Lou-lan. b) section (after Kaneko (1988), p. 18); c) elevation and plan (after Stein (1921), I, Map 26, upper, reproduced from Kaneko (1988), p. 18); d) sketch drawing of stupa (M. Rhie)

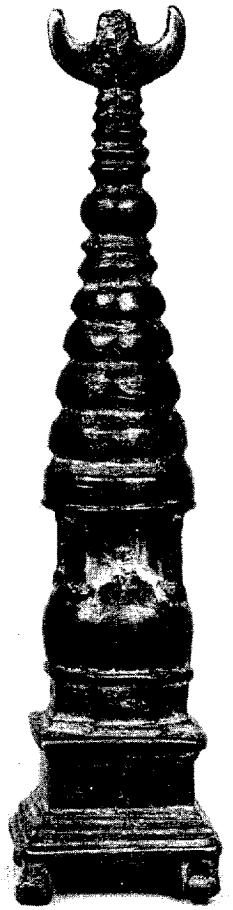


Fig. 5.53 e Reliquary Stupa, bronze, private collection, Japan, H. 12 cm. (after Kurita (1988 and 1990), II, Fig. 808)

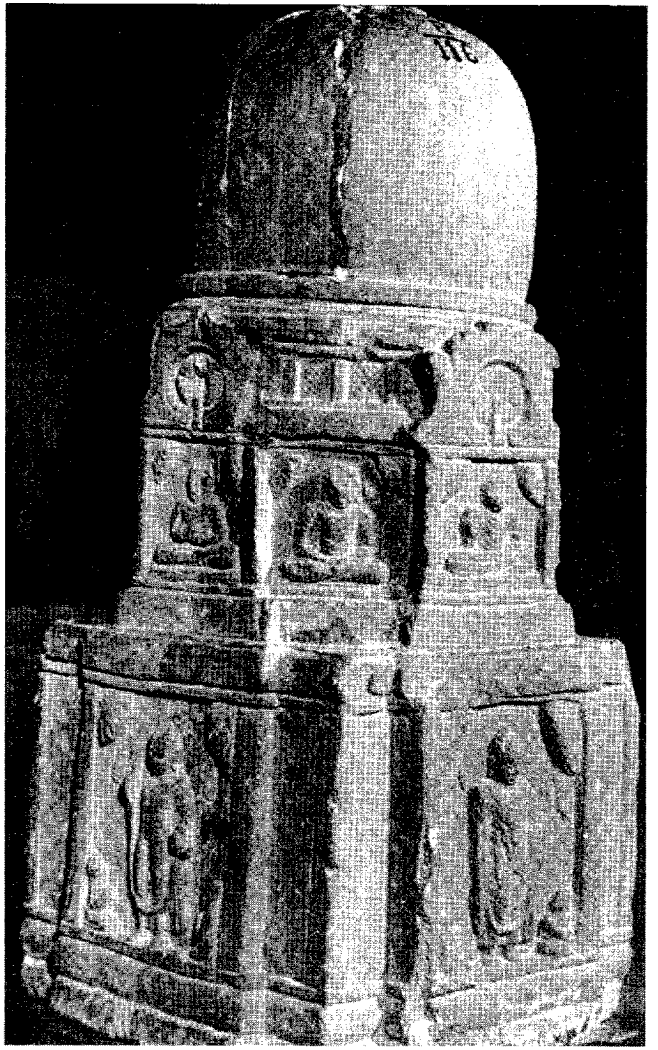
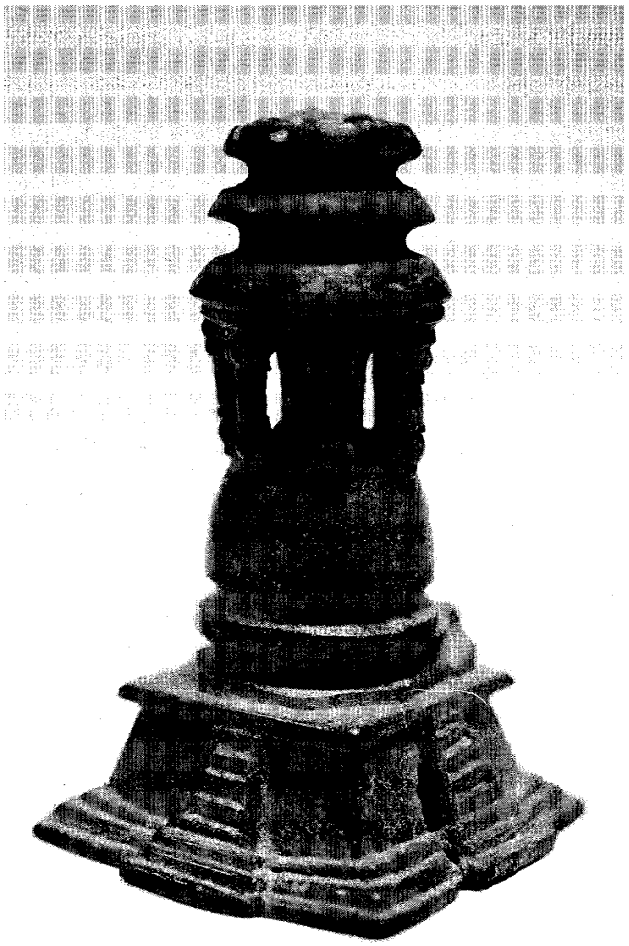


Fig. 5.53 f Stone Stupa, from Mathurā, ca. 2nd-3rd century A.D., Archaeological Museum, Lucknow (photo M. Rhie)



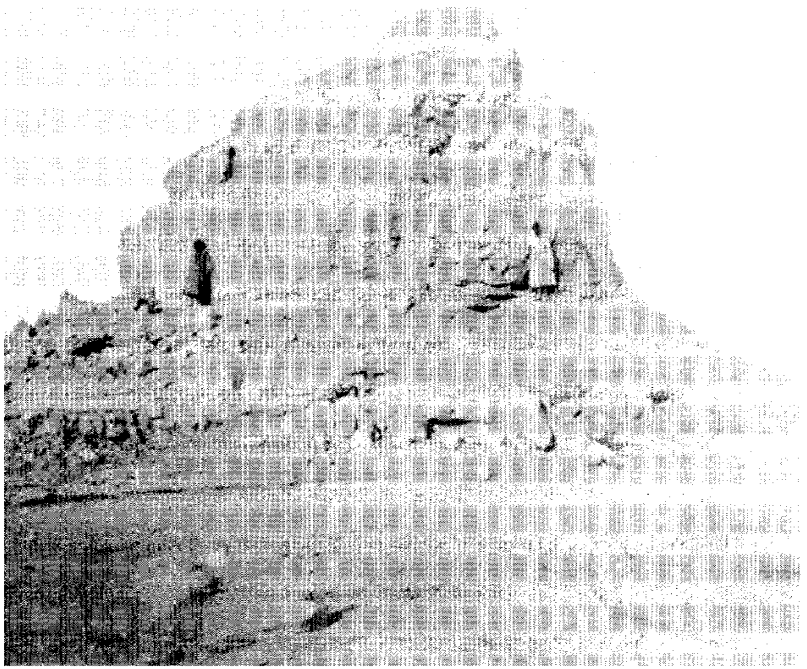


Fig. 5.54 a Ruined beacon tower (or stupa), northwest of Lou- lan city walls about 3 miles (after Stein (1921), I, Fig. 97)

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Fig. 5.53 g One of a pair of bronze stupas, probably Gandhāran, ca. 3rd-4th century, Metropolitan Museum of Art, N. Y. (photo M. Rhie)

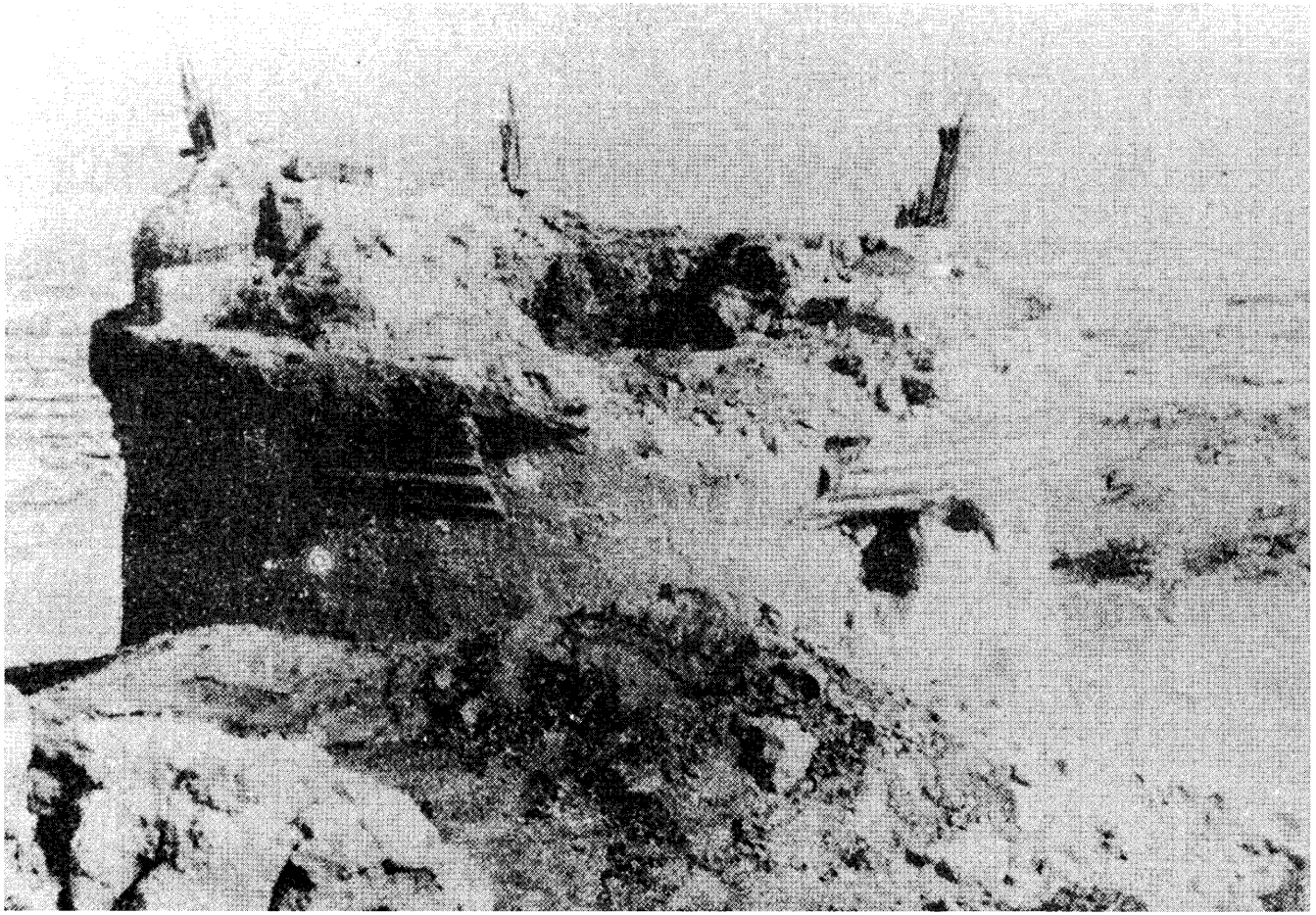

Fig. 5.54 b Ruined Shrine or Stupa "FO", northeast of Lou-lan city walls, extant height 6.28 m (after Hsin- chiang Lou-lan k'ao-ku tui (1988a), Fig. 7)

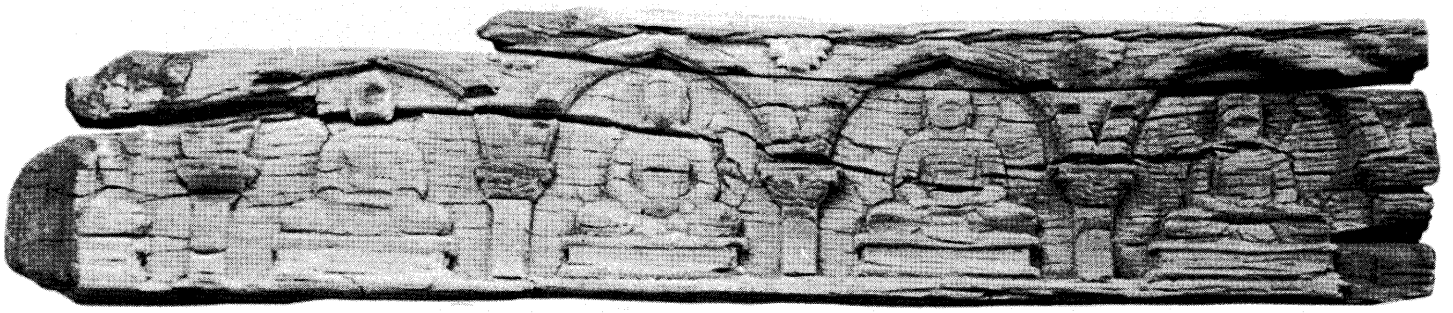

Fig. 5.55 a,b,c Lintel fragment with 4 complete and 2 partial Buddha niches, L.A. area, Lou-lan (Hedin's site F, Stein's site II), ca. 3rd century A.D., carved poplar wood, L. 107 x W. 22 x Depth 6.5 cm, Folkens Museum Etnografiska, Stockholm. a) complete fragment (after Kaneko (1988), 5.8)

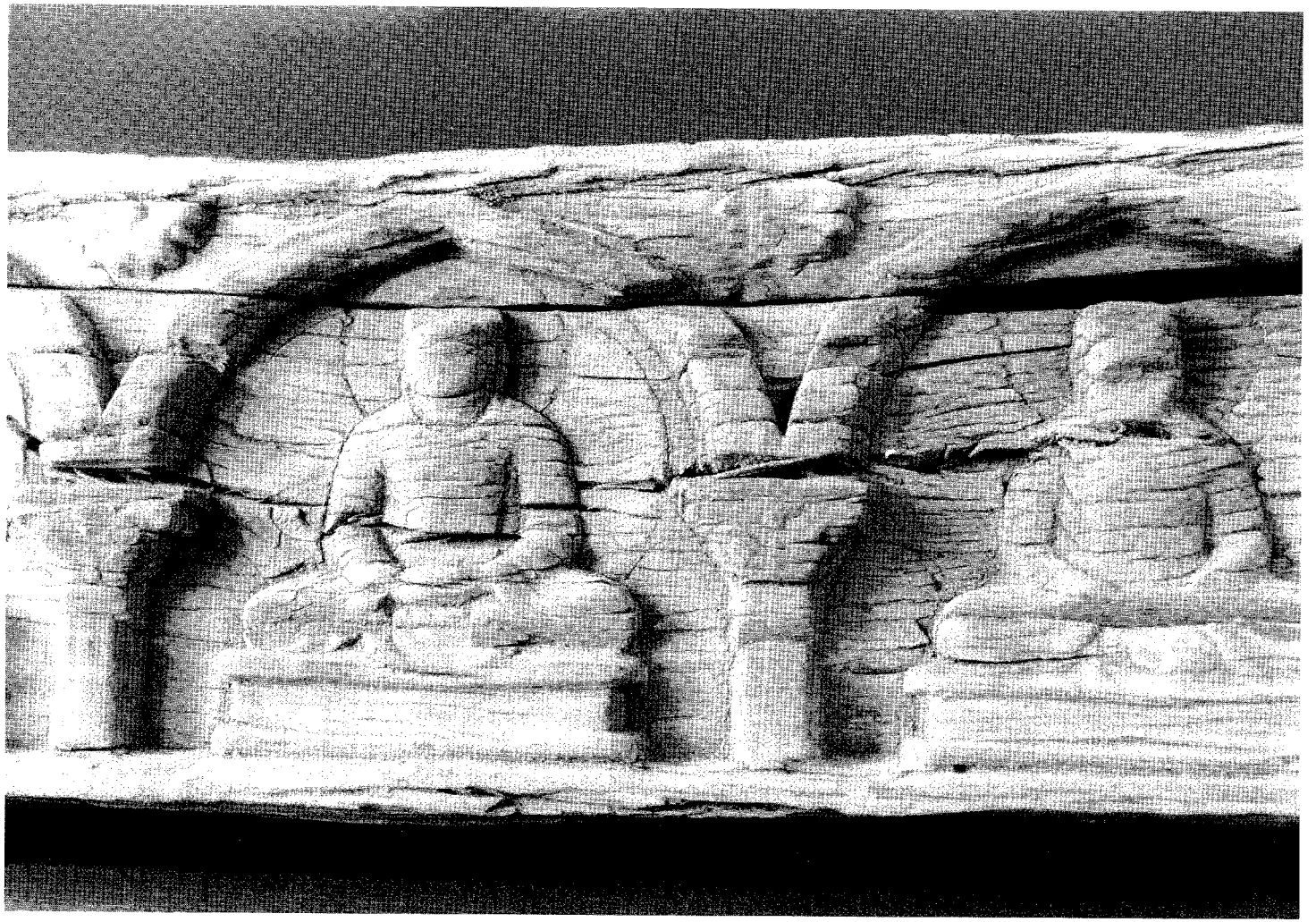

Fig. 5.55 b) detail (photo M. Rhie)

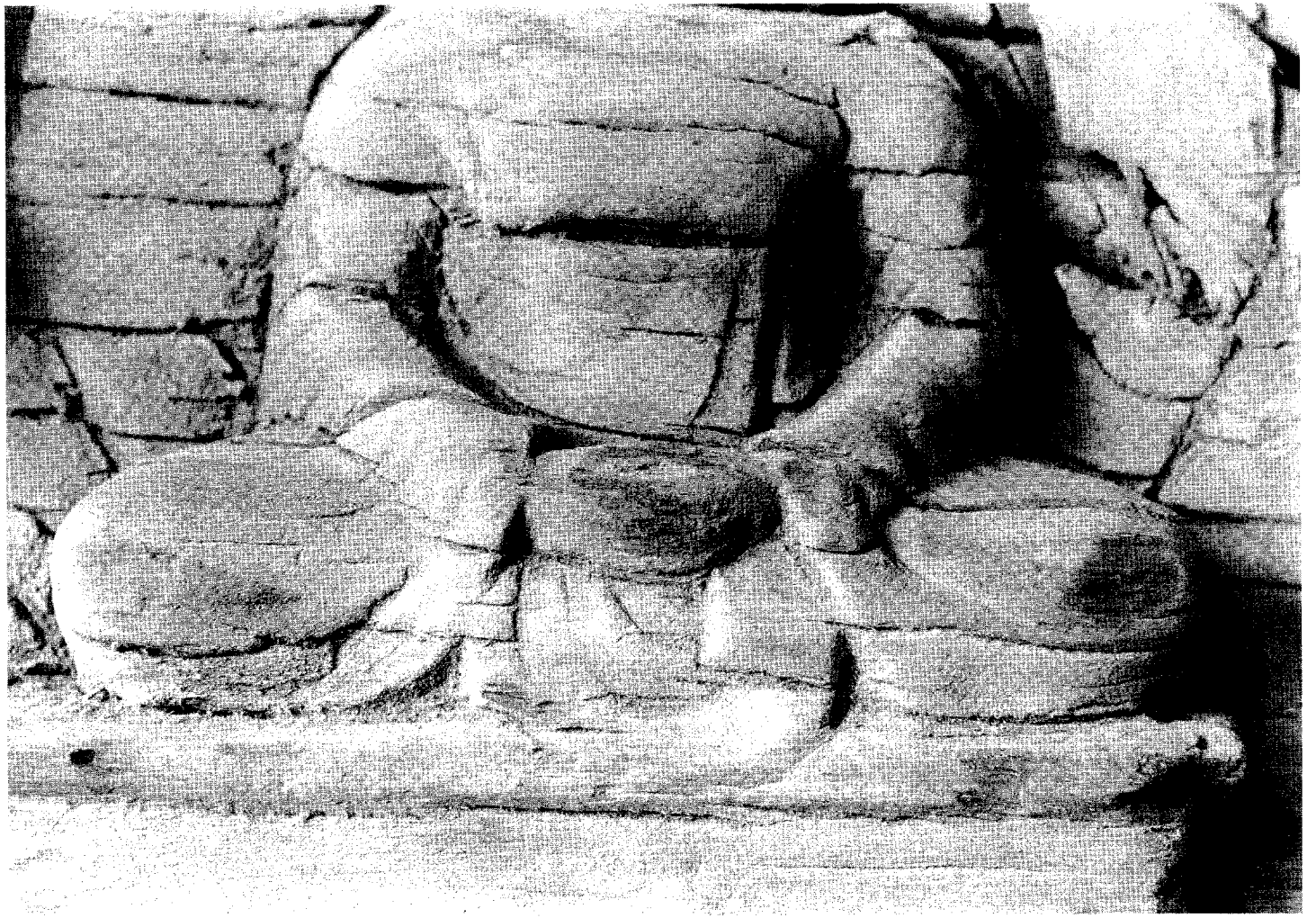

Fig. 5.55 c) detail (photo M. Rhie)

Fig. 5.56 Jamb fragment with two niches, Butkara I, Swat, schist, (after Faccenna (1962 and 19640), II,2, Pl. CCLXXXIX)

Fig. 5.57 Carved niche with seated Buddha and two monks, white limestone, from Fayaz-tepe, southern Uzbekistan, ca. 3rd-early 4th century A.D. (after Giès and Cohen (1995), no. 188)

Fig. 5.58 Buddha niche, detail of Fig. 5.55 (photo M. Rhie)

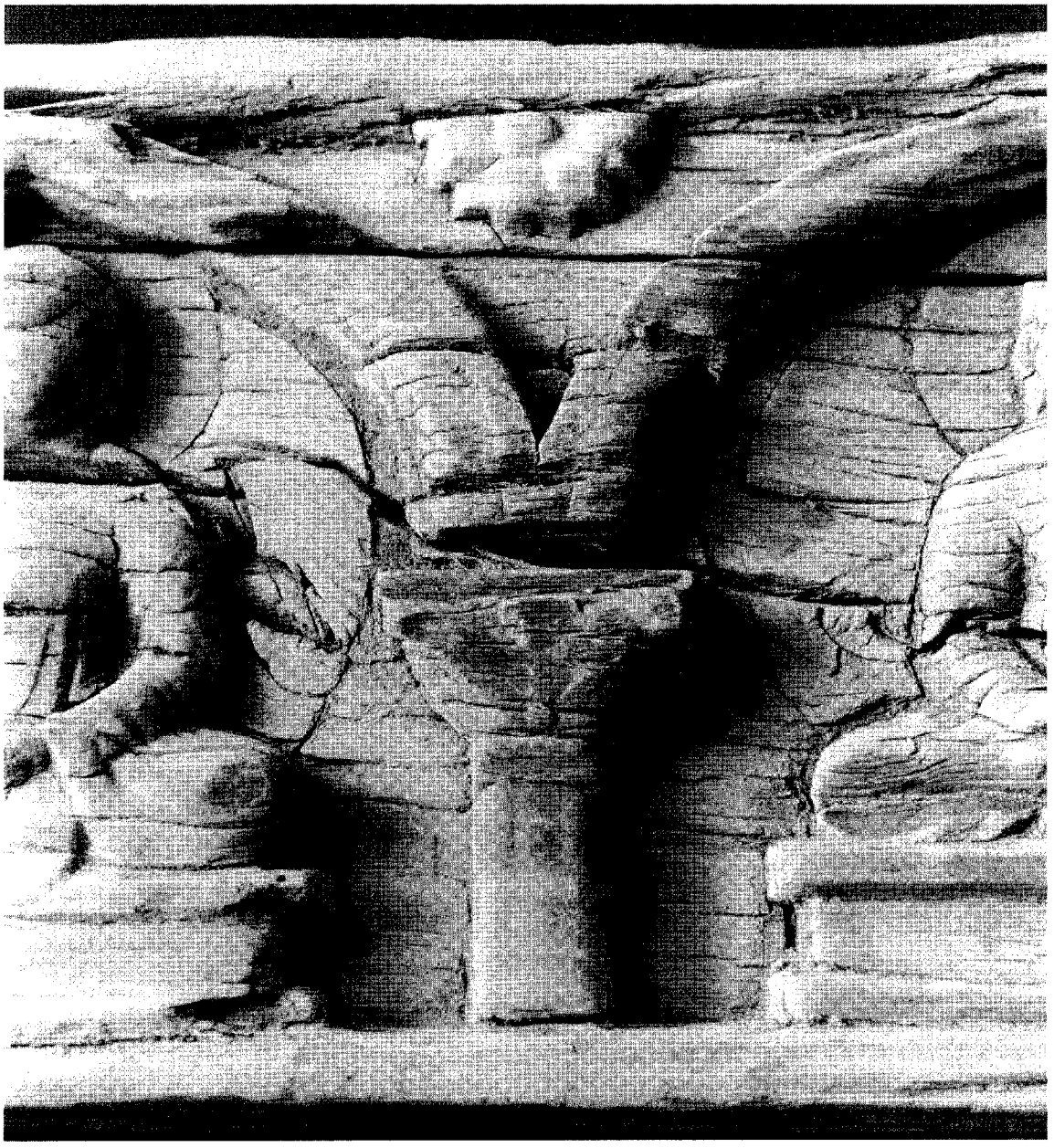

Fig. 5.59 Niche pillar, detail of Fig. 5.55 (photo M. Rhie)

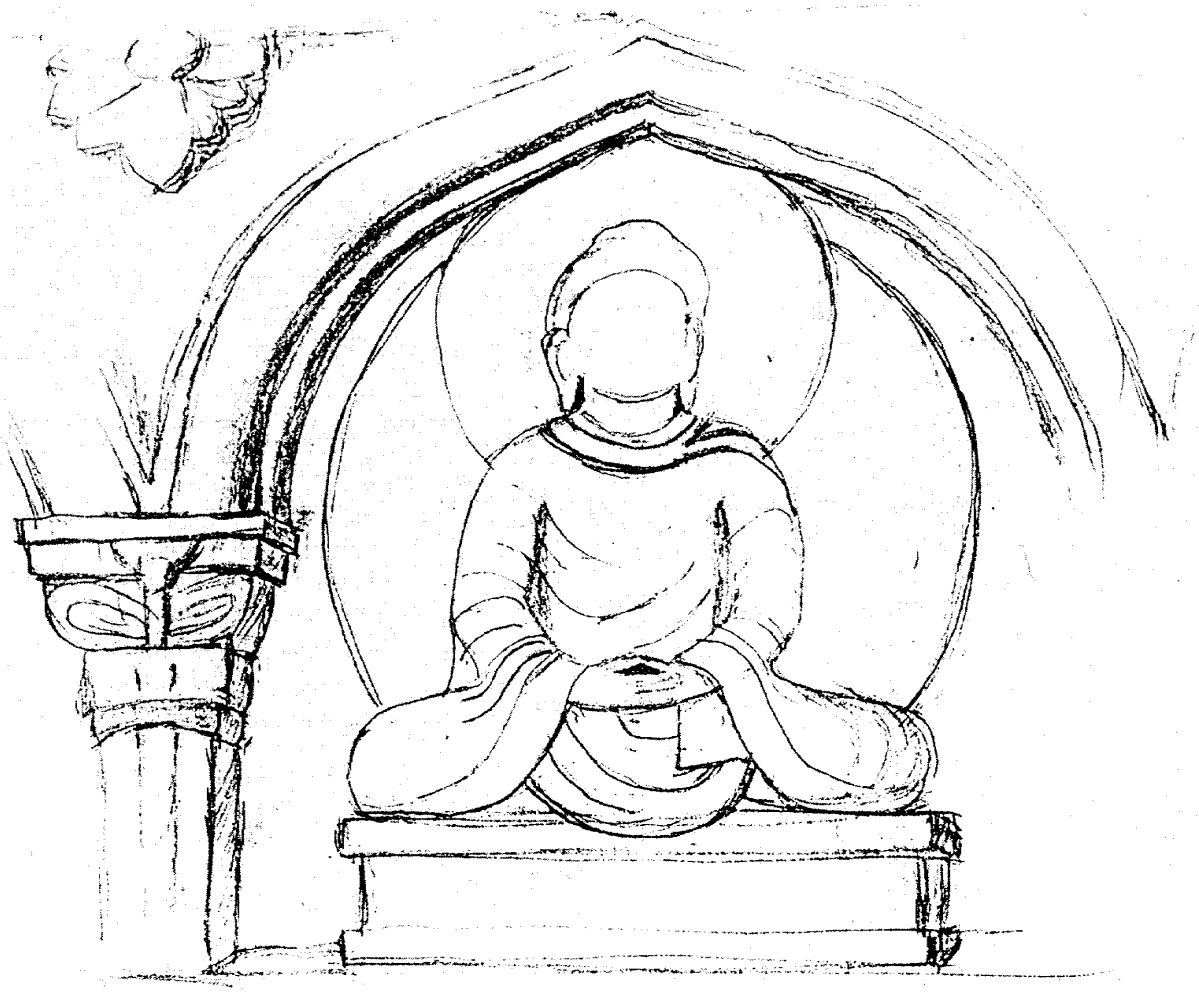

Fig. 5.60 Composite drawing of the Buddha niches of Fig. 5.55 (M. Rhie)

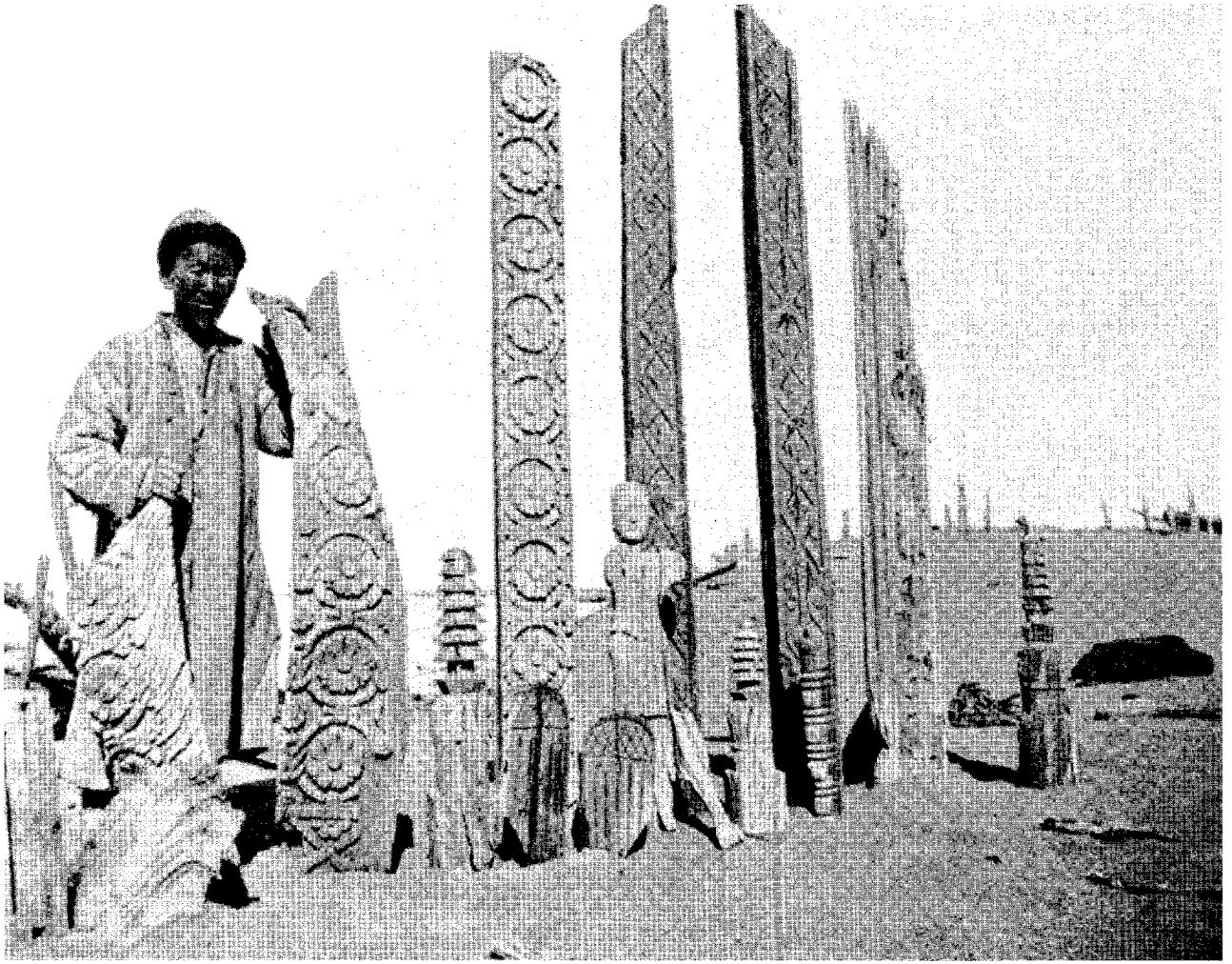

Fig. 5.61 Wood carvings from L.B. II [Hedin's 1901 photo; after Hedin (1905)]

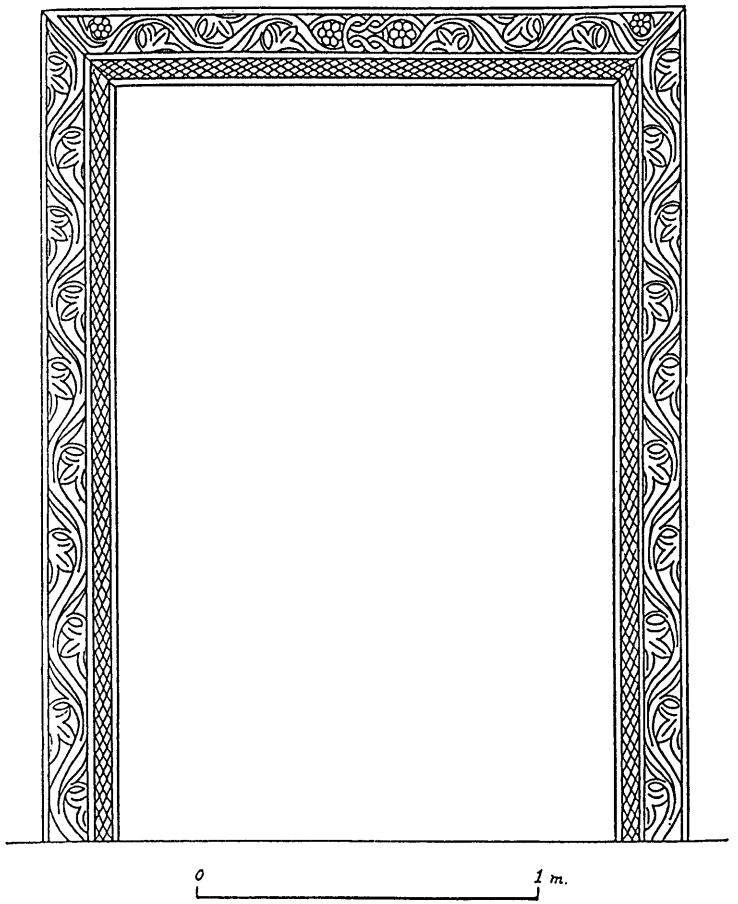

Fig. 5.62 a Reconstruction of doorway of L.B. II (after Bergman (1935), p. 80, Fig. 1)

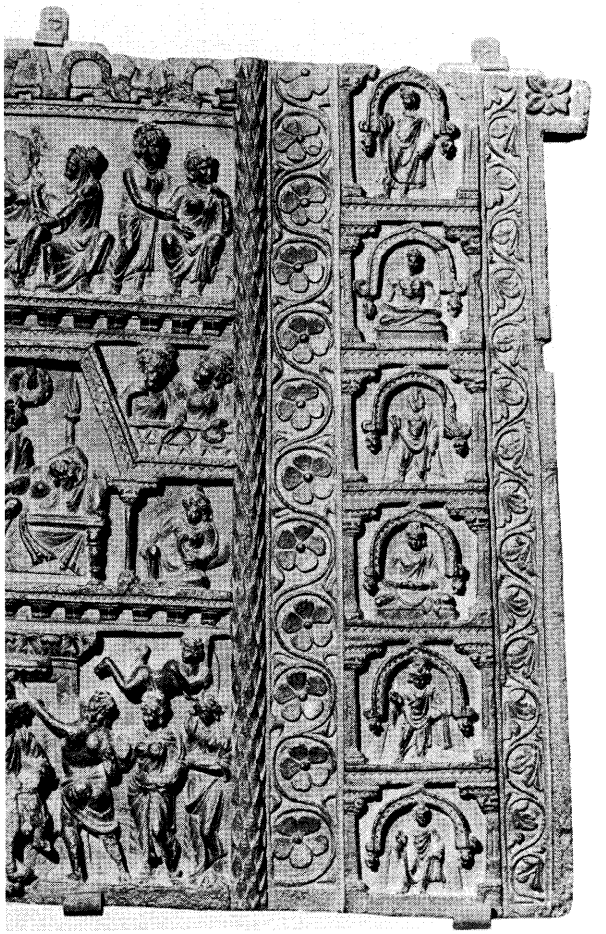

Fig. 5.62 b Fragment of a gable, schist, Gandhāra, Kushana period, H. 55.5 cm, Royal Ontario Museum of Art (after Kurita (1988 and 1990), I, Fig. 147)

Fig. 5.62 c Doorway of the Building of Eumachia, Pompeii, marble, before 71 A.D. (after *Pompeii, the Rediscovered City* [from "Pompeii" by Amedeo Maiuti Novara, Istituto Geografico de Agostini, 1960], p. 8, lower left)

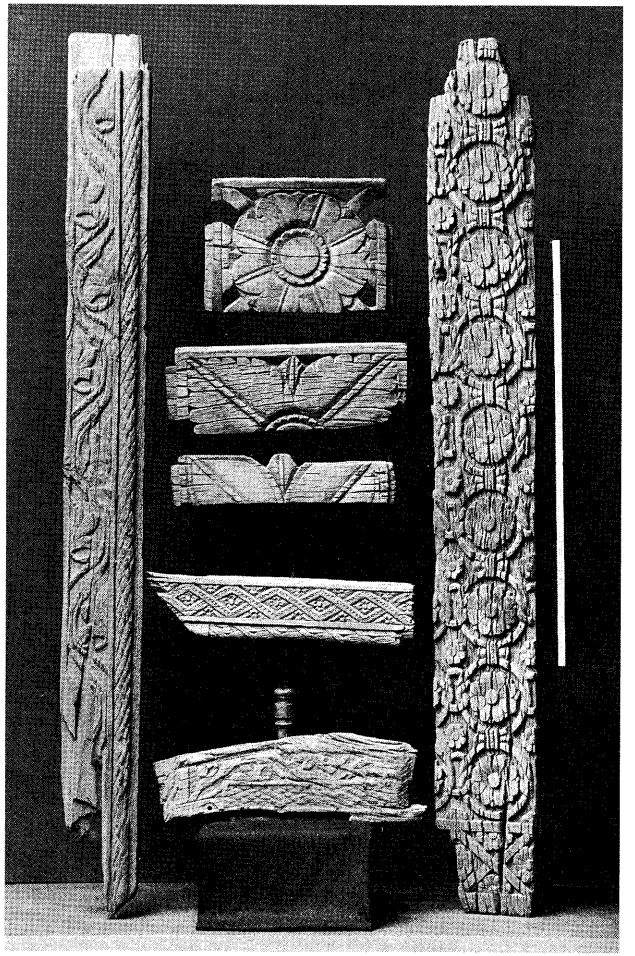

Fig. 5.63 Assortment of Carved Woodwork brought from Lou-lan by Sven Hedin

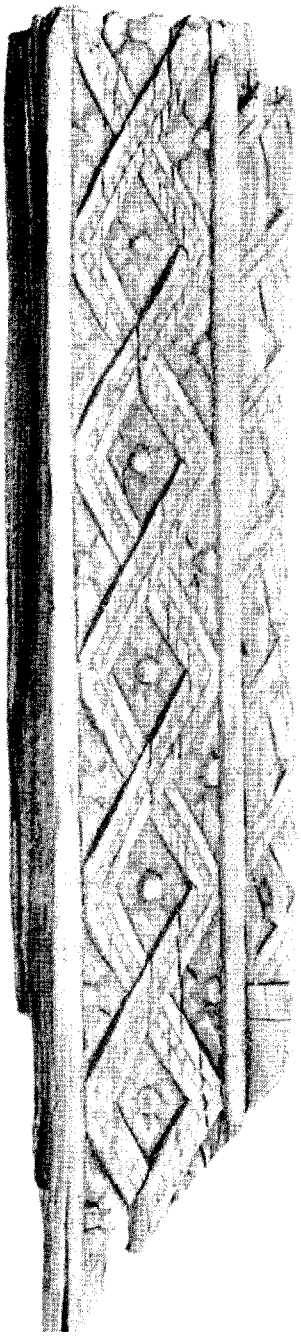

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Fig. 5.64 a Carved wooden beam, from Lou-lan, 63 x 14 cm (after Kaneko (1988), No. 5-6)

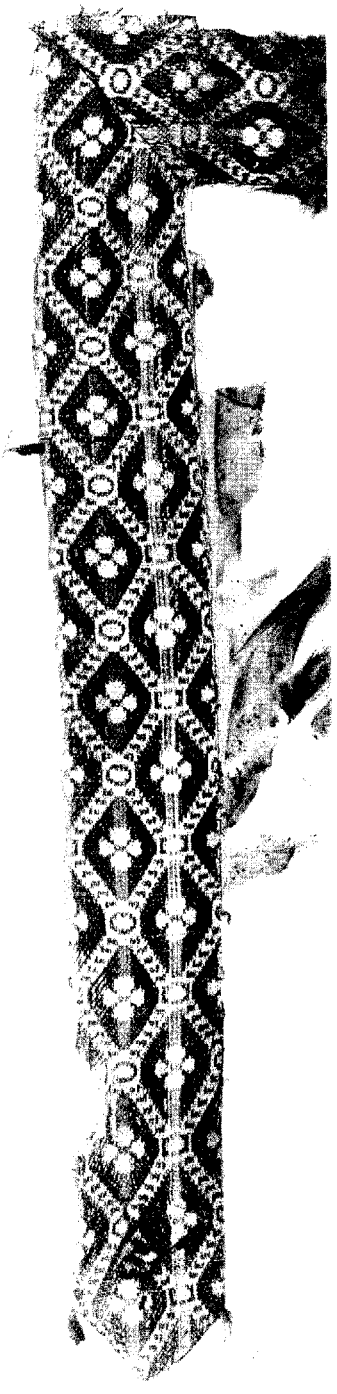

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Fig. 5.64 b Textile fragment from Tun-huang (after Stein (1921), IV, Pl. LV)

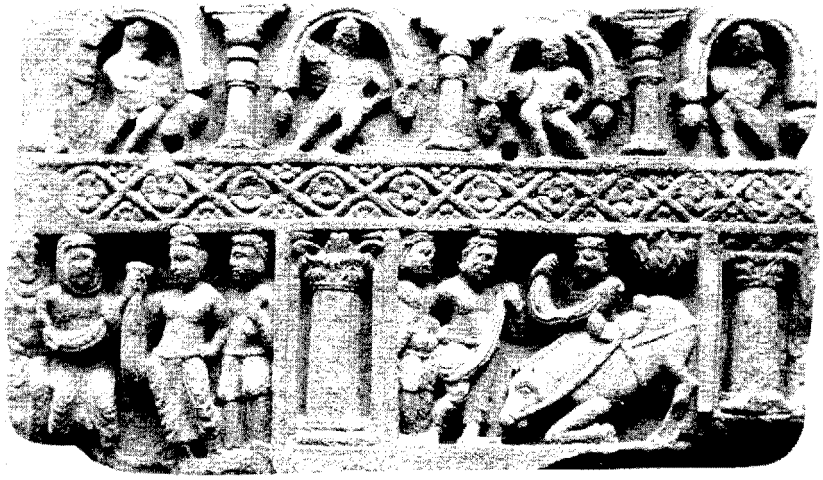
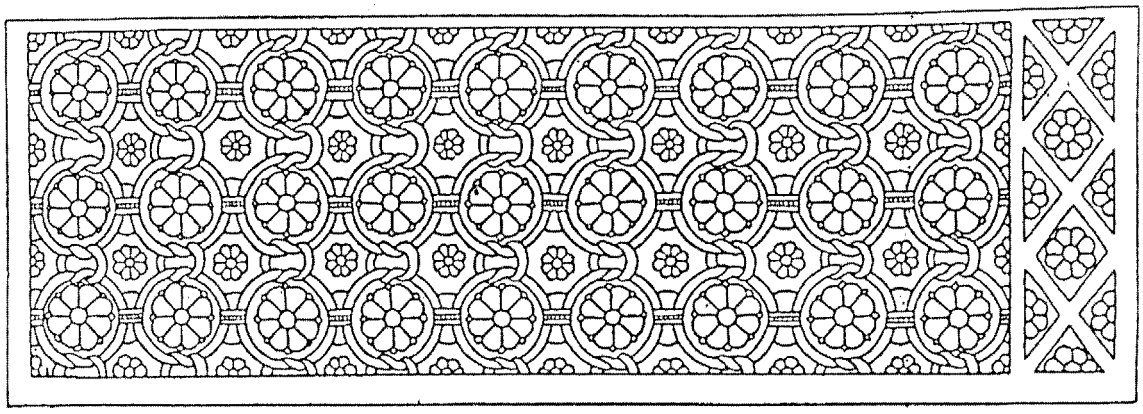


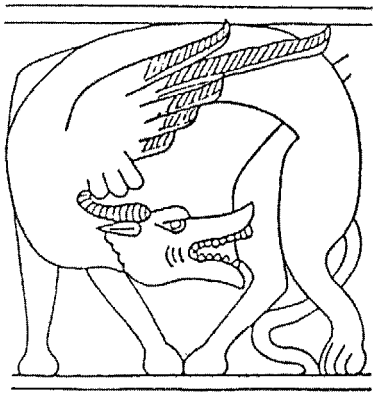
Fig. 5.65 Relief from Gandhāra, 3rd century, grey schist, H. 22 cm, private collection, Japan (after Kurita (1988 and 1990), I, Fig. 168)

Fig. 5.66 a Relief panel, Siddhārtha in Tushita Heaven, from Barikot?, ca. 3rd century, gray schist, H. 35 cm., private collection, Japan (after Kurita (1988 and 1990), I, Fig. 12)

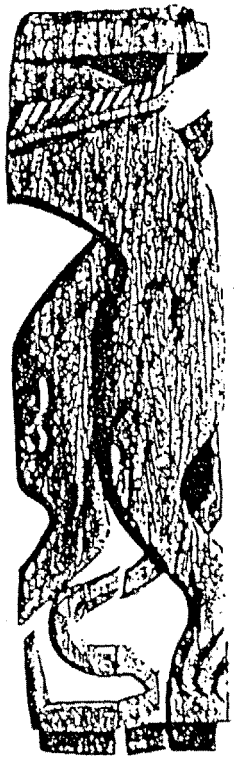
Fig. 5.66 b Assortment of sculptures excavated from Loriyan Tangai, Gandhāra (courtesy of the Fine Arts Library, Harvard College Library)



a



c



b

Fig. 5.67 a-c Wood carvings from Lou-lan L.B. II. a) Drawing of beam (after Bergman (1935), p. 83, Fig. 4); b) wood carving of hind quarters of a leogryph (after Bergman (1935), Pl.IV, 6); c) drawing of reconstructed figure in Fig. 5.67b (after Bergman (1935), p. 83, Fig. 2)

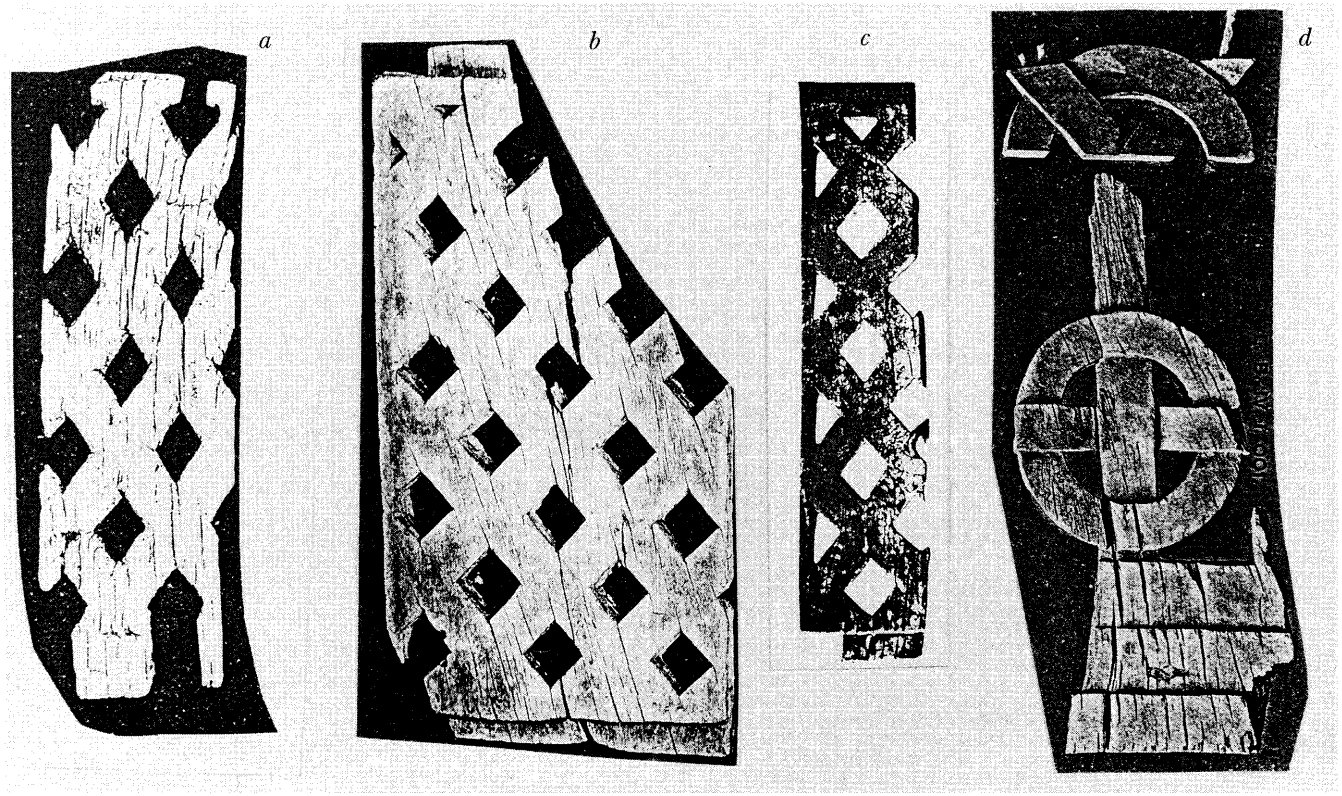


Fig. 5.68 a-d Wooden lattice fragments from L.B. sites a) L.B.IV (after Stein (1921), IV, Pl. XXXIX [L.B.IV.i.001]). b) L.B. II (after Bergman (1935), Pl. III, Fig. 8); c) L.B. II (after Stein (1921), IV, Pl. XXXIII [L.B.II.0028]); d) L.B. V (after Stein (1921), IV, PL. XXXIII [L.B.V. 00121)

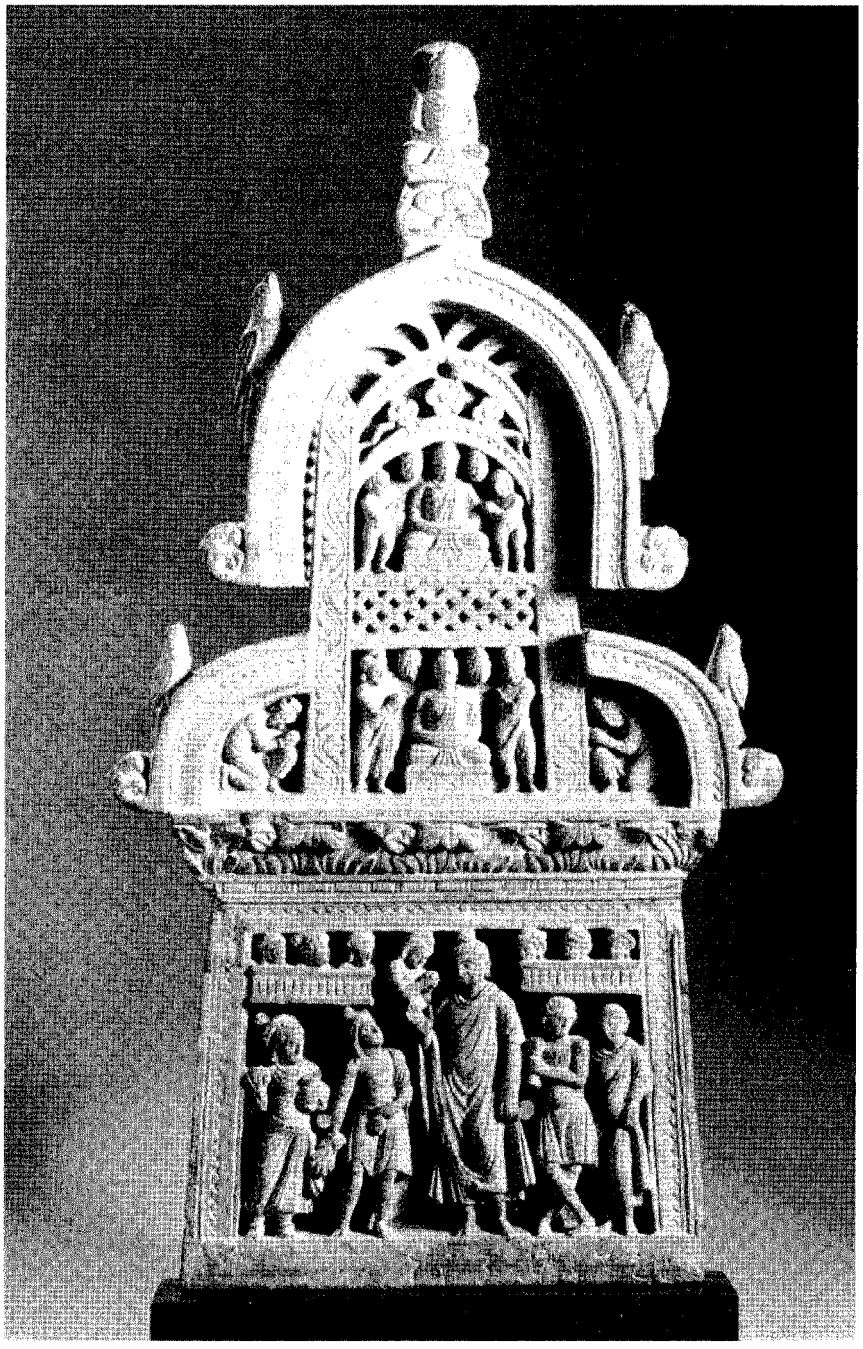


Fig. 5.69 Gable with reliefs, from Gandhāra, gray schist, H. 80.6 cm, Willard Clark collection (after Kurita (1988 and 1990, I, Fig. 1)

a *b*

Fig. 5.70 a-g Miniature Stupas from Lou-lan. a) wood, from L.B. II, now in the British Museum (after Stein (1921), III, Pl. XXXII [L.B. II.0034]); b) wood, from L.B. II, now British Museum [L.B. II.0033] (photo M. Rhie)

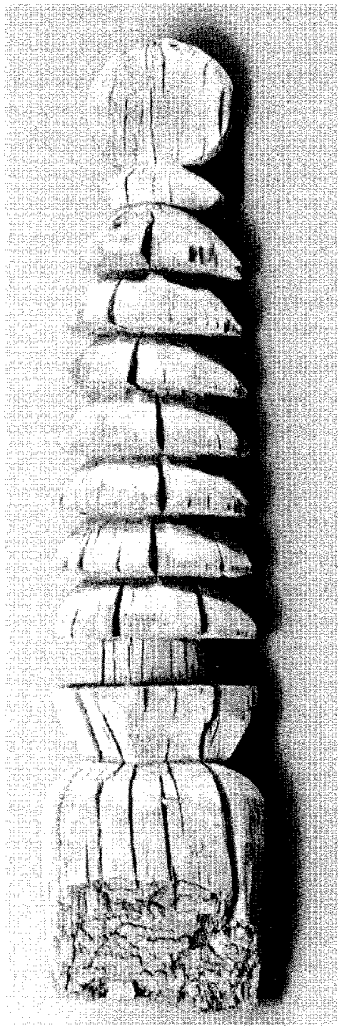


Fig. 5.70 c) wood, probably from L.B. II, 56 x 16 cm (after Kaneko (1988), 5-10)

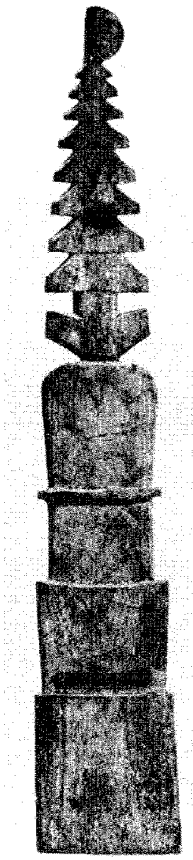


Fig. 5.70 d) wood, (after Bergman (1935), Pl. VIII, 5)

Fig. 5.70 e) wood, (after Bergman (1935), Pl.VIII, 3)

Fig. 5.70 f) wood (after Bergman (1935), Pl. VIII, 2)

Fig. 5.70 g) bronze (after Kaneko (1988), 5-14 (03-26-31))

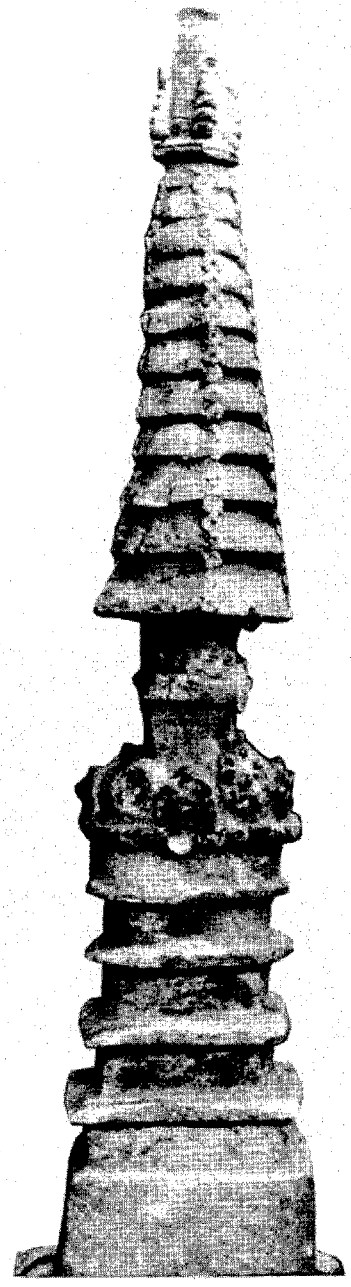


Fig. 5.71 Reliquary Stupa, stucco, from Stupa A 11, Jauliāñ Monastery, Taxila (after Kurita (1988 and 1990), II, Fig. 807)

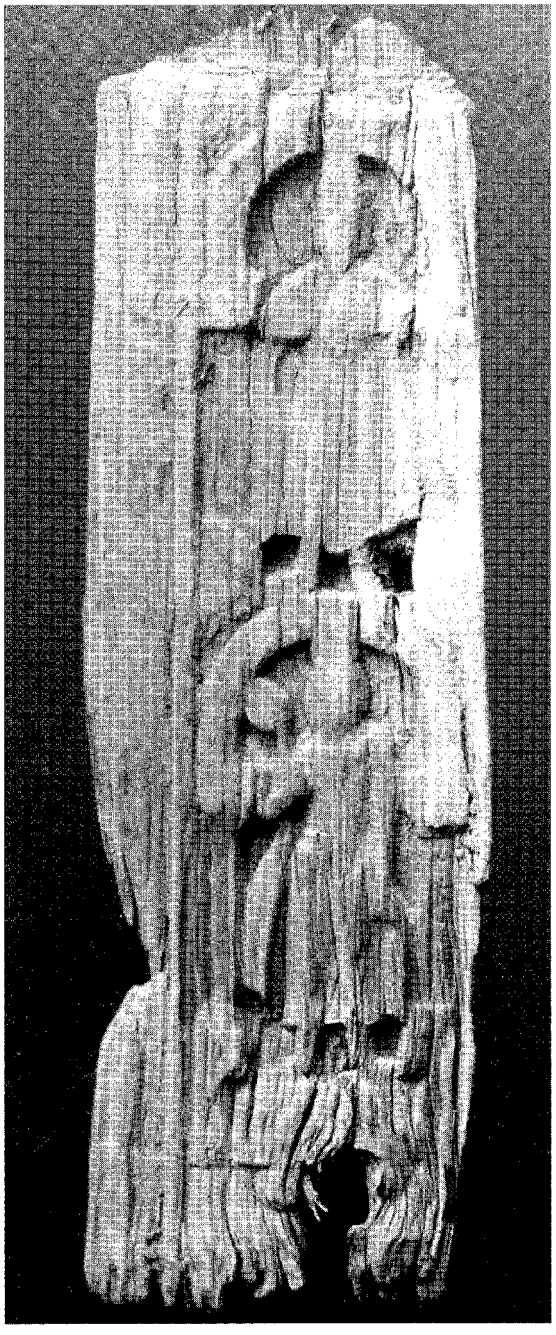
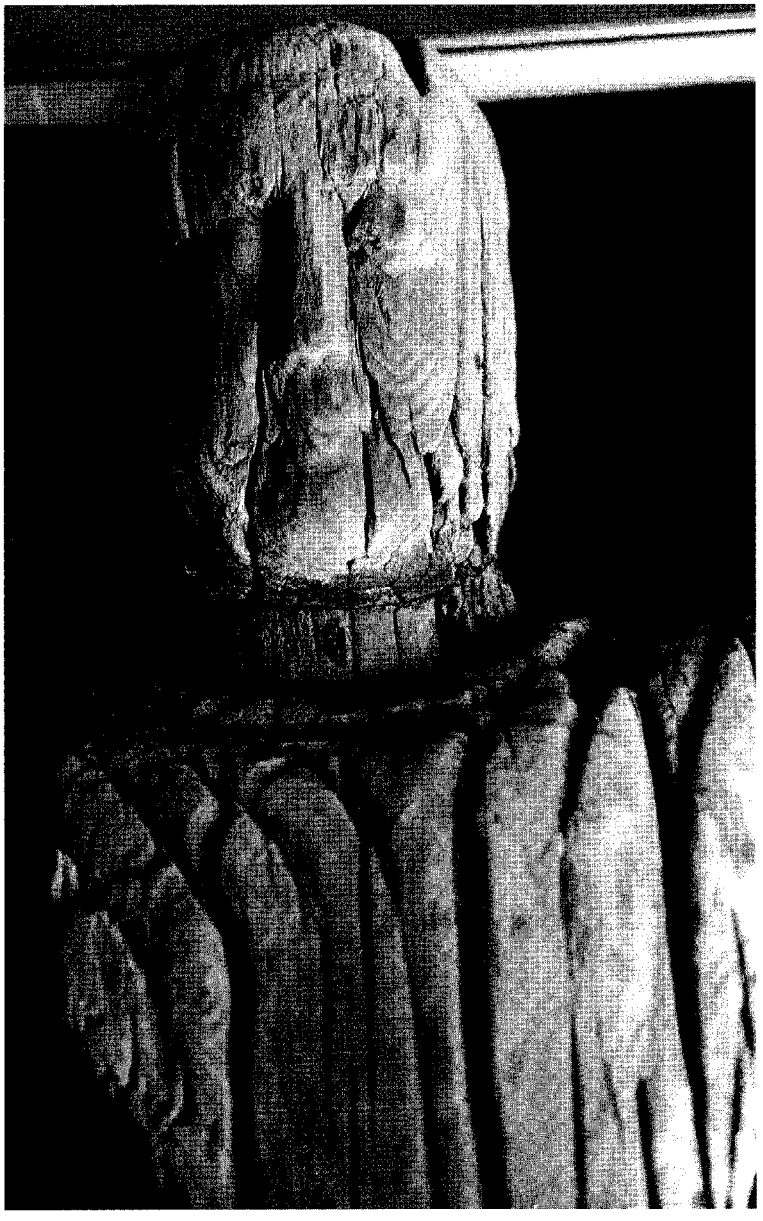


Fig. 5.72 Vertical jamb fragment with 2 standing Bodhisattva niches, Lou-lan, L.B.II, ca. 3rd century A.D., carved poplar wood, 72 x 22 x 6 cm, Folkens Museum Etnografiska, Stockholm (after Bergman (1935), Pl. IV, Fig. 4.)

Fig. 5.73 a-c Guardian figure, Lou-lan, L.B.II, poplar wood, 93 x 55 cm, Folkens Museum Etnografiska, Stockholm. a) full figure (photo M. Rhie)

b



c

Fig. 5.73 b) right arm (detached), National Museum, New Delhi (after Stein (1921), IV, Pl. XXXIV [L.B.II.0052]); c) head (photo M. Rhie)

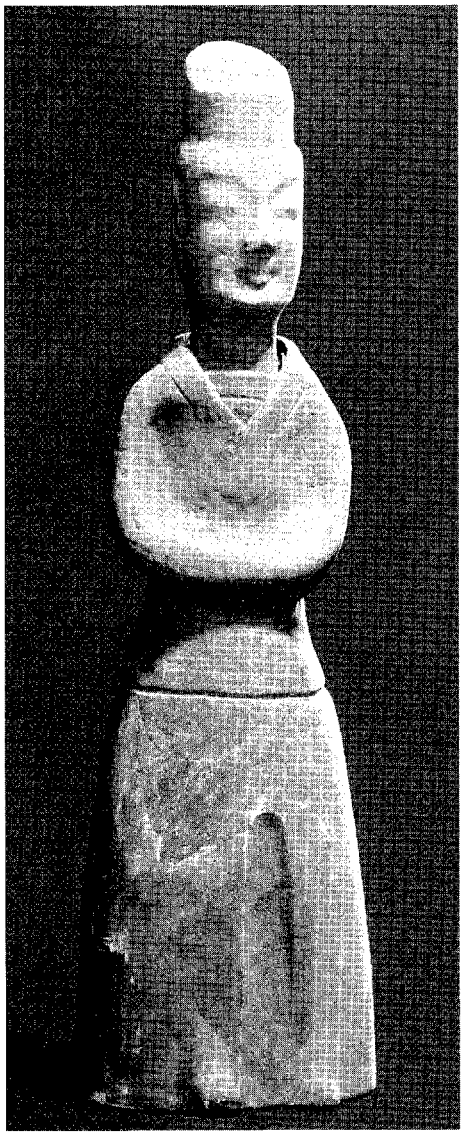


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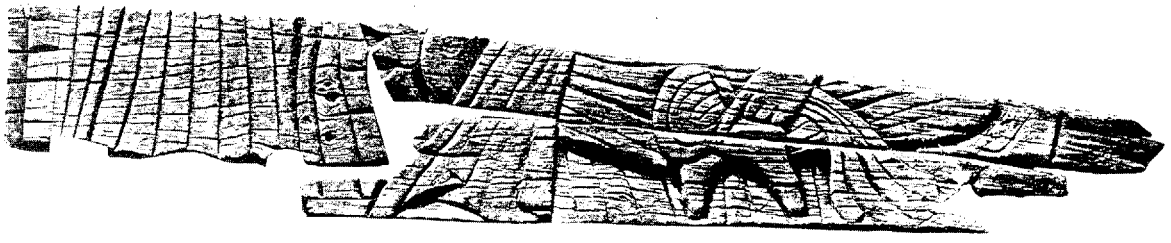
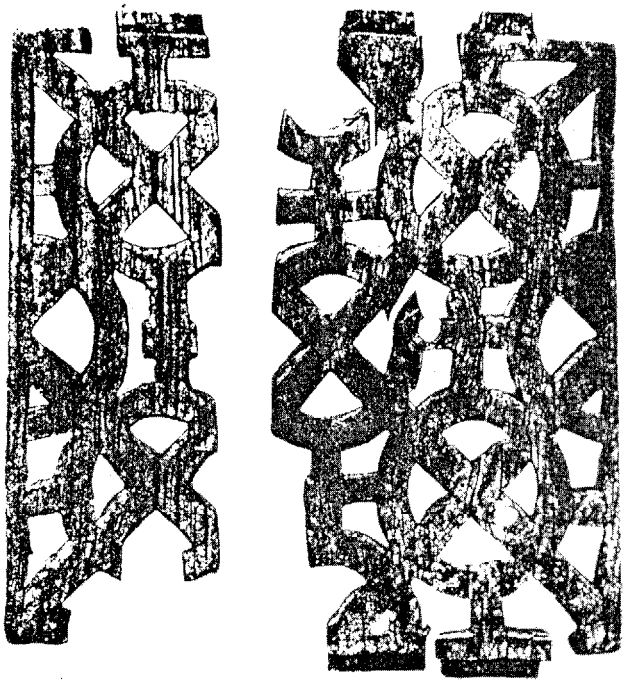
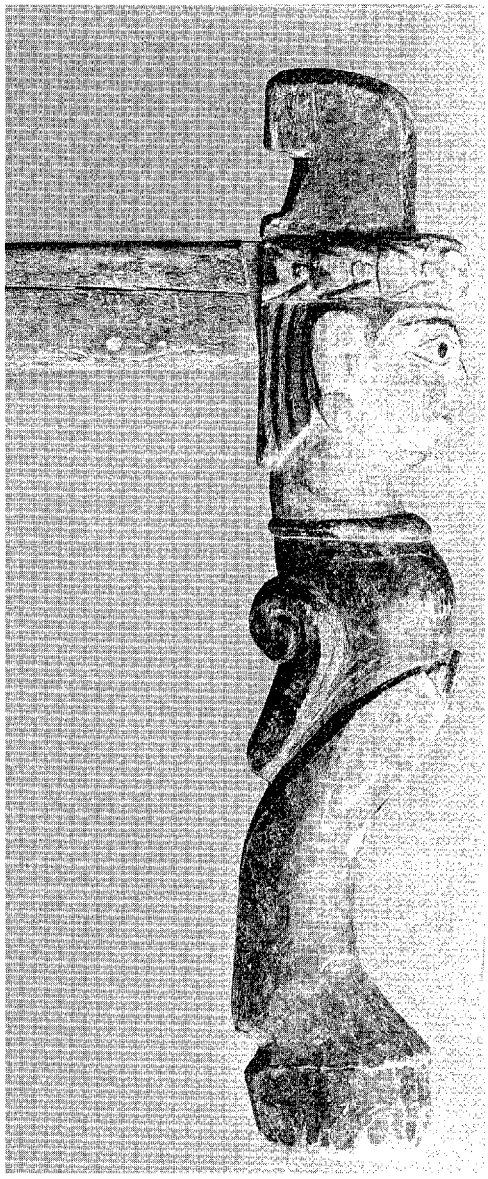
Fig. 5.74 Clay figurine of a lady, 4th century, Eastern Chin (after *Wei Chin Nan-pei ch'ao tiao-su*, Fig. 26)

Fig. 5.75 Fragment of a cross-ankled figure, from L.B. II, poplar wood, L. 1.35 m, Depth 3.5 cm, Folkens Museum Etnografiska, Stockholm (after Bergman (1935), Pl. V, Fig. 2) ↓





a



b

Fig. 5.76 a,b Carved wooden fragments from L.B. IV ; a) lattice with circles and crossing diagonals (after Bergman (1935), Pl. III, Figs. 6, 7); b) table leg (?) with human figure, carved and lacquered wood, H. 1' a 1/2" (after Stein (1921), IV, Pl. XXXIV)

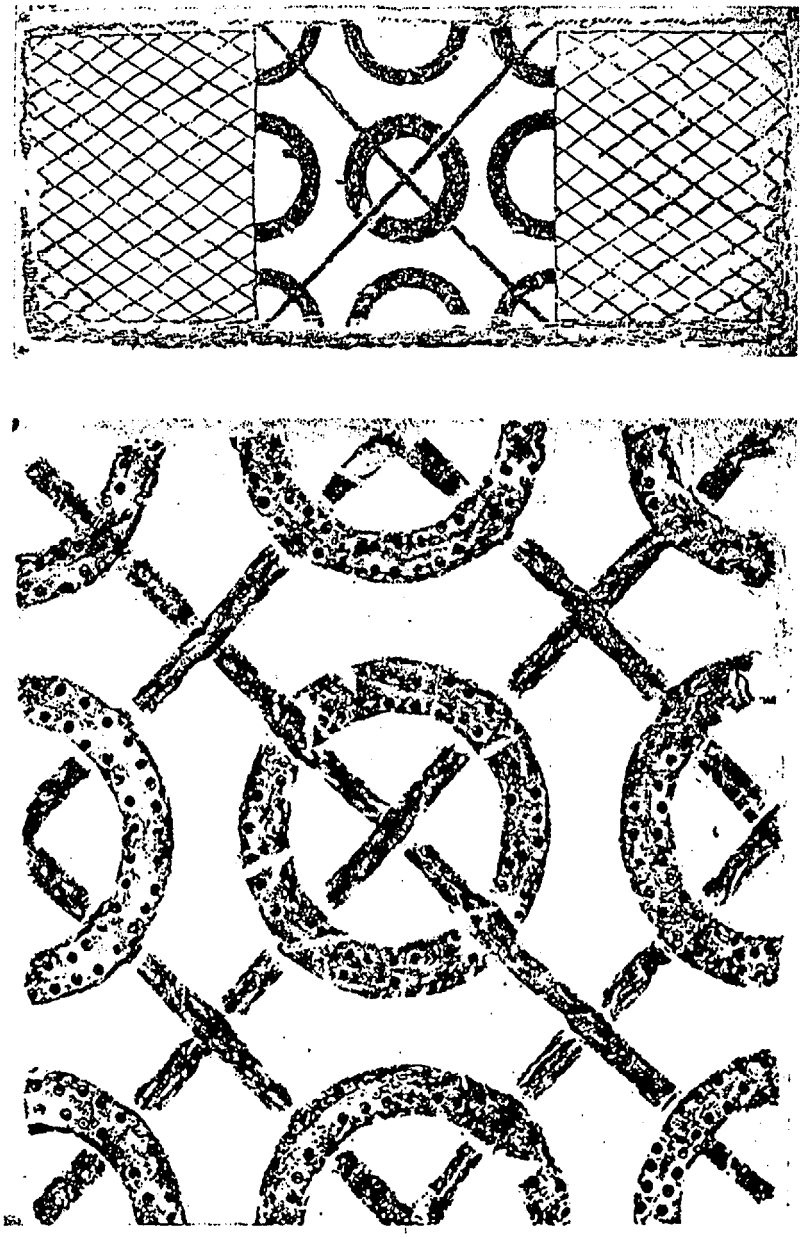


Fig. 5.77 Rubbing of relief from bricks, Nan-yang, Honan, Later Han (after Nan-yang wen-wu yen-chiu-so (1991), Figs. 250-251)

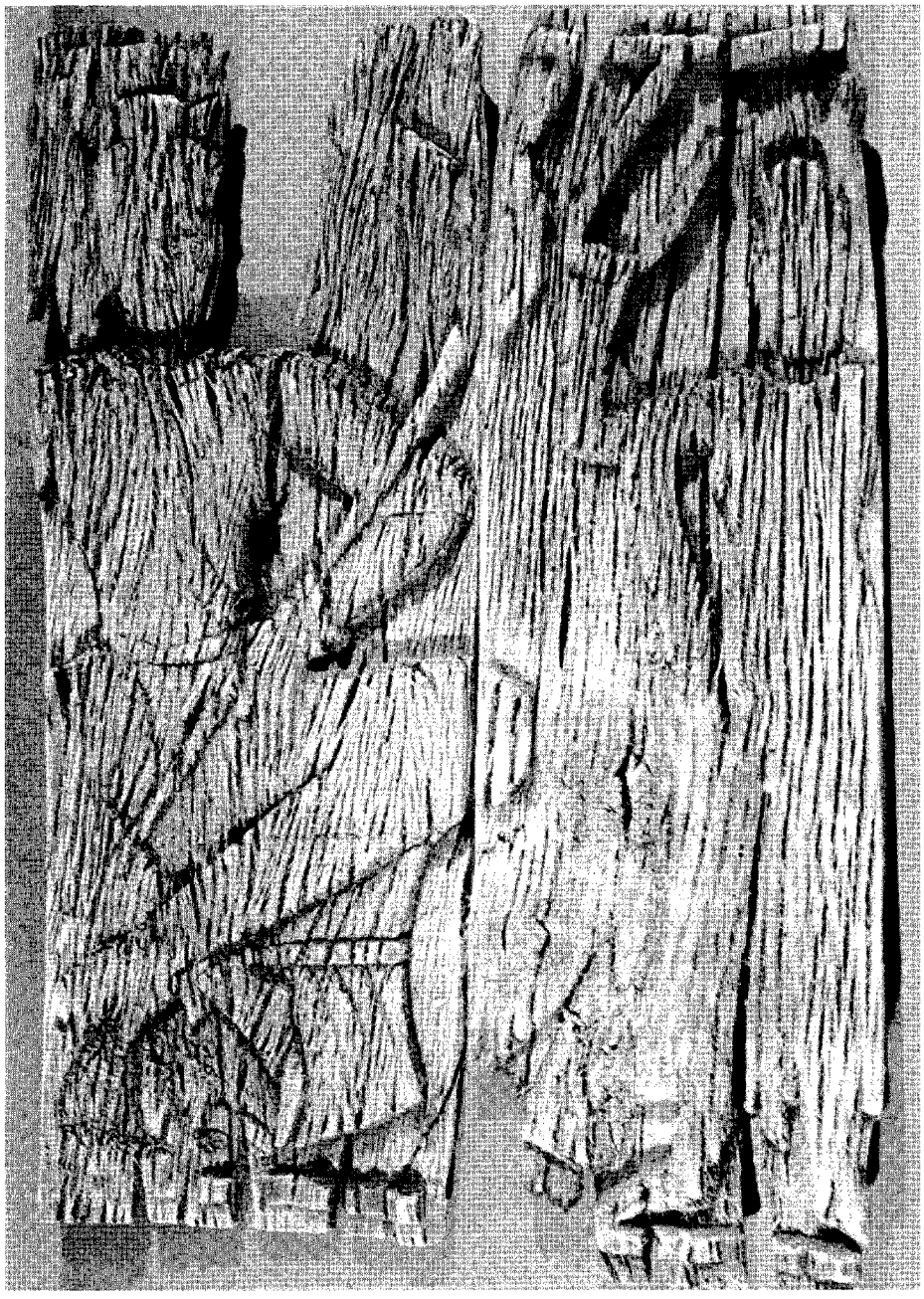


Fig. 5.78 Carved wooden panel with relief of two figures, from, L.B. V, Lou-lan, ca. 3rd century, carved poplar wood, 103 x 71 cm (in 2 parts), Folkens Museum Etnografiska, Stockholm (after Kaneko (1988), No. 5-5)

Fig. 5.79 Detail of monumental relief of Victory of Ardashir I, the crown Prince Shapur vanquishing the Parthian Grand Vizier, Firuzabad, southern Iran, 2nd quarter of the 3rd century A.D., *in situ.* (after Ghirshman (1962), Fig. 166)

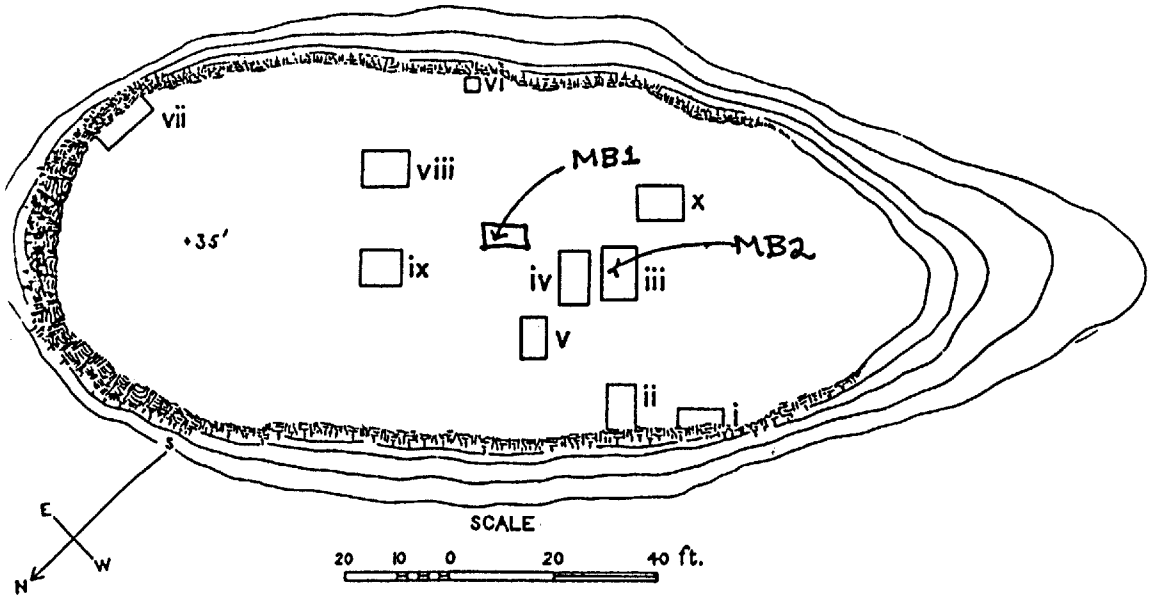
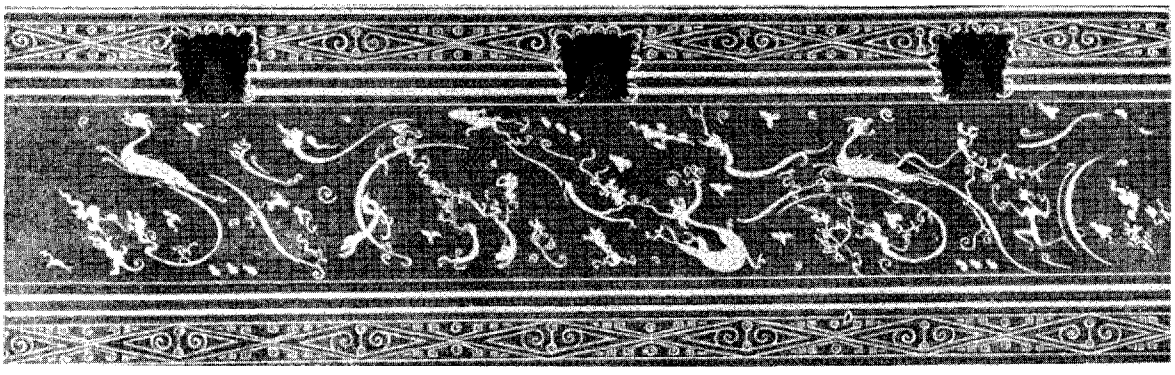
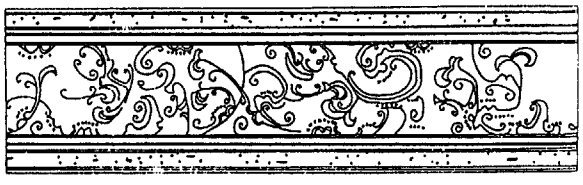


Fig. 5.80 Plan of L.C. (after Stein (1928), IV, Plan 12)



a



b

Fig. 5.81 a,b Fragments of lacquer ware from Lou-lan sites a) from L.M. (after Stein 1928), IV, Pl. XXV [L.M.1.02]); b) drawing from design on a lacquer cup from tomb MB1:5 (L.C.). H. 11.2 cm, Dia. 11.6 cm (after Hsin-chiang Lou-lan k'ao-ku tui (1988b), Fig. 33.2)

c

Fig. 5.81 c Carved bone ring with bird and bead design, from tomb F2B:2, Lou-lan (after Hsin-chiang Lou-lan k'ao-ku tui (1988a), Fig. 70.3 and 4).

Fig. 5.82a Head of Hermes and his Caduceus, wool textile fragment from a grave site at L.C., Lou-lan, H. 14 cm, 3rd to early 4th century A.D., Stein Collection, National Museum, New Delhi (after Rowland (1974), p. 44)

Fig. 5.82 b Portrait of a young woman, detail of a floor mosaic in the iwan, palace of Shapur I at Bishapur, Iran, 2nd half of the 3rd century A.D. (after Ghirshman, (1962), Fig. 183)

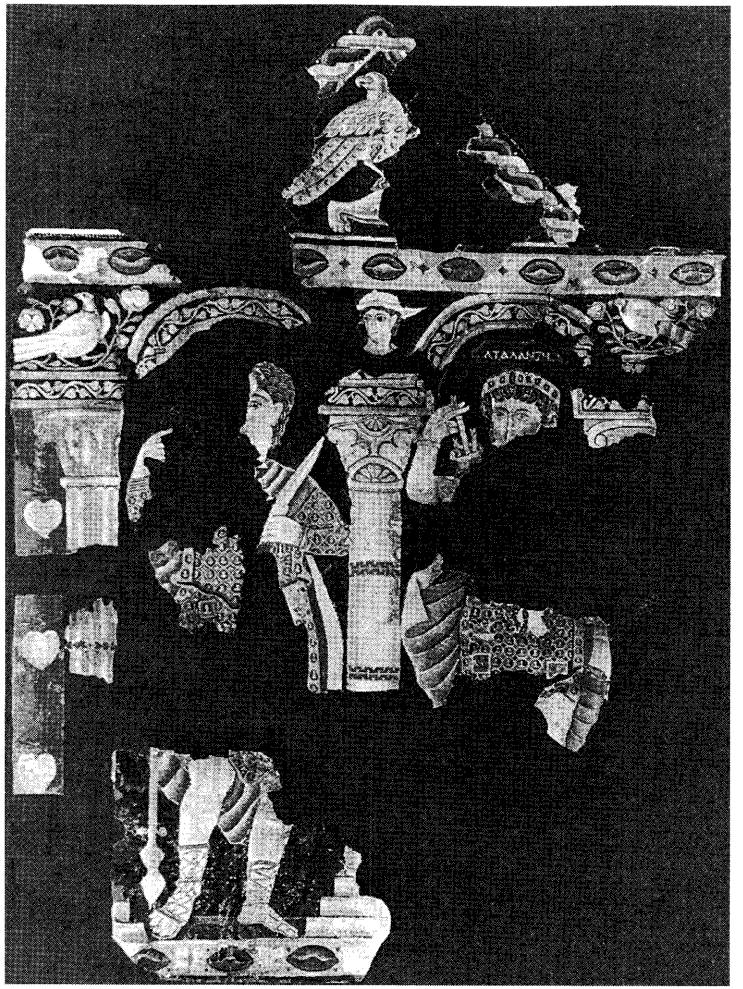


Fig. 5.82 c Wall-hanging of Meleager and Atalanta, from Egypt, linen and dyed wools, about 2 x 1.5 m, Later Roman Period, 4th century?, Abegg-Stoftimg, Berne (after Boardman (1993), Fig. 333)

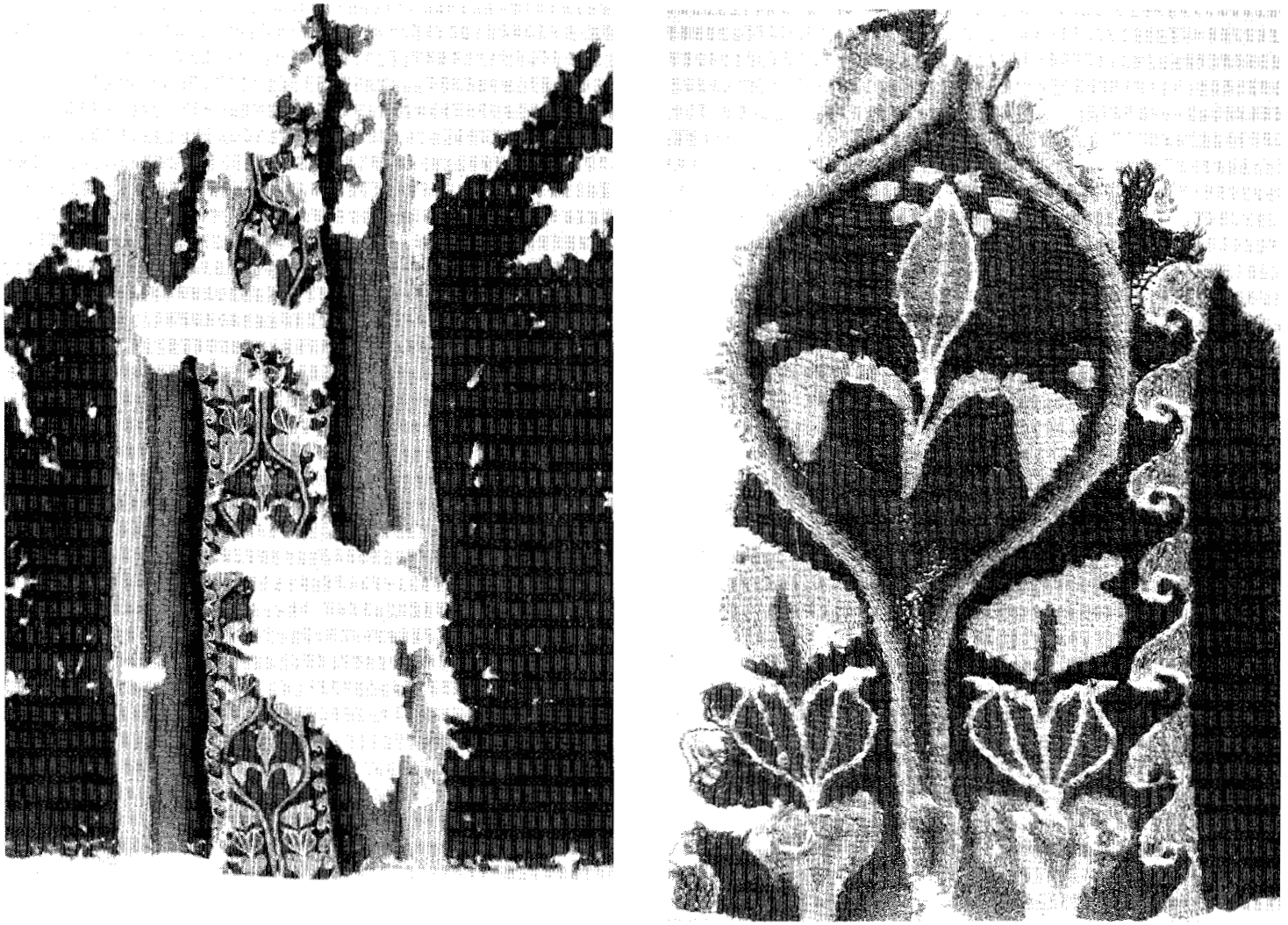


Fig. 5.83 a,b Textile with stripes and flower design from a grave site at Lou-lan (after *Yin jan chih hsiu*, I, Fig. 95)

Fig. 5.83 c Mosaic of Dolphins, Delos (after Boardman (1993), Fig. 176)

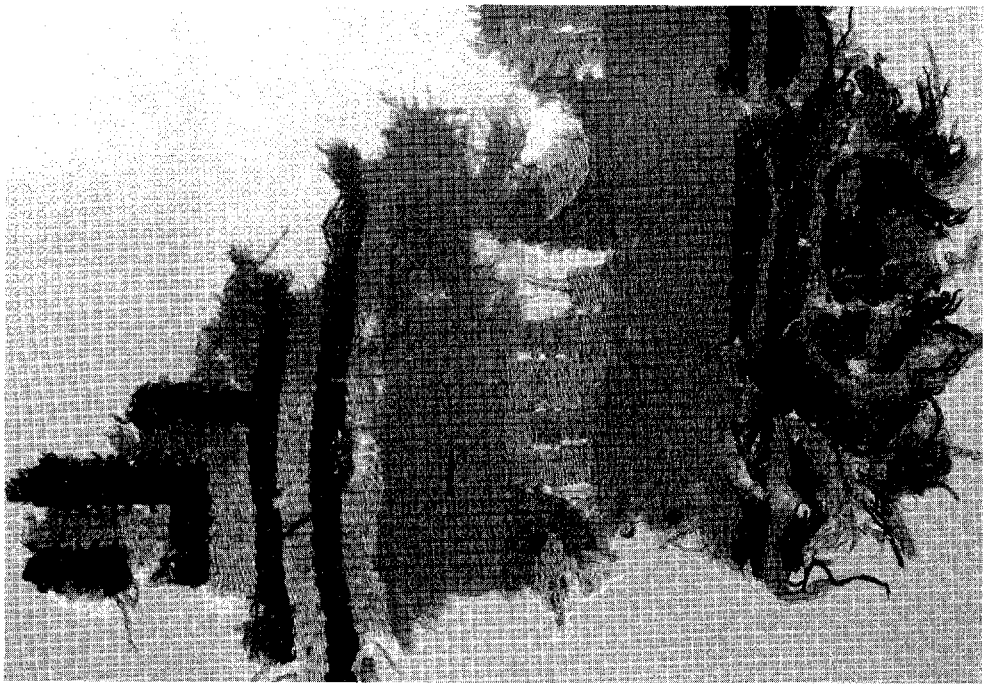
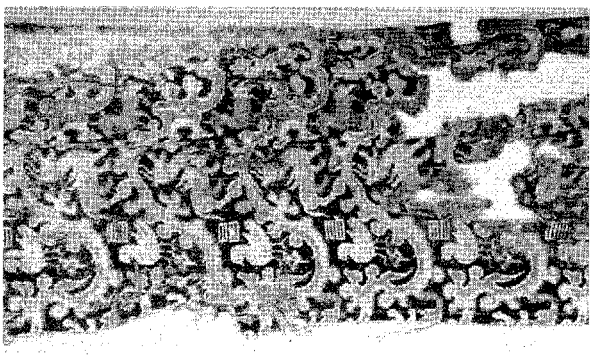
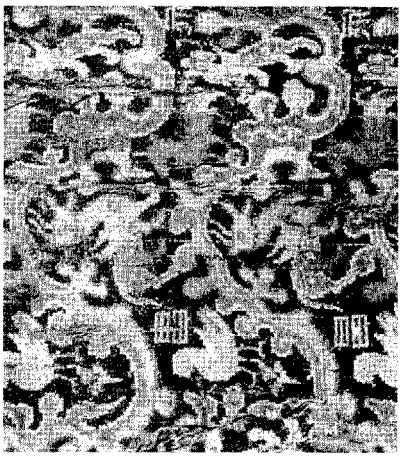


Fig. 5.84 Woolen fragment with red, yellow, green and black colors, from MB2 (L.C.), Lou-lan, 7 x 9.4 cm (after *Yin jan chih hsiu*, I, Fig. 97)



a



b

Fig. 5.85 a,b Fragment of patterned silk, from Lou-lan, Later Han dynasty or 3rd century A.D. (after *Yin jan chih hsiu*, I, Fig. 81)

Fig. 5.85 c Fragment of patterned silk with Chinese characters, from Noin Ula, Mongolia, ca. 1st century A.D. (after Umehara (1960), Pl. 37)

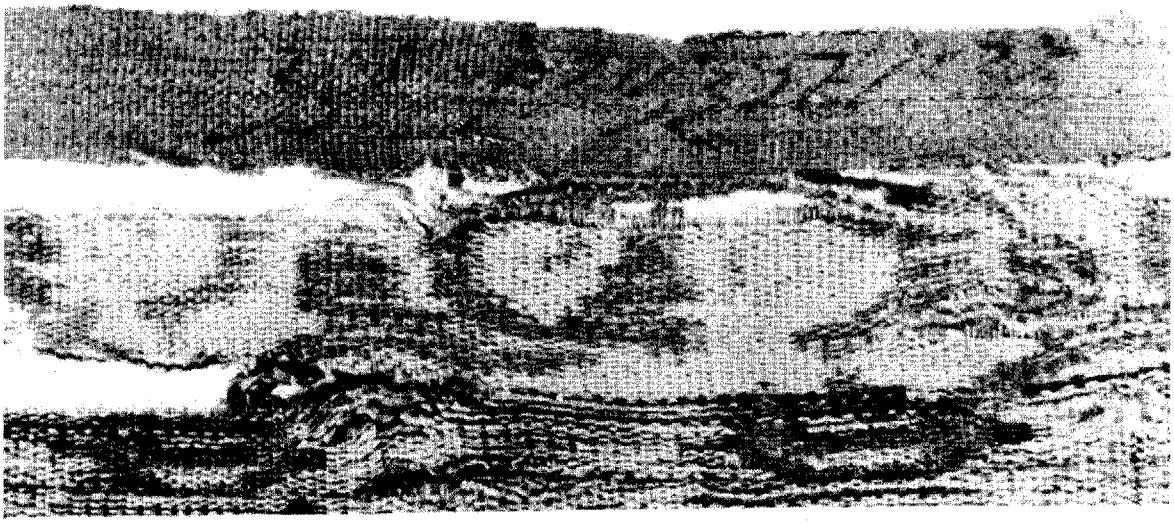


Fig. 5.86 Fragment of warp-faced compound tabby silk (with 8 Chinese characters) and a black ink inscription in Kharoṣṭhī, from tomb MB2:37 (L.C.), Lou-lan (after Hsin-chiang Lou-lan k'ao-ku tui (1988b), Pl. III.3)

Fig. 5.87 Fragment of patterned silk, from Lou-lan, Later Han dynasty or 3rd century A.D. (after *Yin jan chih hsiu*, I, Fig. 91)

Addenda et Corrigenda

p. 28 Map 1.4 T'ung should read Tung; P'ing-ch'eng should read P'eng-ch'eng

p. 98 Map 2.1 Ch'ien-yeh should read Chien-yeh

p. 106 footnote 23: *Ibid.*, should read Zürcher (1959),

p. 111 24,000 should read 25,000

p. 111 footnote 39 is missing; add: Tsukamoto (1985), I, pp. 229-230.

p. 184 5th line: Complex A should read Complex B

p. 190 NE should read northwestern India

p. 245 Map 4.1 Chü-shih chien-pu should read Chü-shih ch'ien-pu; also add Maral-bashi (at dot near Tumshuk)

p. 336 in the translation portion: Chien-pu should be Ch'ien-pu

p. 334 concerning the 330 date in the table, see p. 337 (note 26) below

p. 337 footnote 23, point 5), 3rd line: Chang Kuei should read Chang Chün; 4th line Chang Kuei should read Chang Chün (r. 324-345)

p. 337 footnote 26 add: However, the Chien-hsing *nien-hao* is continuously used as a *nien-hao* of the Former Liang kingdom (313-376) in Kansu from its inception, through the period of its great ruler Chang Chün (r. 324-345) and afterwards, up to Chang Tso (r. 352-355), when in 352 A.D. Chien-hsing 42nd year was changed to be Ho-p'ing 1st year. See *Chin shu*, chüan 86. So the date on Chinese document No. 886 from L.A. 1 at Lou-lan under the Shan-shan kingdom dated Chien-hsing 18th year may not have to be considered an outdated Western Chin *nien-hao*, as both Chavannes and Stein suggested. The Shan-shan kingdom may have been following the Chien-hsing *nien hao* as used in the Former Liang kingdom in Kansu. In fact, during Chang Chün's reign, Former Liang was powerful and exerted control over Kao-ch'ang (Turfan), and defeated both Kucha and Shan-shan in ca. 345.

p. 353 Chü-shih chien-pu should read Chü-shih ch'ien-pu

p. 354 Ku-ts'ang should read Ku-tsang

p. 436 (in Bibliography) *Daizōkyō*....1914-1935: date should read 1924 (reprint 1962)

Index Li Huang-li should read Li Kuang-li

Fig. 1.28 Bukhara should read Butkara